

THE MAĀTHIR-UL-UMARĀ

BEING

OGRAPHIES OF THE MUHAMMADAN AND HINDU
OFFICERS OF THE TIMURID SOVEREIGNS OF
INDIA FROM 1500 TO ABOUT 1780 A.D.

BY

NAWWĀB ŞAMSĀM-UD-DAULA SHĀH NAWĀZ KHĀN

AND HIS SON

'ABDUL HAYY

TRANSLATED BY

H. BEVERIDGE, B.C.S. (RETD.)

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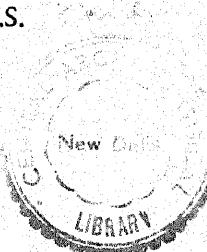
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RĀM CHAND CHAUHĀN

(Vol. II, pp. 138, 139).

He was the son of Badan Singh¹, and was one of Emperor Akbar's officers of the rank of 500. In the 18th year when the Emperor made a rapid march to relieve Mīrzā 'Azīz Kōka in Gujarāt, Rām Chand² went with him. In the 26th year³ he was with Sultān Murād when he marched to deal with Mīrzā Muhammad Hakīm. In the 38th year he was deputed with Mīrzā Shāh Rukh, Governor of Mālwa, to that province, and when the Emperor received news of the indiscipline of the soldiery of the Deccan, and of Shāhbāz Khān going away from the army to Mālwa without permission from Prince Sultān Murād, Rām⁴ Chand was sent to Berār to convey a lac of *ashrafis* which owing to the unsafe nature of the roads, had been kept in the Gwālior fort for the equipment of the army and to turn back the Mālwa troops to the Deccan. He came to the Deccan. In the battle in which Rājī 'Alī Khān was killed, Rām Chand was in his corps. He received twenty wounds during the fight, and fell on the ground. Throughout the night he remained on the battlefield mixed with the dead bodies, and was only rescued in the morning. After some days he died⁵ in the 41st year of Akbar's reign corresponding to the year 1005 A.H. (1596-97 A.D.).

¹ See Blochmann, *A'īn* (2nd edn.) I, p. 551 where the name of his father is given as Badal Singh.

² *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 49, Beveridge's translation, III, p. 69.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 333, translation, p. 518.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 712, translation, pp. 1060, 1061.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 719, translation, p. 1071.

(RĀJA) RĀM DĀS NARWĀRĪ

(Vol. II, pp. 226-228).

He was an officer during the reign of Emperor Jahāngīr. In the 1st year¹ of the reign of Emperor Shāh Jahān he was deputed with Mahābat Khān Khānān for the chastisement of Jujhār Singh Bundēla, who after his flight from Āgra had raised the standard of rebellion. In the 3rd year he was sent with Rāo Ratan Hāra to take up his station at Bāsim in Berār and block the path of the Deccan armies². In the end of the 6th year he was deputed³ with Sultān Shujā' for the conquest of Parenda in the Deccan. In the 8th year he was exalted by appointment to the rank of 2,000 with 1,000 horse, and accompanied Saiyid Khān Jahān Bārah for devastating the territories of 'Ādil Khān. In the 13th year, corresponding to 1049 A.H. (1639-40 A.D.) he died. The Emperor appointed his grandson Amar Singh to the rank of 1,000 with 600 horse, granted him the title of Rāja, and having appointed him Governor of the fort of Narwar—the post previously held by his grandfather—granted him all that territory as his fief⁴. In the 19th year he attended⁵ Sultān Murād Baksh on the expedition to Balkh and Badakhshān, and in the 25th year accompanied Sultān Aurangzib Bahādur who was deputed to the Qandahār campaign for the second time. In the 26th year he again went there with Sultān Dārā Shikoh, and from there went with Rustam Khān to take Bust. In the 30th year he was exalted by promotion to the rank of 1,500 with 1,00 horse, and in the same year he was seconded⁶ with Muazzam Khān to assist Sultān Muhammad Aurangzib in the Deccan. In the 1st year of the reign of Emperor Aurangzib he did homage, and was later deputed⁷ with Prince Muhammad Sultān for the pursuit

¹ *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. i, p. 241.² *Op. cit.*, p. 298.⁴ *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p. 174.⁶ *'Āmal Sālih*, III, p. 236.³ *Op. cit.*, p. 538,⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 484.⁷ *Ālamgirnāma*, p. 555.

of Sultān Shujā'. He rendered valuable services there and in the Āssām campaign. Later, in company with Shamshēr Khān Tarīn he was appointed to the campaign against the Afghāns¹ of the Rūh (hill country), and his rank was raised to 1,000 with 350 horse. The discrepancy in the statement about his rank—which is taken from 'Ālamgīrnāma—is perhaps due to a reduction in his earlier rank for some reason, or it may be a mistake on the part of the copyist.

(RAJA) RĀM DĀS KACHWĀHA²

(Vol. II, pp. 155-157).

His father Ūrdat was a man of small means and in distressed circumstances. He lived at his native place Lūnī³. Rām Dās at first was a servant of Rāīsal Darbāri⁴, and through him became enlisted in the service of Emperor Akbar. By rapid promotion he rose to the rank of 500, and gradually he gained access to the Emperor and a position of trust. In the 18th year when Rāja Tōdar⁵ Mal was deputed to assist Khān Khānān, and to reorganize the army which had been sent to conquer Bihār, Rām Dās was appointed his deputy for civil affairs. He gradually by rendering valuable services and by his assiduity gained a place in the Emperor's affections so that most of his representations were accepted. He attended to the work in connection with the Rājpūt Amirs, and others, and amassed wealth. It is stated that he had built a spacious house in the Āgra Fort near

¹ His appointment is mentioned on p. 858 of 'Ālamgīrnāma', and on p. 1056 it is stated that his rank was a reward for his services raised to 1,000 with 650 horse.

² See Blochmann, *Ā'in*, I (2nd edn.), pp. 539, 540. He was the Commander of the Rājpūt guard at the fort.

³ According to *Akkarnāma*, Text, III, p. 65, Beveridge's translation, III, p. 91, his home was Newata. Lūni is in Ranthambhōr.

⁴ *Mātbir-ul-Umarā*, Text, II, pp. 172-174. translation *antia* pp. 564, 565.

⁵ Rāja Tōdar Mal's appointment was in the 18th and not the 17th year as stated by Blochmann, *op. cit.*, p. 540, see *Akkarnāma*, Text, III, p. 71, Beveridge's translation, III, p. 98. The appointment of Rām Dās is not mentioned there.

the Hatiāpūl, but he always lived in the Guard-room (*Pēsh-khāna*) and on duty there. Emperor Akbar had no fixed times for entering or leaving the *Zanāna*, but Rām Dās was always in attendance with 200 Rājpūts carrying lances in their hands.

At the time of Emperor Akbar's death, as Khān Ā'zam and Rāja Mān Singh tried to support Sultān Khusrau for the sovereignty, Rām Dās out of his loyalty to Prince Salīm placed his own men on guard over the treasury and magazines so that the opposing party might not be able to take possession. Accordingly in Emperor Jahāngīr's time his rank¹ was increased, and he gained greater influence and power. In the 6th year of the reign, corresponding to 1020 A.H. (1611 A.D.), he was deputed² to accompany 'Abdullāh Khān, Governor of Gujarāt, on the Deccan campaign, and he was granted the title of Rāja, and the present of a drum, and was put in charge of the fort of Ranthambhōr³, which was one of the chief forts of India. It is generally stated that he had the title of Rāja Karan, though it is not mentioned in the *Iqbālnāma*. When the army marched rapidly by way of Nāsik to Daulatābād, and returned after its defeat at the hands of Malik 'Amber, Emperor Jahāngīr out of anger had portraits prepared of all the officials who had taken to flight. He looked at each and made a remark. When the Rāja's portrait was taken up, he took it in his hand in the open *Darbār* and said, "You were a servant of Rāisāl at a *tankah* a day, my father cherished you and made you an *Amīr*. It is a disgrace for a Rājpūt to run away (from the field of battle). Alas! that you did not even have respect for the title of Rāja Karan. I hope that you will lose faith and fortune (*dīn u duniyā*)."⁴ He refused him audience, and sent him to the Bangash campaign. The Rāja died there in the same year, corresponding to 1022 A.H. (1613-14 A.D.). The Emperor said, "My prayer worked, for, according to the Hindū religion, whoever dies after crossing the river Indus,

1 Rogers & Beveridges translation of *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngiri*, I, p. 211.

2 *Op. cit.*, pp. 201, 379, 418.

3 *Op. cit.*, p. 202.

goes to hell." At Rangta¹ Hilālābād 15 women and 20 men performed *sati* in company with the Rāja's turban.

He was unequal for his generosity and liberality. For one good story he would give a large sum of money. When he once gave a present to a *chāran*, a *bādfarōsh* or a musician, they every year in the same month received the same amount from his treasurer, and there was no necessity of altering the receipt. He was very fond of playing *chaupar*². He used to go on playing for two days and nights. If he lost, he became angry and was abusive, especially to his partner, and would strike the ground with his hands, and use foul language. Naman (or Taman) Dās, his son, left the Court for his native place without leave in the 46th year of Emperor Akbar's reign, and started oppressing the poor people. At his father's request an order was issued that Shāh Qulī Khān's servants should bring him to the Court. He resisted, and was killed. Rām Dās was grieved on account of the death of his son, and Emperor Akbar went to the Guard-room, and comforted him³. His other son Dalap Narāin rose to the rank of an *Amīr*. He was an exact counterpart of his father in every detail. He died at the height of his youth.

RĀM SINGH (Vol. II, pp. 266, 267).

He was the son of Karmī,⁴ sister's son of Rānā Jagat Singh. His father was a respected royal officer, and Rām Singh in the end of the 13th year of Emperor Shāh Jahān's reign came⁵ to the Court, and

¹ On the Jumna near Āgra, it is a famous place of Hindū worship, see Jarrett's translation of *A'in*, II, p. 180. The story of Rām Dās' disgrace and Jahāngir's remarks is not to be found in *Tuzuk*. Rather it is noted on p. 220 of the translation that the disaster was due to 'Abdullāh Khān not heeding the advice of Rām Dās.

² For the game see Blochmann, *A'in*, I (2nd edn.), pp. 315, 316.

³ *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 188, Beveridge's translation, III, p. 1181. The name of the son is given there as Datman or Daman Dās.

⁴ He was a Rāthōr.

⁵ *Bādsbāhnāma*, II, p. 198.

received the rank of 1,000 with 600 horse. In the 14th year he had an increase¹ of 100, and in the 16th year he was exalted² by promotion to the rank of 1,500 with 800 horse. In the 19th year he was deputed³ with Prince Murād Bakhhsh for the conquest of Balkh and Badakhshān, and after reaching Balkh, when Bahādur Khān and Aṣalat Khān were appointed to pursue Nadhar Muḥammad Khān, ruler of Balkh, Rām Singh without the Prince's permission accompanied them⁴. He frequently distinguished himself in fights with the Alamāns in this campaign. In the 22nd year his rank was increased to 2,500 with 1,200 horse, and he was appointed⁵ to the Qandahār campaign under Prince Muḥammad Aurangzīb Bahādur. After reaching there he went with Rustam Khān to conquer Zamīn Dāwar. In the 23rd year he was promoted to the rank of 3,000 with 1,500 horse. In the 25th year he went⁶ a second time with the said Prince on the same expedition, and in the 26th year received an elephant, and accompanied⁷ Dārā Shikoh to the Qandahār fort for the third time. After arriving there he went with Rustam Khān to capture the fort of Bust. In the 28th year he did great deeds in chastising the *Zamīndār* of Srinagar—which is situated in the hills to the north of the Capital, Delī—with Khalil Ullāh Khān⁸. In the battle of Samūgarh, in the year 1068 A.H. (1658 A.D.) he was in the vanguard of the forces of Dārā Shikoh. During the battle he fought⁹ bravely, and loyally and bravely fell under the swords of the opposing forces.

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 236.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 309.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 484.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 540.

⁵ *'Amal Sālib*, III, p. 72.

⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 140.

⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 157.

⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 196, but Rām Singh's name is not mentioned there.

⁹ *'Alamgirnāma*, p. 102.

(RĀJA) RĀM SINGH

(Vol. II, pp. 301-303).

He was a Kachwāha, and the eldest son of Mīrzā Rāja Jai Singh¹. In the 16th year² of the reign of Shāh Jahān, when the Emperor went to Ajmēr, he came to the Presence with his father and did homage. In the 19th year when the Emperor started for Kābul from Lāhōrē, he came from his home with 500 cavalry men, and was granted a robe of honour, and the rank of 1,000 with 1,000 horse³. By successive promotions his rank was raised to 2,000 with 1,500 horse, and he received a flag. In the 26th year he was granted an increase of 500, and in the 27th year he was again granted an increase of 500. In the battle of Samūgarh he was with Dārā Shikōh. After the latter's defeat, he went over to Aurangzib, and in the 1st year was deputed⁴ with Prince Muḥammad Sultān and Mu'azzam Khān to pursue Shujā'. On the way as a result of some false rumours, which had gained currency about the second battle with Dārā Shikōh, he became alarmed, and retired from attending⁵ on the Prince, and subsequently made a disgraceful retreat. In the 3rd year he was sent⁶ to bring Sulaimān Shikōh, who was with the Zamīndār of Srinagar, and who had agreed through Mīrzā Rāja Jai Singh to hand him over. He and the son of the Zamīndār brought him to the Court⁷. After the deputation of the Mīrzā Rāja to the Deccan he remained at the Court.

When in the 8th year it was reported that Sīvā (Shīvājī) Bhōnsle had had an interview with Rām Singh's father, Rām Singh was favoured⁸ with the grant of a robe of honour, jewels, and a female elephant. And when Sīvā came from the Deccan with his son Sambhā, and did homage, the Emperor on the very first day read signs

¹ *Maṭbir-ul-Umarā*, Text, III, pp. 568-577, Beveridge Prashad's translation, I, pp. 730-734.

² In *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p. 346 this is recorded in the 17th year.

³ *Op. cit.*, pp. 500, 501.

⁴ *Alamgirnāma*, p. 269.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 497.

⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 601.

⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 602.

⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 907.

of obstinacy in his countenance, and charged Rām Singh, who had introduced him at the Court, to take Sīvā to his house, and keep himself informed about him. When that hypocrite by a clever rouse—which has been described in the account of Rāja Sāhū Bhōnsle—secretly escaped and took to flight, Rām Singh was censured for his carelessness, deprived of his office, and forbidden to pay his respects¹. After his father's death, in the 10th year, he was restored to favour, and received a robe of honour, a jewelled dagger with a pearl band, a sword with enamelled trappings, an Arab horse with a golden saddle, a special elephant with a brocade covering and silver ornaments, the title of Rāja² and the rank of 4,000 with 4,000 horse. In the end of the same year, when the news came of the attack of the Assamese on Gauhātī on the borders of Bengāl, and the murder of Saiyid Firuz Khātū, *Thānadār* of the place, Rām Singh was sent³ there with a large force, and granted an increase of 1,000 with 1,000 horse. In the 19th year he returned and did homage⁴. He died at his appointed time. His son Kunwar Singh—who during his father's lifetime had a suitable rank, and was for a time attached⁵ to Kābul—was later wounded in a family feud, and killed⁶. Bishan⁷ Singh, his son, attained the rank of 1,000 with 400 horse, and on his grandfather's death received the title of Rāja and other favours. He was for a time engaged in chastising the Rāthōrs, and for a time was the *Faujdār*⁸ of Islāmābād. Later when he died, Bijai Singh⁹, his son, in the 44th

¹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 968-711. For fuller details about Shiyājis treatment at the Mughal Court, his escape etc, see Sir Jadunath Sarkar's *Shivaji and His Times* (1929 edn.), pp. 139-156. The reference to Sāhū's account in *Maāthir-ul-Umarā* is in Text, II, p. 347. See also *Maāthir-i-Ālamgiri*, pp. 55, 56.

² *Maāthir-i-Ālamgiri*, p. 62.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 154.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 65.

⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 217.

⁸ I'tiqād Khān's appointment as his successor at Islāmābād is recorded in *Maāthir-i-Ālamgiri* on p. 382.

⁹ *Op. cit.*, p. 424.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 217.

⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 158.

year, received the title of Rājā Jai Singh and was exalted by promotion to the rank of 1,500 with 1,000 horse. In the 45th year he went with Jumlat-ul-Mulk Asad Khān for the conquest of the fort of Khēlnā; his account¹ has been given separately.

RĀM SINGH HĀRĀ

(Vol. II, pp. 323, 324).

He was a grandson of Mādhū Singh Hārā². When Jagat Singh, son of Mukand Singh Hārā died in the 25th year of Emperor Aurangzib's reign³, and left no son, the Emperor gave Kōtah to Kishwar Singh, brother of Mukand Singh and the uncle of the deceased. The latter was also deputed with Muḥammad Ā'zam⁴ Shāh to the siege of Bijāpūr. On the day when Amān Ullāh Khān, son of Ilāhwardī Khān, was killed⁵, he also was wounded. In the 30th year he went to Haidarābād with Sultān Mu'azzam, and in the 36th year was exalted with the grant of a drum. Sometime later he died. At the request of Dhulfiqar Khān Bahādur the State of Kōtah, in accordance with the ancestral custom, was assigned to his son Rām Singh, who was living in his native place. He at first had the rank of 250, later he had been promoted to the rank of 600, and his rank was now raised to 1,000. He was always attached to the said Khān. He rendered good service in the chastisement of Rānō son of Santā Ghōrpate, and other Marathas. In the 44th year he was exalted with the grant of

¹ *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, II, pp. 81-83, Beveridge & Prashad's translation, I, pp. 735, 736.

² *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, III, pp. 453-456, translation *antea* pp. 1-3.

³ *Vide* the account of Mukand Singh Hārā in *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, III, p. 510, translation *anta* p. 242.

⁴ Muḥammad Ā'zam Shāh's appointment is recorded in *Maāthir-i-Ālamgiri*, p. 219.

⁵ This was in the 29th year, *Maāthir-i-Ālamgiri*, p. 262, but Kishwar Singh is not mentioned there.

⁶ Ranoojee of Grant Duff, *History of Mahrattas* (Edwardes' edn. 1921), I, p. 295.

a drum, and in the 48th year was promoted to the rank of 2,500; and he also received the Mūmidāna *Zamīndārī* in place of Rāo Budh Singh¹—as he was very desirous of having it—on the condition of his maintaining a contingent of 1,000 horse. After the death of Emperor Aurangzib he took the side of Muhammād Ā'zam Shāh, and was promoted to the rank of 4,000. On the day of battle he bravely encountered Sultān 'Azīm-ush-Shāh, and was² killed. His son Bhīm was appointed chief in his place. In the battle which took place between Saiyid Dilāwar 'Alī Khān and Nizām-ul-Mulk Āṣaf Jāh in 1131 A.H. (1719 A.D.), he disdained to fly after Dilāwar 'Alī Khān was killed, and bravely gave³ up his life. At the time of writing Kamān Singh, his great grandson, and son of Satar Sāl, son of Durjan Sāl, is the chief of Kōtah⁴.

RANDAULA KHĀN GHĀZĪ

(Vol. II, p. 309).

He was from Bijāpūr. At the time of the return of Sultān Aurangzib Bahādur from the Deccan to Upper India he accompanied him, and did good service in the battles. After the battle with Mahārāja Jaswant Singh he received the title of Randaula Khān, and was raised to the rank of 4,000 with 4,000 horse, of which 1,000 were two-horse three-horse troopers. After the first battle with Dārā Shikōh he received a reward of Rs. 10,000. Later he was sent with Shaikh Mīr Khwāfi to block the path of egress of Sulaimān Shikōh. Afterwards he was appointed to the Deccan army, and was engaged in various

1. This was in the 50th year, *Maāthir-i-Ālamgiri*, p. 514, where the name is Nūmidāna with the variant Mūmidāna, which is also the name in Jarret's *Ā'īn*, II, p. 275; it was in Ranthambhōr.

2. In the Battle of Jajau, see *Later Mughals*, I, p. 30.

3. *Later Mughals*, II, p. 30, where his name is Rao Bhim Singh, see also footnote on the same page.

4. For a succinct account of the history of Kōtah see *Imperial Gazetteer*, XV, pp. 412, 413. Also see Tod, *Rajasthan* (1914 edn.), II, pp. 410-412.

campaigns. In the 9th year he went¹ with Dilēr Khān Dā'ūdzai for chastising the Zamindār of Chānda. In the 27th year, corresponding to 1094 A.H. (1683 A.D.) he died².

RASHID KHĀN ANSĀRĪ

(Vol. II, pp. 242-250).

His name was Allāh Dād, and he was the son of Jalāl-ud-Dīn Raushānī. The latter reared the standard of power among the Afghāns, and so brought this wasp's nest of strife into commotion. From the time of Emperor Akbar to that of Emperor Shāh Jahān the never-ending campaign in the country of Kābul indicates the measures taken for the uprooting of this sect. From the time of Emperor Akbar they were styled *Tārikis* (obscurants). As it is necessary to give an account of Jalāl-ud-Dīn's ancestors, and of those who continued to stir up commotion and strife after him, it is recorded here as follows. The father of Jalāl-ud-Dīn, commonly known as Jalālā, was Shaikh Bāyazid generally styled Pir-i-Raushān and Raushānī. He was the son of Shaikh 'Abdullāh, who was separated by seven generations from Shaikh Sirāj-ud-Dīd Ansārī. He was born in the town of Jālandhar one year before Bābur's arrival in India. After he had completed³ his course

¹ 'Ālamgīrnāma, p. 1024.

² The year of his death is incorrect. It should be 1095 A. H. for he died on 4th Rabi' II, 1095 A.H. (21st March, 1064 A.D.), *vide Maāthir-i-Ālamgiri*, p. 244.

³ The words in the text *az tabṣil 'Kamīl* appear to mean completing his training or initiation. They may be merely rhetoric, and refer to the complete subjugation of the country by the Mughals. Apparently Bāyazid was still a child when his mother took him to Kanigram which lies south-south-west of Peshawar and Bannū. A good account of the Raushanis was published by Count von Noer in his work *The Emperor Akbar* (Mrs. A. S. Beveridge's translation), II, pp. 138-169 (1890), mainly based on J. Leyden—On the Rausheniah sect and its Founder Bayezid Ansari (*Asiat. Researches*, XI, 1810, pp. 363-428). In this paper is also included a translation of Chapter IX of *Dabistān-i Madhbāhib* on which the *Maāthir* account is mainly based.

of initiation, and as he witnessed the power of the Mughals getting established, he with his mother named Bahīn—who was of the same tribe—removed to Kanigram in the Rōh (hill country) where his father was living. In the year 949 A.H. (1542 A.D.) a report gained currency that he could work miracles, and some of the Afghān tribes became his disciples. He also wrote a book in the Pushtū language in proof of the unity of the Deity, and called it *Khair-ul-Biyān*.

It is stated that this work is a compendium of the sayings of great men of earlier times, but many of the tribes taxed it with impiety, and so did not join him. It is stated that when he was brought into the assembly of Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm, the 'Ulamā were unable to rebut his arguments. When he died, he was buried in Bhatipūr, which was in the hill country (of Afghānistān). He had four sons and a daughter, *viz.*, (1) Shaikh 'Umar, (2) Nūr-ud-Dīn, whose son, Mīrzā'ī by name, was a loyal imperial servant and was killed in the battle of Daulatābād, (3) Jamāl-ud-Dīn, (4) Jalāl-ud-Dīn, and (5) the daughter Kamāl Khātun, who died a prisoner of Qulij Khān Akbarsāhī. Jalāl-ud-Dīn succeeded his father. He at the age of fourteen waited upon Emperor Akbar in 989 A.H. (1581 A.D.) when the Emperor was returning from Kābul, and had halted at the Yūlam ferry. He was kindly received, but as he did not receive the rank which he expected, he went away¹ without leave, and lived with his father's disciples, who were chiefly of the Ārakzāī, Afridi and Shirdād tribes, and with whom he was also connected by marriage.

When in the 31st year the Mohmand and Ghurya Khail tribes, which numbered² some 10,000 families in the Peshāwar territory—were oppressed by the agents of Saiyid Hāmid Bokhārī, the fief-holder of

¹ See Bādā'oni *Muntakhab-ut-Tawārikh*, Text, II, p. 340, Lowe's translation, II, p. 360. Yolumis apparently a mistake for Ilam Gudhar mentioned in *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, pp. 639, 702. The ferry, however, is not mentioned in the account of the year 989 A.H. Beveridge *Akbarnāma*, translation, III, p. 982, note 4, remarked "It was apparently a Pass into the Tirāh territory. Or it may be the Shāh Alām ferry on the Kabul river."

² *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 510, translation, p. 777.

the area, they elected Jalālā as their leader, and created a disturbance. They killed Hāmid, and retired to Tīrāh which was a hilly area some 32 *kos* long, and 12 broad. On its east lies Peshāwar, on its west Maidān, on its north Bara, and on its south Qandahār, it has many¹ defiles and depressions. After reaching there they blocked² the Khaibar route. Rāja Mān Singh, the Governor of Kābul entered Tīrāh by the route of Nārwān, and attacked the Afrīdis—who were the leaven of the commotion—and halted at ‘Ali Masjid³. Jalālā had received some punishment at the hands of Zain Khān Kōka, who had been deputed by the Emperor, and who had made great efforts for uprooting the thorn-bush of the strife. When Jalālā was hard-pressed, he in the 32nd year left⁴ the defiles of Tīrāh, and took refuge in Swāt and Bajaur, which constitute the territory of the Yūsufza’is. They in spite of the punishment they had received at the hands of the imperial troops, did not refrain from wickedness, and gave him shelter in their territory. Zain Khān advanced into those hills, and after severe fighting Jalālā was nearly captured. He was, however, able to return again to Tīrāh by the pass which had been left in the charge of Ismā'il Quli Khān, but which he had left unguarded after the arrival of Ṣādiq Muḥammad Khān. The latter pursued him by forced marches, and by suitable measures conciliated the Afrīdī and Ārakzāī tribes. Accordingly they captured and produced before him Mullā Ibrāhīm whose son Jalālā considered himself to be. Jalālā thereupon lost faith in them and went to Tūrān, and the Afghāns capturing his family handed it over to the royal troops⁵. In the 37th year Jalālā returned

¹ The account of Tīrāh is from *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 512, translation, p. 781. For a critical note on the various localities see Beveridge’s note 1 on p. 781 of the translation.

² *Sangchin namūdand*, may mean: made stockades or or piled up stones.

³ For a more detailed account of Mān Singh’s campaign see *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, pp. 513, 514, translation, pp. 781-784.

⁴ *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, pp. 525, 526, translation, pp. 802, 803. Also see Blochmann ‘Ā’īn, (2nd. edn.) I, p. 388.

⁵ *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 531, translation, p. 810.

from Tūrān, and with the help of the same tribes again raised the head of commotion. Āṣaf Khān Ja'far was deputed by the Emperor (to deal with it). The Afghāns instead of opposing him took to cajolery, and represented that they had brought him from his home (*Yūrat?*). Āṣaf Khān seized his family including a person by the name of Wahadat 'Alī¹. In the year 1007 A.H. (1598-99 A.D.) Jalālā seized Ghaznīn, but could not hold it. In the 45th year 1009 A.H. (1600-01 A.D.) Jalālā, who with the help of the Lōhānī tribe had started to attack Shādman Hazāra in the Ghaznīn District, was wounded, and retired to Kōh Rabāt. Murād Bēg with a body of the servants of Sharīf Khān Atga pursued him, and put an end to him. That author of great disturbances, whom for a long time large forces of imperial troops had been following and trying to round up, was thus easily dealt with². After him Ahḍād³, son of Shaikh 'Umar, who was the cousin and son-in-law of Jalāl-ud-Dīn, became his successor and again stirred up strife. His bravery and valiant deeds surpassed the records of Rustam and Afrāsiyāb. In the regin of Emperor Jahāngīr he fought hard battles with the royal forces, and was sometimes victorious and at others unsuccessful. At last in 1035 A.H. (1625-26 A.D.) Zafar Khān, son of Khwāja Abūl Ḥasan Turbatī—who was managing Kābul as the deputy for his father—pressed him hard, and Ahḍād took refuge in the fort of Nawāghar⁴. On the day of the battle (assault) he was killed by a bullet. It is stated that one day before (the battle) he after reading the work *Khair-ul-Biyān* said, “Tomorrow will be the day of my union (with God)”, and so it was. He was succeeded by his son 'Abdul Qādir. He attacked Zafar Khān, and plundered his baggage⁵. At last by the skilled exertions of Saīd

¹ Based on *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, pp. 607, 625, 639-641, translation, pp. 928, 957, 982-984. ² *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 776, translation, p. 1160.

³ Ahḍād Dād in the text, but Ahḍād in *Dabistān* and *Tuzuk-i-Jahāngiri*.

⁴ The fort is called Nawāk in text, and Nawāghar in *Dabistān*, but probably it is Nawāghai in Bajaur.

⁵ In *Dabistān* it is stated that Zafar Khān escaped with great difficulty but all his harem were captured.

Khān Bahādur, Governor of Kābul, he accepted royal service, and received the rank of 1,000. When in the year 1043 A.H. (1633-34 A.D.) he died while in service at Kābul, Sa'íd Khān sent Bibī Alā'i, the wife of Ahdād and who was the daughter of Jalālā, with her two sons-in-law Muhammād Zamān and Sāhib Dād, and Qādir Dād, son of Muhammād Zamān with other companions of 'Abdul Qādir to the Court in the beginning of 1047 A.H. (end of May, 1637 A.D.). Emperor Shāh Jahān treated them with kindness and sent them to Rashid Khān who had charge of the province of Telingāna. In the same year Karīm Dād Kōr (blind or leprous), the youngest son of Jalāl-ud-Dīn, who had absconded and was living in the Lōhānī country, was invited by a number of the Naghaz tribes with evil intentions. They waited for an opportunity of taking him to Tīrāh, and creating a commotion. When Sa'íd Khān heard about the projected mischief, he collected hill footmen and archers from the tribes of Afghāns who had submitted, and sent them with Rāja Jagat Singh to chastise the malcontents. When they reached Naghaz, all the tribes, except Lakan and two others with whom Karīm Dād was, submitted. When, however, they saw that their safety lay in surrendering him, they seized him with his dependents, and made him over¹ (to the royal officers). In accordance with orders Sa'íd Khān put him to death. Afterwards when Jumlat-ul-Mulk Sa'd Ullāh Khān came on the scene, the daughter of Karīm Dād was given to him in marriage, and Luṭ Ullāh Khān and others were the children born of that chaste lady.

As after Jalāl-ud-Dīn's death Allāh Dād, his son had—owing to the short-sightedness and the mutual envy of the Afghāns—disputes with his brothers, he left the Rōh country, and migrating to India had been enlisted in the service of Emperor Jahāngīr². By his ability Allāh Dād, in the course of time, attained a high office, and received

¹ According to *Dabistān* he was made over to Ya'qūb Kashmīrī and put to death in 1048 A.H. (1638 A.D.).

² He is mentioned a number of times in *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīr* (Rogers & Beveridge's translation) II, pp. 85, 120, 153, 215, 245, but the grant of the title of Rashid Khān is not mentioned.

the title of Rashīd Khān. He performed valuable service, and in the reign of Emperor Shāh Jahān he became a favoured officer. He was exalted by appointment to the rank of 4,000 with 3,000 horse, and appointed an auxiliary in the Deccan. In the 4th year of Emperor Shāh Jahān's reign he was with Ā'zam Khān Kōka, the Viceroy of the Deccan, on the day when at the time of bringing forage an engagement took place with the armies of 'Ādil Shāh and Nizām-ul-Mulk on the bank of the Mānjra. Shāhbāz Khān Rōhilla—who was an officer of the rank of 4,000—was killed with his son, and Bahādur Khān Rōhilla and Yūsuf Muhammad Khān of Tāshikand were severely wounded, and fell on the field, Rashīd Khān—whose brother and a number of relations were killed—emerged wounded from the field¹ and joined Ā'zam Khān.

In short, Rashīd Khān was a very likeable person. He was unique in his days for integrity, good intentions, comprehension, magnanimity, and fellow feeling, and was unequalled for his courage, bravery, politeness, humanity, amiability and consideration. During the long time that he spent in the Deccan he was by his correct advice and dauntless courage a valuable ally of the governors of the Deccan. They did nothing of importance without consulting him. He maintained an efficient force; all his men were devoted to him and treated him as a spiritual Leader. Accordingly Mahābat Khān represented to the Emperor that he was astonished that while Rashīd Khān had so many devoted followers, and was so well endowed with intellect and courage, he never thought of becoming presumptuous. It would be advisable to summon him from the Deccan, otherwise the command of the border area should not be given to Khān Zamān who was in complete accord with Rashīd Khān. If the two were together they might do something which it would be hard to rectify. Rashīd Khān in the government of Burhānpūr made such good arrangements, and inspired so much respect that the robbers from the hilly areas, whose depredations used to allow no rest to the inhabitants of the towns,

¹ *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. i, p. 381.

thought it a great gain to escape with their lives. In later days he for a long time governed Telingāna, and was in Nāndair. Up to the present day his sons, and his brother Hādī Dād Khān are holding offices there. In the 22nd year of Emperor Shāh Jahān's reign, in 1058 A.H. (1648 A.D.) he died¹ while he was Governor of Nāndair. In Shamsābād Ma'ū he established a village, and laid out a garden. His body was conveyed there for burial.

It is stated that he was not very learned, but he was sufficiently well informed about everything. He was unrivalled for his historical knowledge. He was a bigoted Hanafī. On critical examination he excluded many verses in the *Hadīqa* as interpolations, and learned men admitted his views as correct. In most of his habits and actions he resembled the Irānians. He was a voracious eater, and also used to dispense food in great abundance. The expenses of his harem exceeded those of any other *Amīr* of the times. He greatly enlarged the Īdgāh of Burhānpūr, which was very small, and arranged its water supply through an underground channel. Of his sons Ilhām Ullāh² attained the rank of 1,500 with 1,500 horse, and Asad Ullāh that of 1,500 with 1,500 horse by the 30th year of Emperor Shāh Jahān's reign.

RASHĪD KHĀN ILHĀM ULLĀH

(Vol. II, pp. 303-305).

He was the second son of Rashīd Khān³ Ansārī. When his father⁴ died in the 22nd year of Emperor Shāh Jahān's reign, the Emperor increased the ranks of Ilhāmullāh and his elder brother Asad Ullāh. In the 28th year when Asad Ullāh, who was the *Tbānadār* of Chāndōr, received an increase to the rank of 1,500 with 1,000 horse,

¹ *'Amal Sālib* III, pp. 66, 67.

² His biography is published immediately after this notice.

³ *Māthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, II, pp. 242-250, translation *antea* pp. 595-601.

⁴ *'Amal Sālib*, III, pp. 66, 67.

and was made fief-holder and Governor of Elichpūr, Rashid Khān was appointed *Tbānadār* of Chāndor. In the 30th year¹ when Hādī Dād Khān, his uncle, died, and as there was no one more suited than Ilhām Ullāh in that line, he was promoted to the rank of 1,500 with 1,500 horse in order that Hādī Dād Khān's contingent might not be scattered. When Muhammad Aurangzib Bahādur started from the Deccan for Upper India, he accompanied him. After the battle with Mahārāja Jaswant Singh he was rewarded with a dress of honour and a flag, his rank was raised to 3,000 with 3,000 horse of which 500 were two-horse and three-horse troopers, and he received his father's² title. After the first battle with Dārā Shikoh he received³ a present of Rs. 20,000, and after the battle with Sultān Shujā⁴ he was appointed⁴ an auxiliary of Prince Muhammad Sultān, and was sent to Bengāl. In the battles and afflictions in that province he greatly helped his commander, and bravely exerted himself in extirminating the enemy. In the 4th year he with the General (Mīr Jumla) went to Kūch Bihār (Cooch Bihar) and Āssām, and rendered good service. In the 5th year he was, on return from there, appointed in accordance with orders, *Faujdār* of the *Sarkār* of Kāmrūp⁵, and was for a time Governor of Orissa. In the 19th year he was removed⁶ from there, and appointed to the Deccan campaign. For a time he was *Faujdār* of Nāndair. He died at his appointed time.

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 234.

² *Ālamgirnāma*, p. 76.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 128.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 245.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 681 and *Maāthir-i-Ālamgiri*, p. 44.

⁶ His removal from the post of the Governor of Orissa is recorded in *Maāthir-i-Ālamgiri*, p. 150. In the 26th year there is a record of his sending a report about the expenses of the Āssām expedition, *op. cit.*, p. 234.

RĀO RATAN HĀRĀ

(Vol. II, pp. 208-211).

He was the son of Rāo Bhōj¹ Hārā. He was for a time the object of censure with Emperor Jahāngīr owing to a fault² of his father. In the 3rd year he came to the Court, and was favourably received, and granted the title of Sarbuland³ Rāī. In the 8th year he was deputed under Sultān Khurram to the expedition against Rānā Amar Singh, and in the 10th year he was seconded to the Deccan expedition. Later he received a promotion in his rank⁴. In the 18th year when Emperor Jahāngīr became alienated from his distinguished son Shāh Jahān at the instigation of various people, the affair ended in an open⁵ war. The said Prince marched to Māndū and crossed the Narbadā. Sultān Parvīz under the tutelage of Mahābat Khān was deputed to pursue him, and Rāo Ratan was also attached to the expedition. After crossing the Narbadā, when Shāh Jahān went from the borders of Telingāna to Bengāl, and Sultān Parvīz, according to the orders of his father, started for the province of Bihār, Mahābat Khān in the 19th year left Rāo Ratan in charge of Burhānpūr. When Shāh Jahān returned from Bengāl, and it was reported that he was going to the Deccan, Rāo Ratan wished to come out of the city and oppose him. When this news reached Emperor Jahāngīr, orders were issued that Rāo Ratan should protect the city till he received reinforcements, and

¹ *Maathir-ul-Umarā*, Text II, pp. 141, 142, Beveridge's translation, I, pp. 408, 409. See also Blochmann, *A'in*, I (2nd edn.), p. 510.

² The fault was that he refused to give his consent to the marriage of his grand-daughter, the daughter of Jagat Singh, with Emperor Jahāngīr. The marriage, however, took place on 4th Rabi' I, 1017 A.H. (18th June, 1608 A.D.)—see Rogers & Beveridge's translation of *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, I, p. 145.

³ Rogers & Beveridge's *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, I, p. 140.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 299. In the index two references on pp. 406, 411, to Sarbuland Khān are wrongly included under Sarbuland Rāī or Rāy, as the name is written there.

⁵ For a good account of Shāh Jahān's rebellion see Beni Prasad, *History of Jahangir*, pp. 366-386.

must not leave the city to fight. In the 20th year Shāh Jahān came to Dēvalgāon in the Balāghāt in Berār, and taking Yāqūt Khān Habshī and the army of (Malik) ‘Ambar with him came to Burhānpūr, and encamped at La'l Bāgh. From one side ‘Abdullāh Khān Bahādur, and from the other Muhammad Taqī Sīm-Sāz, known as Shāh Qulī Khān, besieged the city, and orders were issued for its capture. Shāh Qulī Khān with 400 men succeeded in entering the city, and stationing themselves on the terrace of the police station proclaimed that it was Shāh Jahān's rule. Sarbuland Rāī was in the entrenchments on the other side. He sent his son, but he was defeated after a fight. The Rāo pushed forward the elephant Jagājot and fought in the market place, and behaved bravely. Muhammad Taqī, who had lost all hope of receiving assistance, retired to the fort, and having made a compact came and saw Sarbuland Rāī. It is stated that Rāo Ratan at the time of the battle said “*Marshān?*” i.e., “I will die.”

In fine, in consequence of the near approach of Sultān Parvīz with a large army, which in accordance with the Emperor's orders had marched from Allāhābād to the Deccan, and his own illness, Shāh Jahān was forced to retire to the Balāghāt Rōhankhēra (Rōhankhēd). Rāo Ratan was rewarded by promotion to the rank of 5,000 foot with 5,000 horse, and the title of Rām Raj—that which there was no higher title in the Deccan¹. After Emperor Shāh Jahān's accession he came in the 1st year from his native country of Būndī, and did homage². He received a robe of honour, a decorated dagger, the former rank of 5,000 foot with 5,000 horse, a flag, a drum, a horse with golden saddle, and an elephant. In the same year he was deputed with Khān Khānān for the chastisement of the Uzbegs who had started a commotion towards Kābul. In the 3rd year he was sent with a force under his command to Telingāna, and the order was

¹ *Iqbālnāma-i-Jahāngiri*, pp. 243, 244; *Khāfi Khān*, I, pp. 354-357; Beni Prasad, *op. cit.*, pp. 383-385. In the last work Yāqūt Khān's name is incorrectly given as Yakub Khān.

² *Bādsbāhnāma*, I, p. 185.

issued that he should halt in the *pargana* of Bāsim in Berār, and arrange for the taking of Telingāna, and stop the coming and going of the rebels. When the expedition to that territory, at the request of Nāṣīrī Khān was assigned to him, Rām Rāj in compliance with the orders of summons returned to the Court, and did homage. Later, when the command of the Deccan army was given to Yamīn-ud-Daula Āṣaf Khān, Rāo Rām Rāj was appointed to assist him. In the 4th year, corresponding to 1040 A.H. (1630-31 A.D.) he died¹ in the Bālāghāt camp. Satr Sāl, who was his grandson and heir, and Mādhū Singh, his second son, were consoled by the grant of royal favours. Separate accounts² of the two have been included.

RAUSHAN-UD-DAULAH BAHĀDUR
RUSTAM JANG

(Vol. II, pp. 333-336).

His name was Khwāja Muzaffar, and he was a descendant of the Naqshbandī Khwājas. His grandfather, Khwāja Nāṣir by name, came to India during the time of Emperor Shāh Jahān, and was a companion of Sultān Shujā'. He gradually rose to the rank of 1,500 with 500 horse, and was honoured with the title of Muḥammad Fakhr-ud-Dīn Khān. After the battle which took place between the said Prince and Emperor Aurangzib in the vicinity of Khajua, and after Sultān Shujā' retired to Bengāl, the said Khān, who had charge of the harem, and some of his relations fell at the gate (of the *Zanana, deori*). His son, Khwāja 'Abdul Qādir by name, who survived him, lived as a dervish; he died in the time of Emperor Farrukh Siyar. Khwāja Muzaffar was his son, and at first was in the service of Rafī-

¹ In the account of Rao Ratan in Tod's *Rajasthan* (1914 edn.), II, pp. 385, 386, it is stated that he was killed near Burhānpur, but his death in the Bālāghāt is recorded in *Bādshāhnāma*, I, p. 401.

² For Satr Sāl's account see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, II, pp. 260-263. Mādhū Singh Hārā's account is printed in the same work, Text, III, pp. 453-456, translation *antea* pp. 1-3.

ush-Shān, and attained the rank of 1,500 with 500 horse, and received the title of Zafar Khān. After the said Prince was killed¹, Zafar Khān renounced the world, and became a companion of Shāh Bhik, who was famous as a worker of miracles. When the affairs underwent a change, and Farrukh Siyar's arrival from Patna to fight with Jahāndār Shāh was reported, Zafar Khān left the dervish, and went to Farrukh Siyar as the bearer of good news. Through the intermedia-tion of Huṣain ‘Alī Khān he was favoured with an interview and was appointed to the rank of 5,000 with 5,000 horse, and granted a flag, a drum, a fringed palanquin, and the title of Zafar Khān² Rustam Jang. He was also exalted by appointment as the 3rd Bakhsbī. After the battle with Jahāndār Shāh, which resulted in Farrukh Siyar getting the kingdom, his rank was increased to 7,000 with 7,000 horse, and he received the title of Raushan-ud-Daulah and the insignia of the Fish. In the time of the supremacy of the Bārah Saiyids he as a matter of policy joined their party. Later when the throne passed to Muhammad Shāh, and through the exigency of Fate the Emperor's favourite Kōkī—who was an eloquent and clever woman—became all powerful in the affairs of the State, and was the sole arbiter of all affairs, Raushan-ud-Daulah allied himself with her, and became the intermediary for all men. Without regard to rank or dignity, everyone who came forward, had to pay a sum of money as tribute to the Emperor, and presents to Kōkī and to the Khwāja. Gradually he became a rich man, and in the reign of this Emperor the title of Yār Wafādār (the Faithful Friend) was added to his other titles. In the year 1149 A.H. (1736-37 A.D.) he died. He was devoid of outward attainments, but was very humane and courteous. He acquired a name for his benevolence to the poor. His expenditure on the anniversary celebrations ('Urs) of his spiritual teacher, who

¹ Rafi-ush-Shān was killed in the battle against Jahāndār Shāh near Lahore on 21st Safar 1124 A.H. (30th March, 1712 A.D.), see *Later Mughals*, I, pp. 146, 183-185.

² He is Khwāja Muzaffar Panipati of *Later Mughals*, I, p. 260.

is buried at Pānīpat, and his lighting up the road from the Capital to the tomb of Khwāja Qutb-ud-Din Bakhtiyār Kākī are famous.¹ As he always had the end of his turban sticking up as a crest (*Turra*), and even his servants, both horse and foot, adopted the same fashion, he became known as Turrābaz Khān². He had many children. The best of them was Qāim Khān, who came to the Deccan to see his sister who was married to Nawāb Nāṣir Jang the Martyr. After a time he returned to Delhi. Another son also came to the Deccan some years back, and received a high rank, and the title of Muẓaffar-ud-Daulah, and later died. Raushan-ud-Daulah had two brothers. One who was of a military turn of mind was Fakhr-ud-Daulah³ Shujā'at Jang who rose to the rank of 7,000. He was at first Bakhshī of the Aḥdis. In the reign of Muhammad Shāh he was appointed Governor of Patna, and was there for seven years. Later he was removed from there, and appointed Governor of Kashmīr, and after spending three years there was recalled to the Court. After Nādir Shāh's departure from India he was appointed Governor of the province of Gujarat. When the Marathas became supreme there, he could not arrange matters with them. In a battle his equipage was plundered, and he was made a prisoner. For a time he was in prison. After his release he started for Delhi, but on reaching the town of Dōḥad he died. He had several sons. The best of them was Muhammad Kabīr Khān, who came to the Deccan in the time of Šalābat Jang, and was appointed Bakhshī of the province there. He reached the rank of 8,000 and had the title of Khān Khānān. He died in 1191 A.H. (1777 A.D.). He was of a friendly disposition, and fond of society. His children are alive. The second brother was Roshan-ud-Daulah Munawwar 'Ali Khān, who had the

¹ For a detailed notice of Raushan-ud-Daulah Rustam Jang see *Latter Mughals*, II, pp. 266, 267. For Qutb-ud-Din Bakhtiyār Kākī see *Tārikhb-i Firishta* (Newal Kishore edn.), II, pp. 378-383, and his tomb at Delhi Sir Saiyid Ahmad's *Āthār-us-Sanādīd* (Lucknow, 1900 edn.), pp. 75, 76.

² Khāfi Khān, II, p. 908.

³ Beale's *Oriental Biographical Dictionary* (1894 edn.), p. 126.

title of Muftkhār-ud-Daulah. He, after the appointment of Fakhr-ud-Daulah as the Governor of 'Azīmābād (Patna) was, in his place, appointed *Bākhshī* of the *Abdīs*:

RIĀYAT KHĀN ZĀHIR-UD-DAULAH

(Vol. II, pp. 332, 333).

He was the uterine brother of Muhammad Amin Khān Bahādur¹, and was the husband of the daughter of Qulij Khān². But there was not such harmony, as there should be, between the brothers. During the days when Nizām-ul-Mulk Āṣaf Jāh Bahādur after the seizure of Farrukh Siyar went³ to settle Mālwa, Ri'āyat Khān went with him to that province. He also accompanied Āṣaf Jāh during the latter's retreat towards the Deccan, and rendered valuable services in the battles against Saiyids Dilāwar 'Alī Khān and 'Ālam 'Alī Khān⁴. His rank was consequently raised to 5,000 with 5,000 horse, and he was granted the title of Zāhir-ud-Daulah, and appointed Governor of Mālwa. As this was contrary to the wish of I'timād-ud-Daulah Muhammad Amin Khān Bahādur—who was the permanent *Vazīr*—Āṣaf Jāh recalled him from there, and gave him the fief of *pargana* Bālāpūr in Berār. In the battle with Mubāriz Khān Imād-ul-Mulk he distinguished himself, and received some wounds. After two days in the year 1136 A.H. (1724 A.D.) he died⁵ of these wounds. His son was 'Azīm Ullāh Khān, whose mother was Qulij Khān's daughter. His wife was the daughter of I'timād-ud-Daulah Qamr-ud-Dīn Khān.

¹ I'timād-ud-Daulah Muhammed Amin Khān Chin Bahādur son of Mir Bahā'-ud-Dīn for whom see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, I, pp. 346, 350, translation *antea* pp. 114-117.

² *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, III, pp. 120-123, translation *antea* pp. 539-541.

³ *Later Mughals*, I, p. 405.

⁴ He was left in-charge of Burhānpūr when Āṣaf Jāh marched to fight against Dilāwar 'Alī Khān, *Later Mughals*, II, p. 28. He was with the main body of the army in the battle against 'Ālam 'Alī Khān, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

⁵ *Later Mughals*, II, p. 148.

At the time when Nizām-ul-Mulk Āṣaf Jāh after being appointed *Vazīr* received the governorship of Ujjain (Malwa) in the name of his eldest son Ghāzi-ud-Dīn Firuz Jang, he deputed ‘Azīm Ullāh Khān as his deputy there¹. Afterwards he went to the Court, and stayed with his father-in-law. He had a choleric temperament. His disrespectful remarks to the Emperor and the *Vazīr* of the time are well known. In the time of Nādir Shāh he was appointed to collect the fines² levied on the inhabitants of Shāhjahānābād (Delhi). He died at his appointed time.

(RĀJA) RŌZ AFZŪN

(Vol. II, pp. 218, 219).

He was the son of Rāja Sangrām³, a landholder on the borders of Bihār. In the reign of Emperor Akbar when Shāhbāz Khān Kambū was appointed to the Eastern districts, and the imperial forces passed near the fort of Mahdā, which belonged to Rāja Sangrām, the said Khān decided to besiege it. Sangrām gave a proof of his loyalty by handing over the keys of the fort⁴. He never went to the Court, but he always faithfully served the governors of the province. In the 1st year of Emperor Jahāngīr's reign Jahāngīr Qulī Khān Lāla Beg, Governor of the province, led an army against him⁵ and during the

¹ He was replaced by Rāja Girdhar Bahādur, *op. cit.*, p. 153.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 373, and Fraser, *History of Nadir Shah* (1742), p. 201.

³ He was the Rāja of Kharagpur in the Monghyr subdivision. See Blochmann *A'in*, I (2nd edn.), p. 494, note 2, *Proc. As. Soc. Bengal* for 1870, pp. 306, 307, and O'Malley's *Gazetteer of Monghyr* (1909), pp. 34, 35, 214, 215.

⁴ *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 186, Beveridge's translation, III, p. 261. The name of the fort is Mahad or Mahdā in the text, and Beveridge has Mahad in the translation. Blochmann, *op. cit.*, p. 306, noted that he could not find Mahdā on any of the maps.

⁵ This is not mentioned in *Tuzku-i-Jahāngiri*. It is, however, noted on p. 296 of first volume of the translation that he had "been killed in opposing the leaders of the State".

battle he died of a gun-shot wound. Rāja Rōz Afzūn was from his early years in the Emperor's service, and embraced Islām. In the 8th year he was appointed Governor of his home country¹ and received the gift of an elephant. By the end of the reign of that Emperor he had attained the rank of 1,500 foot with 700 horse². In the 1st year of Emperor Shāh Jahān's reign he was deputed³ with Mahābat Khān Khānān towards Kābul to repel Nadhar Muḥammad Khān ruler of Balkh who had raised the standard of revolt, and later for the chastisement⁴ of Jujhār Singh Bundēla. In the 3rd year he went with Ā'żam Khān with the army which was under his command in the name of Shāista Khān and received an increase of 100 horse⁵. In the 4th year he went with Naṣīrī Khān to Nāndair. In the 6th year he was appointed⁶ to the Deccan campaign in attendance on Muḥammad Shujā', and some of his men were killed in the siege of Parenda. In the 8th year his rank was advanced⁷ to 2,000 with 1,000 horse, and in the same year⁸, corresponding to 1044 A.H. (1634-35 A.D.), he died. His son, Rāja Bihruz had in the 3rd year of Emperor Shāh Jahān's reign attained the rank of 700 with 700 horse, and was appointed to the campaign to Qandahār etc. In the time of Emperor Aurangzib he rendered valuable services in taking the army⁹ under

1 Rogers & Beveridge's translation of *Tuzuk-i-Jahāngiri*, I, pp. 296, 297. He is described as a confidential servant *op. cit.*, II, p. 236, and was sent to Shāh Jahān to enquire about his presumptuous conduct. His real name was Tōral Mal and he is stated to have been married to a cousin of Emperor Jahāngir, see O'Malley, *op. cit.*, p. 215, and Rashbihari Bose, *Journ. As. Soc. Bengal*, XL. pt. I, pp. 22, 23.

2 This does not appear to be correct, as in the 1st year of Shāh Jahān's reign his rank is given as 1,500 with 600 horse, see *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. i, p. 182 (The word , । jā or thousand has by mistake been left out in the printed edition).

3 *Op. cit.*, p. 213.

5 *Op. cit.*, p. 316.

7 *Op. cit.*, p. 67.

9 *'Alamgirnāma*, pp. 494, 495, where he is described as *Zamindār* of Monghyr.

4 *Op. cit.*, p. 241.

6 *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. ii, p. 35.

8 *Op. cit.*, p. 303.

Prince Muḥammad Sultān and Mu'azzam Khān by unknown paths into Bengāl. He also distinguished himself in the battles in Bengāl which Aurangzib's forces under Mu'azzam Khān had to fight with Shujā'. In the 4th year he was prominent¹ during the taking of Palāmau in Bihār. In the 8th year he died².

RŪḤ ULLĀH KHĀN

(Vol. II, pp. 309-315).

He was the second son of Khalīl Ullāh Khān³ of Yazd. In the end of the 2nd year of Emperor Aurangzib's reign he was married⁴ to the daughter of Amīr-ul-Umarā Shāista Khān, and was raised to the rank of 1,500, and granted the title of Khān⁵. In the 6th year he was appointed *Mir Bakhsbī*⁶ of the *Aḥadīs*, and became a favourite of the Emperor. In the 10th year his rank was increased to 2,000, and he was appointed Master of the Horse⁷. In the 16th year he was appointed *Faujdār* of Dhāmūnī⁸, and about the same time was, for some reason, deprived of his rank. Later, in the 18th year he was reinstated in the rank of 1,500 with 400 horse, and appointed⁹ *Faujdār* of Sahāranpūr. In the 19th year he was reappointed¹⁰ Master of the Horse, and in the 20th year he was appointed to the high office of *Khānsāmān*¹¹ (Chamberlain) in succession to Ashraf Khān. In the 22nd year, on the death of Dārāb Khān he was made Head of the Artillery¹², and in the 24th year became the 2nd *Bakhsbī*¹³ in succession

¹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 653-658.

² He died in 1665 A.D. *vide* O'Malley *op. cit.*, p. 35.

³ *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, I, pp. 775-782, Beveridge & Prashad's translation, I, pp. 767-770.

⁴ 'Ālamgīrnāma, p. 477.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 486.

⁶ - *Op. cit.*, p. 830.

⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 1061, where *Akhta-bēgi* is misprinted as *Akhtar-bēgi*.

⁸ *Maāthir-i-Ālamgīri*, p. 127.

⁹ *Op. cit.*, p. 144.

¹⁰ *Op. cit.*, p. 150.

¹¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 156.

¹² He was reappointed Master of the Horse in the 22nd year, *op. cit.*, p. 172, and later Head of the Artillery, *op. cit.*, p. 176.

¹³ *Op. cit.*, p. 195.

to 'Āqil Khān Khawāfī. When the extensive territories of the Deccan became the centre of activities of the royal forces, he, because of his capabilities for management and service, was sent in advance for the chastisement and eradication of the recalcitrants. In the 26th year his mother Hamida Bānū Begum who was the Emperor's maternal aunt, died. Nawāb Zēb-un-Nisā Begam, the second daughter of the Emperor, and his favourite amongst his children went to Rūh Ullāh Khān's house, and consoled him. Prince Muḥammad Kām Bakhsh also visited him, and making him give up mourning brought him to the Presence¹. He was exalted with numerous favours at the hands of the Emperor. In the same year he went to the Kōnkan, but later returned. In the 28th year he was exalted by the grant of a drum, and was deputed to chastise the rebels of Bijāpūr whom Prince Muḥammad Ā'zam Shāh was besieging. In the end of the same year, when the Emperor was encamped near Shōlāpūr, he came from Bijāpūr, and was appointed to Ahmadnagar in place of Khān Firūz Jang. In the 30th year in the month of Dhul Qa'da, when a week had not elapsed since the taking of Bijāpūr, he was, on the death of Ashraf Khān, appointed *Mir Bakhshī*². During those days when the victorious imperial standards proceeded for the conquest of Haidarābād, Rūh Ullāh Khān was promoted to the rank of 5,000 with 4,000 horse, and was left to govern the scattered areas of the Bijāpūr Sūba, which was still not free from commotion³. Later, when the siege of Gōlkonda (Golconda) was protracted, the said Khān, in accordance with the orders of summons, arrived, and was appointed to take steps for reducing the fort. Rūh Ullāh Khān had recourse to trickery, and through Rāmnast Khān the elder he seduced from loyalty 'Abdullāh Khān Panī of Bijāpūr alias Sarāndāz Khān—who before the conquest of Bijāpūr had entered imperial service, but had again gone over to Abūl Hasan and became his trusted servant. Rūh Ullāh Khān by his clever diplomacy won him over. Accordingly that faithless, disloyal man at midnight on

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 223.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 281.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 282.

24th Dhul Qa'da (21st September, 1687) brought in Bakhsī-ul-Mulk with Ranmāst Khān and Mukhtār Khān—who were prowling round the fort looking for an opportunity—by the Khirkī Gate, which was assigned to the charge of that faithless man ('Abdullāh Khān). The Bakhsī-ul-Mulk at once went to the house of Abūl Hasan—who was sleeping carelessly—and arrested him before he or those around him could offer any resistance¹.

It is stated that when the noise of the arrests made by the Bakhsī-ul-Mulk rose high, the women of the harem raised a tremendous outcry. Abūl Hasan was not in the least disconcerted, and tried to comfort everyone. Having asked forgiveness and taken leave of all he came and sat down in his place. He exchanged greetings with his newly arrived friends and uninvited guests, and without a frown or loss of dignity he discoursed with them till dawn. When the steward reported that food was ready, he partook of it. Rūh Ullāh Khān expressed his surprise and enquired, "Is this a time for food." Abūl Hasan either did not understand or purposely retorted, "It is my time for food." Rūh Ullāh Khān said, "I know, but how can you want to eat at such a critical time!" He replied, "You speak truly, but my belief is that God will never withdraw his kind eye from his humble servant. I spent a long time in poverty and destitution. Suddenly I became a king when I never expected anything like it. Now when it is the time for retribution for sundry acts (of mine), the bridle of my authority has been placed in the hands of one like Emperor Aurangzīb. It is a time for thanks, not for complaints."²

In short, this victory occurred in the 31st year, 1098 A.H.

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 299. See also Khāfi Khān, II, pp. 361, 362. *Khirkī* means a wicket, but here apparently it must have been Kirki, the old name of Aurangābād.

² This account is taken almost verbatim from Khāfi Khān, II, pp. 363-365. See also *Siyar-ul-Mutaākkhirin* (Calcutta reprint), IV, p. 231, according to which Abūl Hasan had spent 15 or 16 years as a dervish.

(1687 A.D.), and *Faṣḥ Qil'a Gōlkonda mubārak bād*¹ (May the conquest of the fort of Gōlkonda be auspicious!) is its chronogram. Then the Emperor proceeded to settle the affairs of the extensive territory of Bijāpūr, and appointed² Rūh Ullāh Khān to the government of Haidarābād, which received the name of *Dār-ul-Jihād*. Later, he came to the Presence, and in the beginning of the 33rd year was appointed to take the fort³ of Rāichūr from the infidels. The said Khān by vigorous efforts conquered that fort, and was rewarded with approbation and praise. The fort was named Firūznagar⁴. In the 35th year he was deputed to punish the *Zamīndār* of Sakar and Wāgingēra.⁵ In the beginning of the 36th year his daughter 'Ayisha Bēgum was married⁶ to Prince Muhammad 'Azīm the second son of Prince Shāh 'Ālam Bahādur. In the end of the same year, 1103 A.H. (1691-92 A.D.) he died in Qutbābād Gaigala⁶. The chronogram is: *Rūb̄ dar tan-i-mulk namānd*: .1103 (The soul did not remain in the body of the country or peace departed from the country). When he was dying Emperor Aurangzib went to visit him. That faithful and loyal servant in the state when he was breathing almost his last breath recited this verse:

What a pleasure (*niyāz*) must be there in this world of
supplication (*niyāzmanī*)!

When at the time of yielding up life you have come to his
head.

The said Khān was very wise and acute, and was possessed of many good and pleasant qualities. He was a good conversationalist and expert scribe. Most of his petitions were approved and accepted

¹ The chronogram was composed by Mir 'Abdul Karīm, see *Maāthir-i-Ālamgiri*, p. 300.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 305.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 331.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, pp. 332, 333.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 347.

⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 348. The verse quoted above which he recited when the Emperor visited him is also given there.

by the Emperor. More extraordinary still, the disposition of the Emperor was very religious, and Rūh Ullāh Khān flourished in a daily market of intrigue and turmoil, and was busy in giving and taking, but the Emperor had much confidence in him, for in spite of his alertness and persistence Rūh Ullāh Khān so managed to conceal his actions, and represented them so cleverly that the Emperor was obliged to accept his statements.

It is stated that a Rāja had got into difficulties owing to the very protracted nature of the Deccan campaign, and the delay in the receipt of money from his fief in Upper India. He repeatedly took advances from that State treasury through Rūh Ullāh Khān. Again he wanted an advance, but Rūh Ullāh Khān would not allow it. The Rāja being obliged said that whatever he got from the treasury he would give two-thirds of it to Rūh Ullāh Khān in recognition of his help and keep only one third for himself. Rūh Ullāh Khān made a good report on his petition, and procured Rs. 30,000 for him. According to the agreement he gave the Rāja Rs. 10,000. His enemies reported the affair in detail to the Emperor, and the latter after two or three days enquired of the said Khān whether the Rāja had taken his money from the treasury. He at once replied, "These men for their own selfish ends come at all times, and are disgustingly importunate, and we servants have not the courage always to be making representations. So for the present I have given Rs. 10,000 to his agent, and kept the rest. When he asks for it, it will be given to him in instalments."

The *Amīr*, however, tried to be bounteous, and to help in furthering the work of the people. He opened the gates of prosperity for all, whether far or near. He was unique amongst Aurangzīb's officers for his liberality and pleasant countenance. His elder son, Saif Ullāh Khān, died six months after him. The second son was Khānazād Khān¹, who received his father's title; his account has been separately given. His third son Bairām Khān Muḥammad Bāqir was alive in the time of Emperor Muḥammad Shāh, and enjoyed some fiefs.

¹ *Maathir-ul-Umarā*, Text, II, pp. 315-317, translation II, pp. 616, 617.

RŪH ULLĀH KHĀN KHĀNAZĀD KHĀN

(Vol. II, pp. 315-317).

He was the son of Rūh Ullāh¹ Khān the 1st. At first he had a suitable rank and the title of Khānazād Khān. In the 28th year of Emperor Aurangzib's reign he was deputed to escort² Udaipūrī Mahal, the Emperor's lady, from Aurangābād or Ahmādnagar where the Emperor's camp was. In the 33rd year when the fort of Firūznagar or Rāichūr had been taken through the excellent efforts of his father, the late Rūh Ullāh Khān, Khānazād Khān became a favourite of the Emperor and was promoted to the rank of 1,500 with 600 horse³. In the 35th year his rank was advanced to 2,000 with 700 horse⁴. When his father died in the 36th year, his rank⁵ became 2,500 with 1,000 horse, and he was appointed *Qurbēgi* (Keeper of the Arsenal) in succession to Mukhlis Khān. In the 38th year he was appointed Superintendent of the Grooms, and later made Head of the Artillery in succession to Mukhlis Khān, and granted an increase of 500 in his rank⁶. In the 39th year he was deputed with a force for the chastisement of Sāntā Ghōrpāre. Unfortunately a misfortune happened to him—which has been detailed in the biography of Qāsim Khān Karmānī⁷—and he escaped from the Marathas by sacrificing all his baggage⁸. The Emperor after hearing of this catastrophe appointed him to the charge of Bīdar⁹. In the end of the 40th year he came to Court, and in the 41st year was granted the title of Rūh Ullāh Khān, and was appointed¹⁰ *Khānsāmān* (Chamberlain) in succession to Fādil Khān Burhān-ud-Dīn, who had resigned. Later he was appointed in addition Superintendent¹¹ of the *Dīvān-i-Khāṣ* on the

¹ *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, II, pp. 309-315, translation *antea*, pp. 611-615.² *Ibid.*, pp. 252, 253.³ *Op. cit.*, pp. 332, 333.⁴ *Op. cit.*, pp. 340, 341.⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 349.⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 370.⁷ *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, III, pp. 123-126, translation *antea*, pp. 505-507.⁸ *Op. cit.*, pp. 375-379.⁹ *Op. cit.*, p. 379.¹⁰ *Op. cit.*, p. 386.¹¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 392.

death of Siyādat Khān Saiyid Oghlān. In the 43rd year he was made¹ Superintendent of the *Jilau* (body-guard) in succession to Dhulfiqār Khān. In the conquest of the forts of Satāra and Parlī he rendered good service, and in the 44th year was appointed² 2nd *Bakhshī* in succession to Mukhlīs Khān. After the taking of the fort of Sakhr-un-nā he was granted an increase of 200 horse³. In the 48th year, correponding to the year 1115 A.H. (1703-04 A.D.) in the height of his youth⁴ he died. His sons Khalil Ullāh Khān and I'tiqād Khān—who later received the title of Rūḥ Ullāh Khān—received mourning robes. They came to the Court, and paid their respects. The daughter of the deceased received jewels valued at Rs. 5,000.

RŪPSI

(Vol. II, pp. 109-111).

He⁵ was the brother's son of Rāja Bihārā Mal⁶. In the end of the 6th year he entered Emperor Akbar's service, and was the recipient of special favours. In the 20th year when Mīrzā Sulaimān getting despaired of receiving reinforcements, went off for pilgrimage to Mecca, he was sent⁷ off with the Mīrzā as a guide. His son Jaimal waited upon the Emperor before his other relations, and was for a time with Mīrzā Sharf-ud-Dīn Husain, who was the *Jāgīrdār* of the neighbourhood of Ajmēr. The Mīrzā had appointed him as the

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 406.² *Op. cit.*, p. 434.³ *Op. cit.*, p. 459.⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 488.

⁵ See also Blochmann, *A'īn*, I (2nd edn.), p. 472, where his name is given as Rūpsi Bairagi. He was a Kachwāha Rājpūt. Both the accounts deal mainly with the affairs of the son Jaimal rather than of the father Rūpsi.

⁶ For Rāja Bihārā or Bihāri Mal see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, II, pp. 111-113, Beveridge's translation, I, pp. 409-411. Rūpsi with his son Jaimal came and did homage at Deosa in the 6th year, *Akbarnāma*, Text, II, p. 240, Beveridge's translation, II, p. 241.

⁷ *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 163, Beveridge's translation, III, p. 231. He was sent with Mīrzā Sulaimān to "see him through the difficult parts up to the Gujarat ports."

Thānadar of Mairtha. When the affairs of the Mīrzā fell into confusion, Jaimal in the 17th year arrived at the Court, and was appointed in the vanguard of the force which was deputed¹ to Gujarāt under the command of *Khān Kalān*. In the rapid march to Gujarāt, which was carried out in the 18th year, Jaimal² was in close attendance on the Emperor's stirrups. In the 21st year he was seconded³ to the force which with a number of other officers was sent to chastise Dūdā, son of Rāī Surjan, who having gone to his native country of Bündī was behaving oppressively. Later he was sent by relay of horses (*dāk chaukī*) towards Bengāl to encourage the officers there, and to inform them about certain matters. As he rode very fast and the sun was very hot, the lamp of his life was extinguished by the strong wind of death at the Chausa ferry.

It is stated that his wife, who was the daughter of the Mōta (Fat) Rāja, was unwilling to burn herself on hearing of his death, as is the custom in Hindūstān. Udai Singh her son and some others wanted to force her to burn herself. When this news reached the Emperor, and as there was little time for delay, he got on horseback and went off to the house so rapidly that his escort could not keep up with him. When he approached the house, Jagan Nāth and Rāīsāl seized the son and brought him to the Presence. As he showed signs of repentance, he was put in prison⁴.

The author of the *Akbarnāma* has recorded that when the Emperor after his rapid march reached near Ahmādābād, and on the day when the battle with Muhammad Husain Mīrzā took place, Jaimal was wearing a very heavy cuirass (*bagtar*). Emperor Akbar having pity on him presented him a coat of mail from the royal armoury, and

¹ *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 12, translation, p. 17. In a note on the same page Beveridge on the authority of *Iqbālnāma* states that it was Vazir Jamil and not Jaimal.

² *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 49, translation, p. 69.

³ *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 184, translation, p. 258.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 402, translation, pp. 595, 596. Udai Singh was pardoned, but put in prison.

gave his cuirass to Karan, the grandson of Māldēo, who was not wearing any armour. Rūpsī, Jaimal's father, on hearing of the affair was offended, and sent someone to demand back his cuirass. The Emperor said that he had given (Jaimal) another in exchange. Rūpsī became more annoyed, and took off his own armour. The Emperor overlooked the insult, and threw off his own armour, and said that if his men proposed to try their bravery without armour, it was not proper that he also should wear any armour. Rāja Bhagwant Das perceiving what had passed, took Rūpsī to task, and brought him round to apologize. He represented that Rūpsī had taken *bhang*, and begged for the pardon of his offences. The Emperor accepted the excuses and forgave him¹.

RŪP SINGH RĀTHŌR

(Vol. II, pp. 268-270).

He was the grandson of Kishan Singh Rāthōr, the younger brother of Rāja Sūraj Singh. When his uncle Hāri Singh died in the 17th year of Emperor Shāh Jahān's reign without leaving any son, the Emperor granted Rūp Singh, his brother's son, a robe of honour, an increase in rank, and a horse with a silver saddle, and gave him in fief Kishangarh his uncle's territory². In the 18th year on the occasion of the celebrations for the recovery of health by the eldest daughter of the Emperor, the Bēgam Sāhiba—who had been ailing for a time owing to her dress catching fire from the flame of a lamp and the burning of her body—he was promoted to the rank of 1,000 with 700 horse³. In the 19th year he went with Prince Murād Bakhsh for the conquest of Balkh and Badakhshān. After reaching

¹ *Op. cit.*, Text, pp. 49, 50, translation, pp. 69, 70.

² *Bādshāhnāma*, p. 373. Kishangarh is a State in the centre of Rājpūtāna with an area about 858 miles, see *Imperial Gazetteer*, XV, p. 310. A brief account of the chiefs of the State in the Mughal days is included on p. 311 of the same work.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 399.

Balkh when Nadhar Muhammad the ruler of the place took to flight without waiting on the Prince, Bahādur Khān and Asālat Khān, in accordance with the Prince's orders, went to pursue him; Rūp Singh in his eagerness accompanied them without permission¹. After the battle with Nadhar Muhammad, and the repeated chastisement of the Alāmāns in which he performed brave deeds, Rūp Singh in the 20th year was promoted² to the rank of 1,500 with 1,000 horse. In the 21st year he was exalted with the grant of a flag. In the 22nd year his rank was increased³ to 2,500 foot with 1,200 horse, and he went to Qandahār in the company of Prince Muhammad Aurangzib Bahādur. After reaching there, he hastened to Zamīn Dāwar with Rustam Khān, and rendered good service in the battle with the Irānians. In the 23rd year he was promoted⁴ to the rank of 3,000 foot with 1,500 horse, and in the 25th year received a further increase of 1,000 foot with 500 horse, and the gift of a kettle-drum, and was deputed a second time to Qandahār in attendance on the said Prince. In the 26th year he went⁵ for the third time on the Qandahār campaign with Prince Dārā Shikoh, and his rank was increased to 4,000 with 2,500 horse. In the 28th year he was deputed with 'Allāmī Sa'd Ullāh Khān to demolish⁶ Chittor, and his rank was fixed at 4,000 with 3,000 horse. He also received the *Pargana* of Māndalgarh in Sarkār Chittor from the territory of the Rānā, with its rental of 80 lacs of *dams* as his fief. In the battle of Samūgarh he was in the vanguard of Dārā Shikoh. In the course of the fight he bravely passed the opponent's artillery, vanguard and

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 540.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 554.

³ 'Amal Sālib, III, p. 69.

⁴ There seems to be some mistake in reference to his rank in 'Amal Sālib, III, p. 100, for it is stated that his rank was increased to 2,000 with 1,200 horse. He already held the rank of 2,500 with 1,200 horse.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 157.

⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 194. Rām Singh's deputation on this campaign is not mentioned in the work, nor his receiving the grant of Māndalgarh as a reward.

Iltimish, and coming face to face with Emperor Aurangzib's elephant did all that was possible. Finally he dismounted, and got under the Emperor's elephant in order to cut the girth of the *howdab*. The Emperor watched his bravery, and strictly ordered his men to take him alive, but the men gave him no chance and cut him with a sword in the year¹ 1068 A.H. (1658 A.D.). His son Mān Singh attained² the rank of 3,000 in Emperor Aurangzib's reign, and in the 35th year accompanied Dhulfiqār Khān for the conquest of the fort of Gingee. When Bahādur Shāh came to the throne, the headship of the territory of his home district Kishangarh was granted to Rāj Singh, known as Rāja Bahādur, who was the maternal uncle of Sultān 'Azīm-shāh, and who was with Bahādur Shāh in Kābul in the hopes of obtaining the chiefship. Mān Singh was granted the rank of 3,000. At the time of writing Bahādur Singh younger son of Rāja Bahādur is in possession of the territory.

RUSTAM DIL KHĀN

(Vol. II, pp. 324-328).

He was the son of Jān Sipār Khān³ Bānī Mukhtār, and the daughter's son of Mīrzā Khalil Khān Zamān⁴. He was one of the promising sons of Amīrs, and in his father's lifetime became known for his skill and intelligence. He managed the affairs of the province of Haidarābād of which his father was the Governor. When in the 45th year Jān Sipār Khān died, the governorship of that province was made over to the agents of Prince Muhammad Kām Bakhsh. As

¹ Khāfi Khān, II, pp. 27, 28, and Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, II, p. 394.

² *Maāthir-i-'Alamgiri*, p. 405. He was promoted to this rank in the 43rd year.

³ *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, I, pp. 535-537, Beveridge & Prashad's translation, I, pp. 751, 752.

⁴ *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, I, pp. 785-792, Beveridge & Prashad's translation, I, pp. 804-807. His name is given there as Mir Khalil.

Rustam Dil Khān had been connected with its management since his father's time, and was thoroughly acquainted with its affairs, he was appointed the Deputy Governor. As a result of an increase of 500 with 500 horse his rank was advanced to 1,500 with 1,000 horse¹. In the 48th year he in succession to Ṣalābat Khān was appointed *Faujdār* of Karnātik (Carnatic), and Bijāpur, and granted an increase of 500 with 1,000 horse². In the 49th year in succession to Dā'ūd Khān he was again appointed deputy at Haidarābād, and his rank was advanced to 2,500 with 2,500 horse³. When Emperor Aurangzib died, Rustam Dil Khān skilfully and taking advantage of the prevailing conditions enlisted a large number of soldiers, and exerted himself all round in punishing the malcontents. He spent a year and some months in independence. Prince Muhammād Kām Bakhsh, who had been appointed to the government of Bijāpur by his father, and had assumed sovereignty during the time of confusion, sent Ahsan Khān *alias* Mir Malang—who was his *Mir Bakshī*, and generalissimo—to the Karnātik. He thought that whatever he could get into his hands would be so much gain, and so turned his attention to the conquest of the fort of Golkonda (Golconda) and Haidarābād. As Rustam Dil Khān had four or five thousand choice troopers with him, the Prince was apprehensive of him, and marched slowly. At last through the diplomacy⁴ and craft of Ahsan Khān, and though the Commandant of the Golkonda fort did not submit, Rustam Dil Khān was deceived by his flattery and coaxing, and becoming satisfied about the intentions of the Prince by confirming arrangements with an oath taken on the *Qur'an*, he was induced to welcome him.

It is stated that the Prince arrived without any equipment and in a wretched condition, with his men badly equipped, while Rustam

¹ *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgiri*, p. 439.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 483.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 494. The rank after promotion should be 2,500 with 1,500 horse.

⁴ *Khāfi Khān*, II, p. 609.

Dil Khān went forward to receive him with well set-up troops. At that time he might have done what he liked, but sticking to his promise, he obeyed the Prince in every respect, and brought him to the city. As a result of his sincerity he did not advise the siege of the fort, but suggested ways and means for selecting officers, settling affairs, and collecting the revenue. As Ahsan Khān was the generalissimo and the experienced administrator of the Prince's establishment, he also acted as the intermediary. He and Rustam Dil Khān met a number of times, and mutual entertainments and exchanges of presents were effected. Hakim Muhsin Taqarrub Khān—who was the *Vazir*—and Ihtiād Khān—who had become vainglorious as a result of his association with the Prince—were filled with enmity—as invariably happens amongst rivals—and were so insane as to impress the Prince with the belief that Ahsan Khān and Rustam Dil Khān had combined together, and meant to imprison him. That madman who could not distinguish a friend from a foe, immediately wrote a note with his own hand to Rustam Dil Khān to the effect that he was writing an answer to Bahādur Shāh's letter, and that he wanted the benefit of his opinion and asked him to come quickly. When Rustam Dil Khān arrived, the Prince seated him in the oratory, and himself went into the female apartments. Immediately there was a rush of men and Rustam Dil Khān was arrested. After three days the hands and feet of that oppressed Saiyid were bound and he was cast at the feet of his own riding elephant. But however much they tried that loyal animal would not put his foot forward. At last they brought another elephant, and after killing him in this way pilloried his body through the city. He was buried in the building known as Amlī Mahal. His wife fortified her house, and prepared for battle. Several persons were killed and wounded, and at last she, her son, and Mīr Husain brother of Rustam Dil Khān were made prisoners, and the house was confiscated¹. His building is still existent in Haidarābād, and is used

¹ The account is apparently based on Khāfi Khān, II, pp. 609-612. According to this account Rustam Dil Khān was buried under the trees in the garden known as Amlī Mahal.

as the residence of the Governor. Of his sons, Jān Sipār Khān, who received the title of his grandfather, is at present greatly respected. Half of the *Pargana* of Amrāpūr in *Sarkār* Mahkar—which is one of the best developed estates of the time—has long been in his possession. He has several times served as *Khānsāmān* of the government of Āṣaf Jāh. At the time of writing he is the *Dīvān*, which is the highest post, but as these appointments are not lasting, and those holding offices under this government always expect a change, they regard the appointments as temporary and only for limited periods.

(SAIYID) RUSTAM KHĀN DECCANI

(Vol. II, pp. 502-504).

He was the son of Saiyid Sharza Khān Saiyid Iliyās. The home of his ancestors was Bokhārā. One of them came to India, and took up his residence at Ajmēr. By association with the people of the place he embraced the Mahdavī religion. Saiyid Iliyās went to the Deccan, and became a servant of the rulers of Bijāpūr, and received the title of Sharza Khān. He became a leader, and in the 9th year of the reign of Emperor Aurangzib he was killed by the imperial forces, which had been deputed under the command of Mīrzā Rāja Jai Singh to chastise 'Ādil Khān and devastate his territory, and during which campaign several battles took place. His son was appointed Commander of the army in his father's place, and granted the title of Sharza Khān. Although there was no authority or system in the affairs of Bijāpūr, he flourished for a long time. In the 30th year when Bijāpūr was conquered, and Sikandar 'Ādil Khān submitted (to Emperor Aurangzib), he also did likewise. He was granted a robe of honour, a sword, an ornamented dagger with a chain of pearls, a horse with gold trappings, an elephant with silver trappings, the rank of 6,000 with 6,000 horse, and exalted by the title of Rustam Khān¹. Gradually he rose to the rank of 7,000 with 7,000 horse. Later he was deputed² with Khān Firūz Jang to conquer the fort of

¹ *Maāthir-i-'Alamgiri*, p. 280.² *Op. cit.*, p. 283.

Ibrāhīmgarh, a dependency of Haidarābād, and which is now known as Āhangarh. Afterwards he came to the Presence, and on the day of the attack on Gōlkonda he adorned the face of his loyalty with the cosmetic of wounds¹. After this he was appointed to guard the district of Satāra. In the 33rd year the sedition-mongers of that territory attacked him and there was a prolonged fight. At last he was defeated, and was captured² with his family. He was released after paying a large ransom. Later he was attached to Khān Fīrūz Jang, and managed the government of Berār as his deputy. In the 46th year the Marathas attacked and captured him. He was released in the 48th year, and went to Khān Fīrūz Jang. His rank was reduced by 1,000 with 1,000 horse³, but in the 49th year he was restored to his former rank. In the beginning of Emperor Bahādur Shāh's reign he was appointed to the charge of the Deccan. After some time he died. He held Bālāpūr and other estates in Berār in fief. His son Saiyid Ghālib Khān, who had joined⁴ the Emperor's service before him, was killed⁵ in the battle between Āṣaf Jāh and 'Ālam 'Alī Khān in the year 1132 A.H. (1720 A.D.). Saiyid Faṭāḥ Khān, Saiyid Iliyās, and Saiyid 'Uthmān were also his sons, and left offsprings. They hold the hereditary estates in Berār.

RUSTAM KHĀN MUQARRAB KHĀN

(Vol. II, pp. 270-276).

He was a Circassian. His tribe live on the slopes of the Elburz mountains, for the most part in tents. At first he was in the service of Nizām-ul-Mulk Deccanī, and gained a name for leadership. He was granted the title of Muqarrab Khān. In the 3rd year of the reign of Emperor Shāh Jahān, when the latter was in the Deccan, Muqarrab Khān who was the chief swordsman of Nizām-ul-Mulk often confronted

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 295.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 336.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 480.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 473.

⁵ *Later Mughals*, II, p. 49.

the imperial forces, and surrounded them. When Nīzām-ul-Mulk imprisoned Fath Khān, son of Malik 'Ambar, who was his *Vakīl* and Commander-in-chief, he appointed Muqarrab Khān his Commander-in-chief, and Hamīd Khān Habshī his *Vakīl*. After a time, however, he released Fath Khān, and reinstated him as his Minister and Commander-in-chief. Muqarrab Khān, as a result of this unstable behaviour left his service, and tried to enter royal service. In the 4th year he applied to Ā'zam Khān. When this news was reported to the Emperor, the proposal was approved, and a conciliatory *Farmān* was issued. Mānajī Dauria, who was his agent (*pēshdast*), came to Ā'zam Khān, and for his own satisfaction carefully studied the situation. Afterwards Muqarrab Khān with all his companions set off for the royal camp. To welcome him Ā'zam Khān went as far as the limits of the camp, and brought him to his quarters. On royal account he gave him a robe of honour, a jewelled dagger, four horses, a male and a female elephant, and a lac of rupees in cash. Two hundred robes of honour, 100 shawls, and 70 horses were given to his companions. He recommended that Muqarrab Khān should be appointed to the rank of 5,000 foot with 5,000 horse, and suitable ranks were proposed for his companions, who were more than 100 in number¹. The Emperor approved the rank proposed for him, and sent² a robe of honour, a dagger, a jewelled sword, a flag, a drum, a horse with a golden saddle, and an elephant for him. After a time he went to the Court, and did homage. He was exalted by the grant of a robe of honour, a jewelled dagger with *phūl-katāra*, a jewelled sword, a horse with gold saddle, an elephant, and Rs. 40,000 in cash³. In the 5th year he received⁴ the insignia of the Fishr (*Mābi-u-Marātib*), and was sent from near Akbarābād (Āgra) to Sambhal⁵, which was made

¹ The account of his leaving the service of Nīzām-ul-Mulk and arrival at Ā'zam Khān's camp etc. is based on *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. i, pp. 378, 379. The name of his agent in that work is Tāmajī with the variant Tābājī.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 384.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 408.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 394.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 425.

his fief. In the 8th year he received the title of Rustam Khān¹, and was sent² with Prince Muhammad Aurangzib Bahādur who had been appointed to support the army deputed for the chastisement of Jujhār Singh Bundēla. In the 10th year he went³ with Saiyid Khān Jahān Bārah for devastating the territory of 'Ādil Khān, and rendered good service in the battles. On his return from the Deccan he was allowed to go to his fief. In the 11th year, when the Emperor had gone towards Sōron, he did homage⁴, received numerous favours, and was permitted to return to his fief. In the 13th year an elephant⁵ was sent to him by the Emperor. In the 15th year when Lāhōre was the royal headquarters, he came to the Court, and was sent⁶ with Prince Murād Bakhhsh, who had been deputed for the chastisement of Jagat Singh Zamindār of Jammūn. He exerted himself in the conquest of Jagat Singh's forts, and fought bravely in single combats. Later he came to the Court with the said Prince, and was sent in attendance on Prince Dārā Shikoh, who had been appointed to assist the garrison of the fort at Qandahār. He received a robe of honour, a horse with gold accoutrements, and 1,000 of the troopers, out of the allotted number of 5,000 with 5,000 horse, were made two-horse three-horse⁷. After his return he was allowed to go to his fief. In the 16th year he again came to the Presence, but was soon permitted to return to his fief.

As the Emperor had determined on conquering Balkh and Badakhshān, an order to this effect had been sent to the Amīr-ul-Umarā Governor of Kābul. In the 19th year he was sent⁸ as an auxiliary of the Amīr-ul-Umarā to Kābul. Later, in accordance with orders, he passed the winter at Rohtās, and on the Emperor's return from Kashmir waited on him at Lāhōre. Afterwards he went with Prince

¹ *Bādschāhnāma*, I, pt. ii, p. 83.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 99.

⁴ *Bādschāhnāma*, II, p. 20.

⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 245.

⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 485.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 140.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 182.

⁷ *Op. cit.*, pp. 293, 294.

Murād Baksh on the said campaign, and the command¹ of the left wing of the Prince's army was assigned to him. When the Prince after the taking of Balkh, through inexperience and in spite of the counter orders of his august father returned from that country, Sa'd Ullāh Khān was ordered to hurry there, while Rustam Khān was appointed² to settle Andkhūd and the adjacent territory. Before reaching there he had several fights with the Alāmāns, and was victorious every time. As a reward in the 20th year another 1,000 of his troopers were made two-horse three-horse³. When Prince Muḥammad Aurangzib Bahādur after arriving in that territory restored, according to orders, Balkh to Nadhar Muḥammad Khān, and returned, he also came to the Court, and received permission to go to his fief. In the 21st year he came on the occasion of the celebrations for the occupation of the new buildings of Shāhjahānābād, and after receiving a robe of honour returned to his fief. Later he went⁴ to Kābul as an auxiliary of the Amīr-ul-Umarā. In the 22nd year when it was reported that the Iranian army had collected near Qandahār, orders summoning the officers were issued, and Rustam Khān came from Kābul, and left⁵ with Prince Muḥammad Aurangzib Bahādur for Qandahār. He was appointed in-charge of the rear-guard. After reaching there he marched rapidly to Bust to help Qulīj Khān, and in the battle with the Iranians inflicted heavy punishment on them. After their flight, he seized their artillery waggons—which owing to the force of the attack they had left behind—with numerous horses, spears and armour⁶. For this service the remainder of his contingent in the 23rd year was made two-horse three-horse, and he was exalted with the title of Firūz Jang⁷. In the same year he arrived at the Court, and produced before the Emperor eleven small cannons with their carriages, which he

¹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 512, 513.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 560.

³ *Āmal Ṣālib*, III, p. 67.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, pp. 89-91.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 584.

⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 71.

⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 100.

had captured from the enemy. He received a robe of honour, a *jīgha*, a jewelled dagger with *phūl-katāra*, a jewelled sword, a horse with a golden saddle, an elephant with silver trappings, and a female elephant. His rank was also advanced to 6,000 with 5,000 horse, two-horse three-horse troopers.¹ In the 25th year he again accompanied² the said Prince on the same campaign, and distinguished himself in erecting batteries, and other arrangements for besieging the fort. In the 26th year he again accompanied Prince Dārā Shikōh to the same campaign. As the appointed time for starting the siege was near at hand, he was sent in advance in the 27th year by the Prince to commence the siege. After the Prince's arrival in that area he went to Bust, and by erecting batteries conquered the fort. When the capture of Qandahār was delayed, and the Prince in accordance with orders returned, Rustam Khān by the direction of the Prince demolished the fort of Bust, and burnt the remaining equipment and returned³. In the 28th year he was deputed with Jumlat-ul-Mulk Sa'd Ullāh Khān to demolish Chittor. In the 29th year⁴ he was exalted by promotion to the rank of 6,000 with 6,000 horse of which 5,000 were two-horse three-horse troopers, and according to the recommendation of Prince Dārā Shikōh was appointed Governor of Kābul in succession to Bahādur Khān Bāqī Beg. The cities of Kābul and Peshawar were included in his fief. In the end of the 31st year he was removed from there and returned to the Court. In the battle near Samūgarh, which took place between Aurangzib and Dārā Shikōh, he was with Sipihr Shikōh in the left wing. As a result of his zeal he was hit during the battle by a bullet, and bravely gave⁵ up his life in the year 1068 A.H. (1658 A.D.).

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 104.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 139.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 173.

⁴ This is recorded in '*Amal Sālib*', III, p. 239 in the 30th year.

⁵ '*Ālamgirnāma*', p. 99.

RUSTAM KHĀN SHAGHALI

(Vol. II, pp. 199-201).

His name was Yūsuf Beg. Through the patronage of Prince Shāh Jahān he rose from the rank of a *Qal'aqchī* and an *Ahdī* to the rank of an *Amīr*. He was soon promoted from the rank of 300 to that of 5,000, and received a flag and a drum. During the days when Shāh Jahān was a Prince, he was one of the mainstays of his power, and was appointed Deputy Governor of Gujārāt¹. When in the 18th year of Emperor Jahāngīr's reign the imperial forces in pursuit of the Prince reached the Chānda pass² which was on the route to Mālwa, they were afraid of Shāh Jahān's influence and had not the courage to cross the defile, and proposed to spend the rainy season on this side of the pass. Rustam Khān in collusion with Bahā'-ud-Dīn *tōpchī*—who had received the title of Baraqandāz Khān from Shāh Jahān—out of disloyalty and infidelity wrote to Mahābat Khān, the Commander of the royal forces, that he should proceed without delay, and that they would join him after throwing the Prince's army into confusion. Accordingly Mahābat Khān becoming emboldened crossed the defile of Chānda. Prince Shāh Jahān, who had encamped at Māndū, sent Rustam Khān—who before the conflict was his loyal servant, and was his leading officer, and whose bravery and devotion to duty was well known—as the Commander of the army in advance, and also sent a contingent from the Deccan army skirmishers. They in two days made things difficult for the imperial army. On the third day, it had been arranged that the Prince himself would join the vanguard. Yūsuf Shaghālī ignored what was due from him as a loyal and cherished servant, and insincerely following a perfidious course joined Mahābat Khān. As a result of the desertion of the Commander the affairs of the army became disorganised³. When the Prince experienced

1 Rogers & Beveridge's translation of *Tuzuk-i-Jahāngīr*, II, pp. 275, 276.

2 Chānda Ghāt between Ajmēr and Mālwa.

3 Rogers & Beveridge's translation of *Tuzuk-i-Jahāngīr*, II, pp. 271, 272, and *Iqbālnāma-i-Jahāngīr*, pp. 209, 210.

such disloyalty and impudence on the part of one who was so greatly favoured, what could he hope for from anyone else, and on whom could he rely? He could no longer trust anyone, and regarded retreat to the Deccan as the only course to follow under the circumstances. Hastily crossing the Narbadā he stayed for a short time in Burhānpūr. Rustam Khān through the intermediation of Mahābat Khān was enlisted amongst the officers of Emperor Jahāngīr¹. As base treachery and disloyalty are always condemned, and those practising them are everywhere treated with contempt and scorn, he neither received much advancement in royal service, nor was he greatly trusted. When Shāh Jahān became the Emperor, he was as a punishment for his misdeeds deprived of his *jāgīr* and office, and his condition became miserable. It is stated that except for Rustam Khān Emperor Shāh Jahān did not exact retribution from any of the imperial officers who had behaved presumptuously or disloyally. At last he was reduced to such straits that he had neither a horse nor a servant, and wandered about in the streets till he died.

(MĪRZĀ) RUSTAM ŠAFAVĪ²

(Vol. III, pp. 434-442).

He was the younger brother of Mīrzā Mużaffar Husain³ of Qandahār. In his account it has been stated that Sultān Muḥammad Khudābanda the Shāh of Irān gave Qandahār⁴ to Mużaffar Husain Mīrzā, and Zamīn Dāwar to Rustam Mīrzā and his two younger brothers Abū Sa'íd Mīrzā and Sanjar Mīrzā. As the territory of

¹ He was appointed to the rank of 5,000 foot with 4,000 horse, *op. cit.*, p. 275.

² See Blochmann, *Ā'in*, I (2nd edn.), pp. 328, 329.

³ Blochmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 327, 328, and *Ma'āthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, III, pp. 296-302, translation *antea* pp. 350-354.

⁴ Qandahār had been given by Shāh Tahmāsp to their father Sultān Husain, the son of Bahrām and the brother of Shāh Tahmāsp, and Sultān Khudābanda afterwards gave it to the son, see *Akkarnāma*, Text, III, p. 645. Beveridge's translation, III, p. 992.

Zamīn Dāwar was very limited as compared to that of Qandahār, and was not sufficient for the support of Rustam Mīrzā and his brothers, Rustam Mīrzā wished to conquer Sīstān from Malik Mahmūd—who was of the old race of the rulers of that country and had taken possession of it after the death of Shāh Ismā'il II—and add it to his own territory. Muzaaffar Husain Mīrzā led an army against Malik Mahmūd, and after a contest married his daughter, and confirmed that territory on his father-in-law. This proceeding was a cause of disagreement between the two brothers. Rustam Mīrzā with the help of Hamza Bēg Lala several times led armies against Qandahār, but without success.

As many of the cities of Khurāsān had been plundered by the Uzbegs, and they had no agreed chief, Mīrzā Rustam hurried from Zamīn Dāwar to Farāh, and took possession of the territory. He several times fought with the Uzbegs, and raised the standard of bravery. After that he took it in his head to conquer Sīstān, and made a raid on that territory. Malik Mahmūd, after defending the fort, had an interview, and submitted. The Mīrzā in his pride and at the instigation of short-sighted persons imprisoned the Malik. His son Jalāl-ud-Dīn collected a force, and came forward for a fight. The Mīrzā put Malik Mahmūd to death. As, however, he was unable to contest (against Jalāl-ud-Dīn), he retired to Zamīn Dāwar. Jalāl-ud-Dīn pursued him, and the Mīrzā, who was obliged to turn and fight, was defeated. After this he lost respect in the eyes of all people. His elder brother—who was waiting for the opportunity—seized Zamīn Dāwar also. Rustam Mīrzā quickly went to Qalāt, and took possession. One day he had gone out for hunting, when a force of Biyāts wished to get hold of the fort. The Mīrzā's mother defended it, but was killed by a shot from one of the faithless men who discharged his piece at her. Though the Mīrzā out of vengeance put many of them to the sword, but circumstances did not appear favourable, and the report of the arrival of the army from India for taking possession of that territory increased the difficulty of his position. He wrote in a

friendly fashion to Sharif Khān Atga, Governor of Ghaznīn, and expressed a wish for enlistment in the service of the Emperor (Akbar). According to his request a rescript was issued. In the 38th year of Emperor Akbar's reign in 1001 A.H. (1592-93 A.D.) the Mīrzā reached the bank of the Chenāb river. Tents, screens, carpets and other articles of the *Farrāsh-khāna* had been sent from the imperial stores through Qarā Beg Turkmān. A decorated dagger was also sent through Hakīm-ul-Mulk. When he came near, Sharif Khān, Āṣaf Khān, Shāh Beg Khān, and several other officers were deputed to welcome him. At a distance of four *kos* from Lāhōrē on the day of Dusehra festival Khān Khānān and Zain Khān Kōka received him, and he along with his younger brother Sanjar Mīrzā, and his four sons, Murād, Shāhrukh, Hasan and Ibrāhīm, and 400 Turkmāns were received by the Emperor in audience. As it was desired to encourage his elder brother, he was appointed to the high rank of 5,000, granted a present of a *kror* of Murādī *tankabs*, and the territory of Multān and several *parganas* of Balūchistān—the area of which was more extensive than that of Qandahār¹—and after a time he was granted a flag and a drum. Mīrzā Abū Sa'īd, who had remained in Qandahār, also came, and entered the royal service.

As the Mīrzā's men practised oppression beyond limits in Multān, the Sarkār of Chittor was given to the Mīrzā in fief in the 40th year, and he was sent off there, but for some reason he was recalled from Sirhind². When Rājā Bāsū and some chiefs of the northern hills rebelled in the 41st year, Pathān (Pathānköt) and its neighbourhood were included in the Mīrzā's fief, and he was sent to that territory. Āṣaf Khān was sent³ to help him, but disagreement started between

¹ *Akbar-nāma*, Text, III, pp. 645, 646, Beveridge's translation, pp. 992-994.

² *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 696, translation, p. 1041, and note 2 in which Beveridge directs attention to the mistake in *Māzthir-ul-Umarā*. It was not Rustam Mīrzā who was recalled from Sirhind, but he sent back Amin-ud-Din who was sent with him so that he might not oppress the weak.

³ *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 712, translation, p. 1060.

him and the Mirzā. Rāja Bāsū fortified Mau', and behaved insolently. The Emperor deputed Jagat Singh, son of Rāja Mān Singh and recalled the Mirzā to the Presence. In the 43rd year Rāisin and its neighbourhood were given to the Mirzā in fief, and he went away in that direction¹.

When the siege of Ahmadvār was protracted, and the soldiers were in difficulties owing to the dearth of provisions, and evil-minded persons were becoming troublesome, Prince Sultān Dāniyāl sent a request for reinforcements. The Emperor sent a fresh army from Burhānpūr under the leadership of the Mirzā², and a lac of *Asbrafīs*. From that time the Mirzā was included among the auxiliaries of the Deccan. He sought the daughter of Khān Khānān in marriage for his son Mirzā Murād, and through Khān Khānān's help spent a long time in the town of Tamarnī, now known as Zafarnagar. In the 7th year of Emperor Jahāngīr's reign, in 1021 A.H. (1612 A.D.) he was appointed³ Governor of Tatta (Sindh) on the death of Mirzā Ghāzī Tarkhān, and granted two lacs of Rupees for his expenses. Emperor Jahāngīr gave him good advice about the administration of justice, and directed him to send away the Arghūns—who for some years had held that territory—with Khusrav Khān the Circassian, who had been their *Vakīl* for four generations, lest they should start a rebellion. Mir 'Abdur Razzāq Ma'mūrī was also sent with the Mirzā to carry out a settlement of the province, and to settle grants for the Mirzā and his dependants. The Mirzā behaved badly to the Arghūns, and contrary to expectations so oppressed the people that it was against the canons of decency and bravery. Consequently he was removed. When he reached the Court, a large number of complainants also arrived. Accordingly the Mirzā was handed over to Anī

¹ *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 749, translation, p. 1120.

² *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 773, translation, p. 1156.

³ He was first appointed Governor of Patna in the 7th year of Emperor Jahāngīr's reign, see Rogers & Beveridge's translation of *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngiri*, I, p. 229.

Rāī Singh-dilan in order that he might answer the complainants¹. After some time, Emperor Jahāngīr called him to the Presence, and treated him with kindness², and gave the Mīrzā's daughter in marriage to Sultān Parvīz. After that he was promoted to the rank of 6,000 and appointed Governor³ of Allāhābād.

When Prince Shāh Jāhān passing through Bengāl took possession of Patna and Bihār, 'Abdullāh Khān came hurriedly as the advance force, and encamped at Jhūsī opposite Allāhābād on the opposite bank of the Ganges. The Mīrzā took refuge in the fort. As the Khān had a fleet of boats with him, he crossed the river with guns and muskets, and entered the city⁴. Though Rūmī Khān, the head of Shāh Jāhān's artillery promised that the fort would soon be taken 'Abdullāh Khān showed undue agitation, and returned to Jhūsī. Some days had not passed when they heard of the approach of the imperial forces. The Mīrzā was relieved, and began to live in peace and enjoyment. In the 21st year he was appointed Governor⁵ of Bihār. In the 1st year of Emperor Shāh Jāhān's reign he was removed⁶ from Bihār and came to the Court. As he was suffering from gout (*nigris*), and had grown old, he was relieved of service, and granted an annual pension of one lac and twenty thousand rupees so that he might spend his days in peace at Āgra⁷. In the 6th year his daughter was married⁸ to Prince Shujā'.

Mabd Bilqīs ba sar manzil Jamshēd āmad: 1042.

(The lady Bilqīs—Queen of Sheba—came to the house of Jamshēd) is the chronogram. At the age of 72 years in the 15th year of the

¹ For his appointment and recall from Sindh see Rogers & Beveridge, *op. cit.*, pp. 262, 263. His *jāgīr* in the Deccan is also mentioned there.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 265.

³ Rogers & Beveridge's translation of *Tūzuk*, II, p. 281.

⁴ *Iqbālnāma-i-Jahāngīrī*, p. 223. For fuller details see Beni Prasad, *History of Jahangir*, pp. 374, 375.

⁵ *Iqbālnāma*, p. 280.

⁶ *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. i, p. 125.

⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 205. The complete poem by Tālib Kalim from which the chronogram is quoted is reproduced on p. 464 of the work.

reign¹, in 1051 A.H. (1641-42 A.D.) he died. It is stated that when the Mīrzā died, Āgra officers wished to attach his property. His widow dressed up her maid servants as men, and putting muskets in their hands prepared to fight, saying that they could not deal with her family as they did with other officers. The officers were cautious, and staying their hand wrote to the Emperor. The latter was amused at the incident, and released all his property except the elephants.

The Mīrzā was a man of the world. He was tactful, and was much cleverer and more prudent than his elder brother. One day on the hunting ground the hawk of the son of Rāīsal was perched on a tree. Mīrzā's followers captured it. Some Rājpūts opposed, and the Mīrzā went to quell the disturbance. Suddenly he was wounded in the arm with a sword. The Mīrzā had the good sense to have the aggressor bound and sent to Rāīsal. Emperor Akbar commended the sufferance and gentleness of the Mīrzā². He had a poetical vein. His *nom-de-plume* was Fidāī. The following is his composition:

Quatrain

My heart has rolled up the mat of religion,
I have played crosswise the piece of the knowledge of God !
I have made the eye-brow of my beloved my *Qibla*;
I have discarded Muhammadanism.

He was also of a facetious disposition, and when his elder brother Muzaffar Husain Mīrzā—with whom he was estranged and on bad terms—came from Qandahār, he composed the following quatrain:

Quatrain

That blind man, who is being trodden on along the road of envy,
I won't style him an imposter, for he is the donkey of imposters.
It is said, cold wind comes from Irān,

¹ The date in *Maāthir* is apparently taken from *Khāfi Khān*, I, p. 591, but according to *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p. 302, he died in 1052 A.H. (1642-43 A.D.) having served under the Moghul Emperors for full fifty years.

² *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, pp. 747, 748, translation, III, p. 1117.

This wind at the time of reception is, however, a simoom.

The following poem by him is well known:

Verses

My dear I had prior to this
 Narrated about a strong clawed hawk,
 After whatever prey I let him go,
 He would not give it a chance or delay.
 Now that hawk is flown, and there is left
 In my hands only the strap, and a rusty ringlet.

Separate accounts of his sons¹, each of whom acquired a name for himself, have been given. His brothers Abū Sa'id Mīrzā and Sanjar Mīrzā both died in the year 1005 A.H. (1596-97 A.D.).

S*

(‘ALLĀMĪ) SA'D ULLĀH KHĀN

(Vol. II, pp. 441-449).

He was a Shaikhzāda of Chiniot² in the Lāhōrē province, and was a descendant of the Bani Tamīn Quraish. He was a man of great intelligence and judgment, and was unrivalled for his great learning and extensive knowledge of business. At first he devoted himself to training in traditional and rational sciences, and committing to

* Under S are included the biographies of officers whose names begin with the letters س (S) ش (Sh) and س (S)

¹ Mirzā Hasan Ṣafavi, *Ma'ābir-ul-Umarā*, Text, III, pp. 477-479, Beve ridge & Prashad's translation, I, p. 622. For Mirzā Murād Kām see under Mukarram Khan, *op. cit.*, III, p. 583.

² Chiniot is situated on the bank of the river Chenab, and is in the Jhang District, see *Imperial Gazetteer*, X, pp. 284, 285. It is erroneously called Jhatwāt in Irvine's *Storia do Mogor*, I, p. 210, note 1, where a short notice of Sa'd Ullāh Khān is given. A short, but concise account of his career is also to be found in *Khāfi Khān*, I, pp. 581, 582.

memory the *Qurân*, later became a polished speaker and an expert calligrapher. When Emperor Shâh Jahân, who was a worthy friend and on the look out for efficient officers heard about him, he in the 14th year ordered Mûsâvi Khân the *Sadr*¹ to bring him to wait upon him. After an interview and being satisfied about his capacity and capabilities, he enlisted him in service, and presented him a robe of honour and a horse, and appointed him Examiner of Petitions—which appointment was only given to trustworthy servants. In the 15th year he was given the rank of 1,000 with 200 horse, and the title of Sa'd Ullâh Khân, and appointed Superintendent of the Select Hall of Audience—a post reserved for sincere and loyal officers.

It should be remembered that *Daulatkhana-i-Khâs* means a building between the female apartments of the palace, and the *Diwân-i-Khâs* and 'Âm (Private and Public Halls of Audience). The Emperor after leaving the Public Hall retires there to dispose of affairs which only the intimates are cognisant of. As the building was near the baths, it was since the reign of Emperor Akbar known as *Ghusul-khâna*. Emperor Shâh Jahân renamed it *Daulatkhana-i-Khâs*². In the 16th year Sa'd Ullâh Khân was honoured by an increase of 500 with 100 horse, and the gift of an elephant. In the 17th year he was removed from the post of Superintendent of the royal *Daulatkhana*, and received a rank of 2,000 with 500 horse, the gift of a robe of honour, and was appointed *Khânsâmân*³—which post came next to that of the *Vazîr*. In the 18th year on the occasion of the feast in connection with the recovery of the Begam Sâhiba—who had been ailing for some time as a result of her body being burnt by a lamp—he received a robe of honour, the rank of 2,500 with 600 horse, and a flag. Later he had an increase of 500, and again an

¹ See *Maâthir-ul-Umarâ*, Text, III, pp. 441, 442, translation *antea* pp. 326, 327.

² The above account is taken almost verbatim from *Bâdsbâhnâma*, II, pp. 219, 220.

³ Op. cit., p. 347. The post of *Khânsâmân* is there designated as *Mir Sâmân*.

increase of 500 with 200 horse in his rank. After a time when Islām Khān was appointed Governor of the Deccan Śūbas on the death of Khān Daurān, Sa'd Ullāh Khān received a robe of honour, and was appointed *Divān* of *Khālsā* in succession to Islām Khān. His duties included the drafting of rescripts, and communicating them to the secretaries. He used to add the words *Ma'rfat-i-khud* (through me) below the writings of Prince Dārā Shikōh, who used to endorse the *Farmāns* in his own handwriting. His rank was raised to 4,000 with 1,000 horse, and he was given a jewelled pen-case¹. Shortly afterwards he was made Prime Minister, and granted a *khil'at*, a jewelled dagger and a *phūl katāra* (a kind of dagger), while his rank was raised to 5,000 with 1,500 horse. In the 19th year he received an increase of 500 horse and was honoured by the grant of a drum. Later he again received an increase of 1,000 and the gift of an elephant with silver trappings, and also a female elephant².

When Prince Murād Bakhsh—who had been sent to take Balkh and Badakhshān—came to Kābul, he waited there for the clearing of the snow from the Tūl route which had been decided upon for the army's march. In consideration of the length of the campaign and the distance of the country a royal order had been issued that three months' salary should be advanced to the *Mansabdārs*, *Ahadīs*, archers and musketeers—both in the cavalry and infantry—and to the followers. Also in regard to the *Jāgirdārs*, the number of whose branded horses depended on the receipts from their fiefs, it had been ordered that a fourth part of the produce of their estates—which also amounted to three months' income—should be advanced to them from the treasury so that they might not be worried about expenses. Some had, however, not received these advances in Lāhore.³ The Prince also was of a childish

¹ Taken from *Bādsbāhnāma*, loc. cit., p. 431.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 479.

³ Mainly based on *Bādsbāhnāma*, loc. cit., pp. 507, 508; also see Khāfi Khān, I, p. 622. The Tūl route is mentioned in the *Ā'in*, see Jarrett's translation of Vol. II, pp. 399, 400.

disposition, and was carried away by the talks of flatterers—its effects blossomed out after the conquest of Balkh. Accordingly in the year in which Emperor Shâh Jahân marched from Lâhore to Kâbul, he after reaching *Bâgh Safâ* sent Sa'd Ullâh Khân ahead in order that he might give some instructions to the Prince, pay the advances mentioned above to those who had not received them, and send off the army to its destination before the arrival of the royal standards at Kâbul. Sa'd Ullâh Khân reached Kâbul in two days, and by excessive exertions he, in the course of five days—from the time of his reaching Kâbul to the arrival of the royal cavalcade—finished all the work, sent off the Prince with his army, and waited upon the Emperor in the suburbs of the city (Kâbul).

It should be remembered that during the reign of Emperor Shâh Jahân the arrangement was that whoever held a *jâgîr* in the province of his appointment, had to produce for branding one third of his contingent. For example an officer of the rank of 3,000 foot with 3,000 horse had to present 1,000 (horse) for branding. If, however, he was appointed to another province in India (than where his *jâgîr* was) he would produce only one fourth. At the time of the Balkh and Badakhshân campaign it was arranged that in consideration of the distance of the country only one fifth of the horses of the contingent need be produced for branding¹. In the 20th year Sa'd Ullâh Khân was promoted by his rank being raised to 6,000 with 4,000 horse. In as much as after the conquest of Balkh the Prince (Murâd Bakhsh) did not feel attracted by the country, and wrote to his father that someone else should be appointed to it. Emperor Shâh Jahân sent off Sa'd Ullâh Khân there, though on account of the latter sharing his secrets and being responsible for a great deal of work it was not convenient to part with him. Sa'd Ullâh Khân was to tell the Prince that if it should appear that he did not repent of his resigning the governorship of the province he was not to be admitted to an interview. The same prohibition was to be conveyed to others. Sa'd Ullâh Khân

¹ See *Bâdsbâhnâma*, loc. cit., p. 506.

travelled by Khanjān which was the shortest route though it was difficult, and reached Balkh in fifteen days¹.

As he found that the Prince was determined to stick to his resignation, he carried out the arrangement of affairs in their entirety according to the Emperor's orders, and then made the return journey through many hills and dales from Balkh to Kābul in four days. As he had transacted the business according to the Emperor's orders, and made proper arrangements for the province, his rank was advanced to 6,000 with 5,000 horse. Later by the addition of 1,000 horse his *Sawār* rank became equal to his *infantry* rank. Shortly afterwards on the occasion of the celebrations for the lunar weighing he was promoted to the rank of 7,000 with 7,000² horse, and granted an Arab horse with a golden saddle. In the 21st year on the anniversary feast of accession which was held in the new city of Shāhjahānābād (Delhi) Sa'd Ullāh Khān received a dress of honour with a *Nādirī* (a special present?) and 1,000 of his troopers were made 2-and 3-horse. In the 22nd year the Emperor went to hunt at Safidūn (in the Delhi District), three *kos* from Jajhar. While returning, letters of Khawāṣ Khān Qil'adār of Qandahār, and Purdil Khān Qil'adār of Bust announcing the advance of Shāh 'Abbās son of Shāh Ṣafī towards Qandahār were received. Sa'd Ullāh Khān, who had remained in the Capital to transact civil business, arrived in response to orders, and 2,000 more of his troopers were made 2-and 3-horse, and he was sent with Prince Aurangzib Bahādur to Qandahār. On arriving there he neglected nothing in the way of besieging the fort; he erected batteries, drove mines and constructed subterranean passages³.

¹ *Bādschāhnāma*, loc. cit., p. 564. where it is stated that he did the journey in 11 days. Nadhr Muhammad covered the same distance in 4 days in the beginning of 1037 A.H.—*vide Bādschāhnāma*, I, pt. i, p. 214.

² *Bādschāhnāma*, II, p. 679.

³ 'Amal Ṣālib, III, pp. 70-92 may be consulted for a detailed account of the Qandahār campaign under Aurangzib. Also see Saksena, *History of Shāhjabān*, pp. 226-228.

As it was not destined that they should succeed in capturing the fort, and the winter was approaching, he returned with the Prince in accordance with the Emperor's orders. In the 23rd year another 2,000 troopers of his contingent were made 2-and 3-horse, and as a result of his rank of 7,000 with 7,000 horse; 5,000 troopers were 2-and 3-horse¹. Later he received a present of one *kror* of *dāms*, so that his grant became twelve *krors* of *dāms*. In the 25th year when the Emperor went from Lāhore to Kashmīr, he was left at Wazīrabād to enquire into the condition of the Panjab Province, the crops of which had been destroyed at first by too little rain, and later by too much². After some time he joined the Emperor. In the same year he went a second time in the company of Prince Aurangzīb Bahādur and with a large force and ample equipment for the capture of Qandahār. The Prince went from Multān by the straight route of the Indus, that is along the bank of the Jajha, Chatali, Fushang (Pishin) and Qandahār, and which by measurement was 160 *kos*. Sa'd Ullāh Khān on the other hand went via Kābul and Ghaznīn, by which route the distance from Lāhore to Qandahār was 275 *kos*. On arriving there Sa'd Ullāh Khān set about besieging the fort, drove mines and adopted all other means, but as the fort could not be captured³, he, in accordance with the orders, returned to the Court in the 26th year.

In the 28th year when the Emperor heard that Rānā Rāj Singh son of Rānā Jagat Singh—though from the time when Rānā Karn, his grandfather, paid his respects to Emperor Jahāngīr, it had on the recommendation of Shāh Jahān, been arranged that none of his descendants even was to repair Chittōr—was making some gates and lofty (*yagān*) bastions, he himself started towards Ajmēr for making a pilgrimage to the tomb of Khwāja Mu'in-ud-Din Chishtī, May God's grace be on him! and sent Sa'd Ullāh Khān with a suitable force to destroy Chittōr⁴. He devastated the Rānā's country, and after

¹ 'Amāl Salīb, III, p. 100.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 125.

³ *Op. cit.*, pp. 138-142, 147-149.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, pp. 194, 195, but the account in that work is somewhat different from that in *Maāthir*.

levelling the old and new bastions of Chittor returned to the Presence. In the 30th year he had a slight illness, but the use of some medicine turned it into a colic. He, however, regularly came to the Court and performed his duties till he was unable even to stand. At last his weakness increased, and he was, as a result, confined to his house. The Emperor visited him, and showed increased appreciation of his merits. On the 22nd Jammādā II, 1066 A.H. (7th April, 1656 A.D.) he died. On hearing this news the Emperor's eyes were filled with tears. His eldest son Lutf Ullāh at the age of 11 years was granted a robe of honour, and the rank of 700 with 200 horse; his other sons and connections were granted stipends, and his sister's son Yār Muḥammad was given the rank of 300 with 60 horse. Many of his servants also received suitable posts. Among the latter 'Abd-un-Nabī, who was the manager of his fief, was granted the rank of 1,000 with 400 horse¹. During Emperor Aurangzib's reign he was *Faujdar* of Mathurā, and carried on the work of a collector ('Amaldār). He died of a bullet wound during one of his fights. The mosque² at Mathurā was built by him.

Sa'd Ullāh Khān was a physiognomist, and was possessed of excellent qualities. In disposing of cases with private individuals he strove towards uprightness and honesty. In collecting government dues he did not act tyrannously nor did he allow fear or favouritism to influence his actions towards the peasants or the officials. India prospered during the period of his Vazirship. Though he had rivals like Dārā Shikoh, but their complaints against him were of no avail. From the beginning of his service he was always respected. His title was 'Allāmī Fahāmī Jumlat-ut-Mulk. He died after attaining the

¹ For a detailed account of Sa'd Ullāh Khān's death etc. see 'Amal Salih, III, pp. 218-220.

² *Ma'athir-i-'Ālamgiri*, p. 83. The name of the village where he was killed is given there as Saurah with Sahrah as a variant, but the correct name is Sahora in Mahāban. For further details about 'Abd-un-Nabi and his mosque see F. S. Growse, *Mathura—A District Memoir* (2nd edn. 1880), pp. 140, 141.

highest dignities, and left a good name as his memorial. Separate notices have been included of those of his descendants who became famous.

*Reflection*¹. Honesty is a laudable virtue, and loyalty is a praiseworthy quality. To preserve both these qualities in dealing between one's master and the poor is the acme of fidelity. For if in such a case all suffer, a portion will fall on him, and a portion is to one in his position the total loss, so that a partial loss produces the result of a total loss.

SA'D ULLÂH KHÂN

(Vol. II, 504-508).

His name was Hidâyat Ullâh Khân, and he was the second son and most distinguished of the children of the famous 'Inâyat² Ullâh Khân even in his father's distinguished circle this son excelled in every respect. Signs of culture in courtly manners and dignity were apparent on his forehead. In the 41st year of Emperor 'Alamgîr's reign he succeeded his father—who was promoted to the post of *Divan-i-Tan*—as the *Khân-i-Sâmân*³ of Nawâb Zeb-un-Nissâ Begam. Through the kind interest of that lady of noble descent he was grant-

1. The passage is somewhat obscure. Apparently the author is trying to consider the relative values of honesty (*diyânat*) and loyalty (*pâs nimak*). Honesty requires one to be just to all, but loyalty demands ignoring all else except one's master. An honest minister must often find it difficult to reconcile his duty to the poor with his loyalty to the sovereign. This is explained to some extent by the lines on top of p. 449 of the text where it is stated that Sa'd Ullâh Khân is collecting government dues or enforcing claims did not act tyrannously nor was he influenced by fear or favouritism (*haif-u-maili*) in his relationship either with the peasantry or the officials. In the last sentence the variant reading appears more correct and has been followed.

2. For his account see *Ma'athir-ul-Umarâ*, Text, II, pp. 828-832, Beveridge & Prashad's translation, I, pp. 680-682.

3. *Ma'athir-i-'Alamgiri*, p. 385.

ed the title of Khān, and married¹ to the daughter of Muhammad Afdal the son of Faid Ullāh Khān Kōka. During the time of Emperor Bahādur Shāh when his father was appointed Khān-i-Sāmān, he was given the charge of the *Dīvān* of Khālsā-u-Tan, which office had been held by his father since the days of Emperor Aurangzib. When 'Ināyat Ullāh Khān was sent as the Governor of Kashmīr, he was in addition appointed to the important office of Khān-i-Sāmān in his vacancy. When in accordance with the Fate's decree the respected Khān Khānān Mun'im Khān died, there was a delay and difficulty in the appointment of the Chief *Dīvān* owing to the objections raised by Dhulfiqār Khān Amīr-ul-Umarā. Consequently it was decreed that Sa'd Ullāh should look after the political and financial affairs under the supervision of Prince 'Azīm-ush-Shāh, the second son of the Emperor. Sa'd Ullāh was exalted by the grant of a jewelled inkstand and a fringed palanquin².

When owing to the inherent large-heartedness, general benevolence, gentleness, and compassionate nature—which were characteristics of the reigning sovereign (Bahādur Shāh), the words "No" and "Refusal" never passed the lips of the Caliphate, and appointments and titles ceased to carry weight, Sa'd Ullāh was raised to the rank of 7,000 and received the exalted title of Sa'd Ullāh Khān. He also made Superintendent of the Postal Department (*Dārōgha-i-dāk-u-sawānih*)—which was one of the chief offices at the Court. Half of the supreme power, rather the whole of it, fell into his hands. When Jahāndār Shāh succeeded as the sovereign, his old connections and friendship with Khān Jahān Kōkaltāsh served as a protective shield, and through the intervention of that Amīr no harm accrued to him from the machinations of Dhulfiqār Khān Amīr-ul-Umarā. Though he became the Prime Minister and the fame of his power and dignity was bruited even beyond the eighth heaven, Sa'd Ullāh Khān was not

¹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 479, 480.

² See Irvine, *Later Mughals*, I, p. 128. It is stated there that his title on appointment to this office was changed to Wazārat Khān.

relieved¹ of his office of the *Divān* of *Khâlsâ* and *Tan*—which was the prelude to premiership—and as hitherto he continued to influence the management of all affairs. But as the juggling heavens carried away the Mîr and the Premier from the playhouse of fortune to the place of capital punishment, and the management of affairs and the office of premiership passed into the hands of members of the opposition, many of the partisans had to sacrifice their lives. After the arrival of Farrukh Siyat's forces in the Capital, Delhi, he was imprisoned in the office (*Kuchchery*). After some days an order of release was passed in accordance with a letter from Nawâb Zeb-un-Nissâ Begam (the daughter of Aurangzib), who at the time had the title of Pâdshâh Begam. His family were comforted, and his servants rejoiced, but suddenly that night—which he regarded pregnant with a thousand hopes—gave birth to a fatal catastrophe. Some Mughals, who had become notorious for their use of the strap (*Tasma*), came and made him lose his senses by announcing the order for his death. That innocent person with Hidâyat Kesh Khân Jadid-ul-Islâm (i.e. newly converted to Islam) and Saidi Qâsim *Kotwâl* of Delhi was strangled.

The reason for his killing is not clear. Some state that when the order for his realease was passed, the Saiyids gave a signal for putting him to death. Others have stated that his enemies cleverly produced before the Emperor a fictitious letter of the Begam recommending his being put to death. This report is corroborated by the fact that when Farrukh Siyar had an interview with the Begam, she complained about the slaying of Sa'd Ullah Khân, who for generations had been associated with her. The Emperor mentioned her letter, but she absolutely repudiated it. The Emperor becoming circumspect expressed sincere regrets². Like his revered father Sa'd Ullah Khân was famous for his honesty and capability, and was little addicted to harsh measures.

¹ But see Irvine, *Later Mughals*, I, p. 186, according to whom he was appointed *Khân-i-Sâman*.

² For a detailed account of his execution etc. see Irvine, *op cit.*, I, pp. 276, 277.

SAD ULLĀH KHĀN BAHĀDUR MUZAFFAR JANG

(Vol. II, pp. 520-524).

He was the son of Mutawassil Khān Bahādur Rustam Jang, son of Hifz Ullāh Khān, son of Sa'd Ullāh Khān Shāhjāhān¹. The account of Sa'd Ullāh Khān is recorded in this notice. Hifz Ullāh Khān was, in Emperor Aurangzib's time, appointed Governor of Tatta and *Faujdār* of Siwistān. In the 43rd year, at the instance of Sultān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, his rank was increased to 2,000 with 1,000 horse², and in the 44th year, he was granted an increase of 500 horse³. In the 45th year, he died. His sons⁴ were not without merit, and three of them did well. One was Mutawassil Khān who was patronised by Khān Firuz Jang. In the beginning of Emperor Muhammad Shāh's reign when Nizām-ul-Mulk Āṣaf Jāh went from Mälwa to the Deccan, he accompanied him and distinguished himself in the battle against Saiyid Dilāwar 'Alī Khān. In the battle with 'Ālam 'Alī Khān he showed devotion, and had two wounds. As a reward, he was given the rank of 3,000 with 2,000 horse, the title of Bahādur, and the gifts of a flag and drums. For a time, he was the Deputy Governor of Aurangābād, and later was appointed *Faujdār* of Baglāna. Finally he received the title of Rustam Jang, and was appointed Governor of Bijāpūr. He died there. The second son was Hifz Ullāh Khān Babr Jang. When Nizām-ul-Mulk after having been appointed Premier returned to the Deccan, Hifz Ullāh accompanied him and took part in the battle against Mubāriz Khān.

¹ For his biography see *Maātbir-ul-Umarā*, Text, II, pp. 441-449, translation *antea*, pp.

² *Maātbir-i-Ālamgīrī*, p. 407.

³ *Id.*, p. 432.

⁴ *Id.*, p. 440.
5 Most of this account refers to personalities who played minor parts in the affairs of Hyderabad Deccan, and was apparently based on personal information of the author. A good biography of Muzaffar Jang is included in *Khazā-nā-i-Āmira*, where it is stated that he was the first of the Indian nobles to employ European troops. Pālygars of the text is generally transcribed as Pollygars in most English works.

His rank was raised to 3,000 with 2,000 horse, he was given the title of Bahâdur, and granted a flag and drums. For a long time he was the *Qila'adâr* and *Faujdâr* of Mâhwâr and Kârrâ, and later was the Governor of Nândâir. At last he received the title of Babr Jang, and the gift of a fringed palanquin. As a result of an attack of paralysis he was for long confined to his house, and died in 1167 A.H. (1754 A.D.). He had no children. The third was Tâlib Muhiy-ud-Dîn Khân Bahâdur. At first he served in Northern India, and was the *Faujdâr* of the southern part of the province of Lâhôre—which was the home of his ancestors. Later with his brother, Harz Ullâh Khân Bahâdur, he accompanied Niżâm-ul-Mulk Âşaf Jâh to the Deccan. After Mubâriz Khân was killed, he was appointed *Faujdâr* of Sârkâr Râichûr and Sârkâr Madakal in Bîjâpûr province. As he had military aptitude, he brought the government of both the Sârkârs into good order. As a reward for his services, he was appointed *Faujdâr* of Imtiâzgâh otherwise known as Adôni, and Deputy Governor of Bîjâpûr. He took all possible steps for the proper administration of the province, and became a man of means and position. Shortly afterwards, he died. His son Hasan Muhiy-ud-Dîn Khân, who later received the title of his father, was for some time the *Qil'adâr* of Mâhwâr. But Mużaffar Jang's real name was Hidâyat Muhiy-ud-Dîn, and his mother was Khair-un-Nisâ Begum, the daughter of Niżâm-ul-Mulk Âşaf Jâh. From early days he devoted himself to studies and learning etiquette, and earned a good name. After some time he received the title of Khân, and gradually rose to the rank of 3,000 with 2,000 horse. He also received the title of Bahâdur, and the gift of a flag and drums. He was with his father while the latter was the Governor of Bîjâpûr. After his death his rank was raised by 1,000, and he was given the title of Mużaffar Jang, and elevated above his peers by appointment as the Governor of the said province (Bîjâpûr). He carried out regular expeditions, and subduing the landholders there who were known as *pâlygars* and all of whom were turbulent owing to their having large numbers of retainers sufficient equipment, and extensive territories—himself

became influential and rich, and had a large force under him. As a reward for his services he received the title of Sa'd Ullāh Khān. When Āṣaf Jah died, and Nāṣir Jang, the Martyr, succeeded him in the government of the Deccan, and as formerly there had not been cordiality between him and Muẓaffar Jang, both of them became obsessed with suspicions. Muẓaffar Jang collected troops, and proceeded against the Haidarābād Karnātik (Arcot). Anwar-ud-Dīn Khān, the *Faujdār* fought a battle with him in 1162 A.H. (1749 A.D.), but was killed. On receiving this news, Nāṣir Jang proceeded to that area with a large force and plenty of equipment, and made arrangements for a battle. In the crisis of the battle the hat-wearers of Pondicherry (The French)—on whom he fully relied—became suspicious and deserted him (Muẓaffar Jang). Nāṣir Jang—who had previously tried to conciliate him—now sent for him and kept him under surveillance in a cell (*Zāviya*). As it was fated that he should for a time govern the Deccan, Bahādur Khān Panī and some others conspired and joined the hat-wearers. They carried out a surprise night attack, and Nāṣir Jang was martyred at the hands of the said Afghān. The conspirators took Muẓaffar Jang out of the covered (*ghattātōp*) howdah, and congratulated him. He was seated on the cushion of power. As he had left his mother and his relatives in Pondicherry, he went there, and taking an army of the hat-wearers with him returned. After reaching the village of Rāī'chōtī, a sudden quarrel sprang up. The men of Bahādur Khān Panī—who in his arrogance made no account of any one—carried away the goods of the hat-wearers in two or three carts. A tumult ensued, and Muẓaffar Jang was killed by an arrow on 17th Rabī' I, 1164 A.H. (2nd February, 1751 A.D.). The Afghān also was killed by a bullet. Sa'd Ullāh Khān was distinguished by excellent qualities and pleasant manners. He was a soldier, and a lover of soldiers. He was possessed of energy, and was very considerate towards his comrades. He had committed Divine Word (the *Qur'ān*) to memory, and was fond of men of learning. In this society there were always discourses about books. After him his son Muhammad

Sa'd-ud-Dīn had the title of Muẓaffar Jang, and was appointed Governor of Bijapur, but he soon after died of small-pox.

SA'ĀDAT KHĀN

(Vol. II, pp. 461-463).

He was the son of Zafar Khān¹ son of Zain Khān Kōkā². Separate biographies of both have been included in this work. Sa'ādat Khān at the close of Emperor Jahāngīr's reign had the rank of 1,500 foot with 700 horse³, and had been assigned to the contingent of the Kābul Province⁴. In the 5th year of Emperor Shāh Jahān's reign his rank by promotion was advanced to 1,500 foot with 1,000 horse⁵. In the 9th year, he had an increase of 200 horse, and in the 10th year he had a further increase of 300 horse resulting in his horse-assignment being made equal to his infantry rank⁶. In the 12th year by promotion his rank became 2,000 foot with 1,500 horse⁷. In the 19th year he was appointed with Prince Murād Bakhsh to Balkh and Badakhshān⁸. After the conquest of Balkh he was appointed Governor of Tirmidh⁹. In the 20th year his rank was 2,500 with 2,000 horse, and he was honoured with the gift of drums¹⁰. Later at the recommendation of Jumdat-ul-Mulk Sa'd Ullāh Khān he was favoured with an increase of 500 (horse)¹¹. During the period of his governorship of Tirmidh of the evening when Subhān Quli Khān, the ruler of Bokhāra, who had collected a force of Uzbegs and Alamāns, made a night attack on the said fort, Sa'ādat Khān lighted fireworks (*mahtēbhā*) and rallied forth from the fort with the officers assigned to his command and his own followers, and bravely attacked the enemy. The

¹ *Ma'āthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, II, pp. 755, 756.² *Id. ibid.*, pp. 362-370.⁴ *Id.*, p. 190.⁶ *Bādshāhnāma*, I, part ii, p. 304.⁷ *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p. 133.⁸ *Id.*, p. 485.¹⁰ *Id.*, p. 578.³ *Bādshāhnāma*, I, part i, p. 184.⁵ *Id.*, p. 440.⁹ *Id.*, p. 545.¹¹ *Id.*, p. 594.

fight went on till the morning when the enemy retreated¹. As a reward his rank was advanced to 3,000 with 2,500 horse. In the 21st year he was promoted to the governorship of Ghaznīn, and given the charge of the two Bangash provinces² on the death of Dhul Qadar Khān. In the 22nd year he was appointed to the contingent, which accompanied Prince Muḥammad Aurangzīb Bahādur for the conquest of Qandahār. In accordance with the instructions of the said prince, he left some of his men in the fort of Marū in the province of Qandahār, and himself with a strong force remained in Qarā Bāgh to guard the roads. When it became clear that he was unable to discharge this duty, two other armies were sent, one after the other, in the 23rd year to help him. In the same year he was removed from the governorship of Ghaznīn, and in the 25th year his rank was increased to 3,000 with 3,000 horse, and he was deputed a second time to accompany the said prince to Qandahār. At the time of his departure he was granted a dress of honour, and a horse with gilded trappings. In the 26th year, when the governorship of Kābul was entrusted to Sulaimān Shikoh, he was nominated to the contingent of this prince. Later he accompanied Prince Dārā Shikoh on the Qandahār campaign. In the 29th year he was appointed Governor of the two Bangash provinces in succession to Mubārak Khān Niyāzī. In the 31st year he was appointed to guard the fort of Kābul³ in succession to Fath Ullāh son of Sa'id Khān. Later when the affairs of government passed into the hands of Emperor Aurangzīb, in the 2nd year of the reign, 1069 A.H. (1659 A.D.) he was killed by his son Shēr Ullāh⁴ with a dagger. Mahābat Khān, the Governor, in accordance with orders imprisoned Shēr Ullāh.

¹ Id., p. 623. The words in *Bādshāhnāma* بادشاہنامہ in place of مقصودیاران مقصودیاران in the *Māatbir* appear to be more correct, otherwise the description is taken almost verbatim from the former work.

² 'Amal-i-Sālīb, III, p. 22.

³ Id., p. 263. I have failed to find the exact references to his appointments in the intervening period.

⁴ In *Ālamgīrnāma*, p. 442, the name of the son is given as Shēr Bēg.

SĀDĀT KHĀN DHŪLFIQĀR JANG

(Vol. II, pp. 524-527).

He was the son of Sādāt Khān, alias Saiyid Husain Khān, a *Mīr Buzurg* of the Marashi clān¹. Sādāt Khān's daughter² was married to Muhammad Farrukh Siyar. As a result Sādāt Khān was promoted, and first had the title of Saiyid Salābat Khān and a suitable rank, and then appointed Superintendent of the Artillery. On the day³ when the Bārah Saiyids seized Muhammad Farrukh Siyar, Sādāt Khān, alias Saiyid Husain Khān, with his sons had proceeded to Chāndnī Chauk and created a disturbance. He and one of his sons were killed, but three sons escaped. One was the Khān to whom this account relates, and the others Saif Khān and Saiyid Husain Khān. Their *jāgīr* was confiscated by the Bārah Saiyids. Afterwards the said Khān joined Qutb-ul-Mulk, and was with him in the battle⁴ which took place under the banner of Sultān Ibrāhīm.

When in 1133 A.H. (1720-21 A.D.) Emperor Muhammad Shāh was married⁵ to the daughter of Muhammad Farrukh Siyar, who was

In *Maāthir-i-Ālamgiri*, p. 28 his name is Shér Ullāh son of Sa'ādat Khān great grandson of Tarbiyat Khān. In *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, II, p. 679, he is described as Shér Zād, and the event is wrongly described as having occurred in the 1st year of Emperor Aurangzib's reign.

¹ Irvine, in *Journ. As. Soc. Bengal*, LXXIII, p. 359, states in note that he is unable to explain the epithets. *Mīr Buzurg* appears to mean a leading chieftain, while Marash is a town in Asiatic Turkey; apparently he was of Turkish origin.

² She was Fakhr-un-Nissā Begum, see Irvine *loc. cit.* She was the mother of Malikā-uz-Zamāni, the wife of Muhammad Shāh.

³ 9th Rabi' II, 1131 A.H. (28th February, 1719 A.D.), see Irvine, *loc. cit.*, pp. 342-344.

⁴ Battle of Hasnapur, 13th November, 1720 A.D. See Irvine, *Later Mughals*, II, pp. 85-93. The date according to Sir Jadunath Sarkar in *Cambridge History of India*, IV, p. 345 is 15th November.

⁵ See *Siyar-i-Mutakkhirin*, Text, II, p. 455, where the date of the marriage is given as 19th Safr 1134 A.H. (8th December, 1721 A.D.). She was Bādshah Begum also known as Malikā-uz-Zamāni. Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *Op. cit.*, p. 346 gives the date as 9th January, 1721.

the daughter of Gauhar-un-Nissā Bēgum, the sister of the Said Khān—the marriage was celebrated with great splendour. Accordingly many of the officers presented lakhs of rupees, and every one received a dress of honour, and jewels and increase of pay. Besides, the Khān's daughter also was married to Emperor Muḥammad Shāh, and was given the title of Sāhibā Mahal. On this score the Khān was treated with special favour, and given the rank of 4,000, and the post of *Bakhshī* of the *Ahdīs*. Afterwards he was appointed 4th *Bakhshī* on the death of Ḥamīd-ud-Dīn Khān 'Alamgīrshāhī, and promoted to the rank of 6,000. As both the Bēgums of Emperor Muḥammad Shāh had no children, they together brought up (as their own son) Mīrzā Ahmad Bahādur¹ who after ascending the throne was known as Ahmad Shāh. When in the year 1161 A.H. (1748 A.D.) news was received that the Shāh Durrānī was marching towards India, and the Emperor could not, on account of dropsy, personally march to meet him, the said prince (Ahmad Shāh) was sent under the guardianship of Saiyid Salābat Khān with I'timād-ud-Daulah the premier, Ṣafdar Jang, the Head of the Artillery, and other officers to oppose the Afghāns. A battle took place, and the Durrānīs were forced to retire to their native land². Meanwhile Emperor Muḥammad Shāh died, and Ahmad Shāh ascended the throne. The Khān became on the death of Niẓām-ul-Mulk Āṣaf Jāh the *Mir Bakhshī*, and was exalted by promotion to the rank of 8,000 with 8,000 horse, and given the title of Saiyid Sādāt Khān Bahādur Dhūlfiqār Jang. The Emperor used to call him *Nānā Bābā* (maternal grandpapa). As people are prone on account of selfish motives, jealousy and suspicion to work for others' disgrace, the eunuch Jāwīd Khān—who managed the affairs of the State, and was known as Nawāb Bahādur—becoming jealous of him always carried tales against him to the Emperor. At least in 1164 A.H. (1751 A.D.) he was

¹ See Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *Fall of Mughal Empire*, I, p. 341, and note. Ahmad Shāh was the son of a concubine of Muḥammad Shāh, see Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 334.

² See *Fall of Mughal Empire*, I, 216-233. The battle took place at Manupur. See also *Cambridge History of India*, IV, pp. 272, 273.

imprisoned in the royal fort for three days, and most of his property was confiscated¹. The office of *Mīr Bakhsbī* and the title of *Amīr-ul-Umarā* were transferred from him to Firuz Jang Bahādur, the eldest son of Nizām-ul-Mulk Aṣaf Jāh. In the year 1166 A.H. (1753 A.D.) he was, at the instance of Ṣafdar Jang, again appointed *Bakhsbī*, but as Ṣafdar Jang could not maintain his footing and retired to his estates in Oudh, the *Khān* also went with him and died there.

SA'ĀDAT ULLĀH KHĀN

(Vol. II, pp. 513-514).

He belonged to the Nawait² tribes. In the time of Emperor Aurangzib he was, at the instance of Dhūlīqār Khān, appointed superintendent of the district of Karnātik (Carnatic) Haidarābād. As he treated both and small great with equal consideration, he gained a name for magnanimity. After Mubāriz Khān was killed, and Nizām-ul-Mulk Aṣaf Jāh proceeded to that quarter, Sa'ādat Ullāh through foresight came and welcoming him presented him all the gold in his possession. He was treated with honour, and allowed to return to his assignment. For a long time he governed that area, and gained a good name for his equity and justice. He died in 1145 A.H.³ (1732 A.D.). After him Dōst 'Alī Khān son of his brother was appointed in his place. When the Marathas created a disturbance there, he opposed them, and he and his son Ṣafdar 'Alī Khān⁴ were

1 For a detailed account see *Fall of Mughal Empire*, I, p. 358 *et seq.*

2 In Wilson's *Glossary* (Gangulee & Basu edn.), p. 592, as *Nawaethe* meaning: those who had newly come. See also Col. Wilk's *Hist. Sketches*, I, p. 242. The Nawaiṭs are believed to have settled on the west coast of India.

3 According to Beale, *Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, p. 337, he died in 1135 A.H. (1722 A.D.).

4 Dōst 'Alī Khān was killed in this battle, but not his son Ṣafdar 'Alī Khān who, according to Beale, *op. cit.*, p. 341, was murdered by his brother-in-law Murtadā 'Alī Khān at Vellore on 2nd October, 1742. For further details of Ṣafdar 'Alī's death see Yusuf Husain Khan—*Nizamul-Mulk Aṣaf Jāh*, I, p. 250.

killed. Husain Dōst Khān alias Chandā Sāhib was Sa'ādat Ullāh Khān's son-in-law¹, and was in the fort of Trichinopoly, Raghū Bhōnsle besieged the fort and captured it. Chandā Sāhib was made a prisoner, and was in prison for a long time, but was at last released on payment of a ransom. He went to Bijāpūr and joined the Zamīndār there.

When about this time disagreements arose between Nāṣir Jang, the Martyr, and Muẓaffar Jang, he sided with the latter, and induced him by specious pretexts² (lit. by showing verdant gardens) to proceed to Arkāt (Arcot). When Anwar-ud-Dīn Khān the *Faujdār* of Arcot was slain, Chandā Sāhib went towards Tanjōre³ along with Muẓaffar Jang, but as the seige was not successful, he returned with him. In the height of the battle (with Nāṣir Jang), he and the French left Muẓaffar Jang and retired to the port of Pondicherry. When after the martyrdom of Nāṣir Jang, Muẓaffar Jang came to power, he was again granted the *Faujdāri* of Arcot. After a little while Muḥammad 'Alī Khān alias Anwar-ud-Dīn Khān⁴ brought an army of hat-wearers, (the English) against him. He was made a prisoner, and put to death. He had two sons. One was Zain-ud-Dīn Khān who was a man of jealous disposition. He composed poetry and his *nom-de-plume* was Bādil. This verse is his :

Verse

My pain is not one for examination by physicians,

My wound is to be healed by the lustre of the sword.

He fell bravely in battle. The second 'Alī Radā Khān is still alive.

¹ This is incorrect. He was the son-in-law of Dōst 'Alī and not of Sa'ādat Ullāh Khān. He was taken prisoner by the Marhattas on 26th March, 1741, and imprisoned in the fort of Satara, but at the intervention of Dupleix released in 1748, and appointed Nawāb of Carnatic by Muẓaffar Jang. He was killed by the Marhattas in 1752; see Beale, *op. cit.*, p. 114.

² See Roebuck's *Oriental Proverbs*, II, No. 372.

³ Text Chanchawar, it is most probably Tanjōre, as I have rendered it, or Conjevaram.

⁴ See chapter X of Yusuf Husain Khan's work cited above for a detailed account of the Carnatic affairs. Also see *Cambridge Hist. of India*, Vol. IV, pp. 386, 387, and V, p. 126 *et seq.*

SĀDIQ KHĀN MIR BAKHS̄HĪ

(Vol. II, pp. 729-731).

He was the son of Āqā Tāhir—whose *nom-de-plume* was Waslī—the son of Muḥammad Sharif of Herat, and brother's son and son-in-law of I'timād-ud-Daulah of Tehrān. For a time he was, with his father, *Faujdār* of the Panjāb, and in Emperor Jahāngīr's reign attained a suitable rank. In the 8th year of the reign he received the title of Khān, and in the 9th year was appointed Bakhs̄hī, and raised to the rank of 1,000¹ with 500 horse. In the 10th year he had an increase of 200 horse, and gradually rose higher. In the 18th year he was appointed Governor of the Panjāb², and deputed to annex the northern hill country. After accomplishing this work he joined the Emperor's entourage with his contingent, and having made Jagat Singh—who for some time had been behaving seditiously in that quarter (the northern hill country)—hopeful of royal favour, brought him to the Presence. Through the intercession of Nūr Jahān Begum Jagat Singh was forgiven³. When Emperor Jahāngīr died on his way back from Kashmīr, and Yamīn-ud-Daulah, owing to the exigencies of the time, made Dāwar Bakhs̄h, son of Khusrāu, the sovereign, Sādiq Khān—who had been antagonistic towards Shāh Jahān—became afraid of his fate in view of his past actions, and resorted to Yamīn-ud-Daulah for protection. The latter took the three princes (sons of Shāh Jahān) from Nūr Jahān Begum, and handed them over to Sādiq Khān so that service in their cause might become the means of his salvation⁴. In the 1st year of

¹ This seems to be incorrect, as in *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīr* (Rogers and Beveridge's translation), I, p. 701, he is mentioned in the 10th year as having been granted an increase of 300 horse bringing his rank to 1,000 personal and horse.

² *Tūzuk*, op. cit., p. 259. He is mentioned as holding office of the *Mir Bakhs̄hī* in the 17th year, p. 222.

³ See, however, *Tūzuk*, op. cit., p. 289.

⁴ *Iqbālnāma-i-Jahāngīr*, p. 295; also Banarsi Prasad's *History of Shah-jahan*, p. 58. Sādiq Khān was the brother-in-law of Yamīn-ud-Daulah Asaf Khān.

Emperor Shāh Jahān's reign he presented himself with the three princes, and was graciously received and confirmed in his earlier rank of 4,000 with 4,000 horse, and the possession of a flag and drums¹. As the office of the *Bakhsī* had already been assigned to Irādat Khān, who later at the recommendation of Yamīn-ud-Daulah was made *Wazīr*, Şadiq Khān was restored to his office of *Bakhsī* and received a jewelled inkstand². In the 6th year, he died³ on the 9th Rabi' I, 1043 A.H. (3rd September, 1633 A.D.). The Emperor, out of consideration for his services, sent Prince Muhammad Aurangzib Bahādur to console his sons. He had four sons, of whom Ja'far Khān was the ablest, and the second was Raushan-Damīr Salābat Khān—separate accounts of both of whom have been given in this work⁴. The third was 'Abdur Rahmān whose heart's desire was gratified by an advance in his rank⁵ after his father's death. Later he was appointed *Bakhsī* of *Abadis*⁶. He⁷ was removed from this appointment in the 8th year, and in the 12th year⁸ he was raised to the rank of 1,000 foot with 400 horse. Still later he was exalted by the grant of the title of *Marhamat* Khān⁹. In the 19th year he was appointed¹⁰ to act as the host for *Khusrau*, son of Nadhar Muhammad Khān ruler of Balkh, who desired to wait on the Emperor while he was in Kābul. In the 20th year he was granted an increase of 500 with 400 horse¹¹. The fourth was Bahrām, whose account has been included in the notice of his son Bahramand Khān *Mir Bakhsī*¹².

1 *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. i, p. 181.

2 *Op. cit.*, p. 186.

3 *Op. cit.*, p. 538.

4 For Ja'far Khān, see *Maathir*, Text, I, pp. 531-535, Beveridge & Prashad's translation, I, pp. 722, 723. For Salābat Khān Raushan-Damīr *Maathir*, Text, II, pp. 731-733.

5 *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. i, p. 539.

6 *Op. cit.*, p. 541.

7 *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. ii, p. 68.

8 *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p. 134.

9 *Op. cit.*, p. 146.

10 *Op. cit.*, p. 518.

11 With an increase of 500 his rank became 1,500 with 400 horse, *op. cit.*, p. 594.

12 *Maathir*, Text I, pp. 454-457, Beveridge's translation, I, pp. 365-368.

It is stated that Şadiq Khân was courteous and affable, and tried to treat everyone with kindness, so much so that Mahâbat Khân, who was an enemy of his family, regarded him as belonging to his party. He was very fond of horses, and had collected many Iranian (of the Iraqi race) ones. He, however, used every pretext¹ for fining soldiers for absence, and so was reviled by them.

ŞADIQ MUHAMMAD KHÂN HIRÂTI²

(Vol. II, pp. 724-729).

He was the son of Muhammed Bâqîr of Hirât, who was the minister of Qarâ Khân Turkamân, ruler of Khurâsân, who rebelled against Shâh Tahmâsp. When Şadiq Muhammed came to India in straitened circumstances, he took up service under Bairâm Khân, and was appointed his equerry (*rikâbdâr*). As a result of his honesty he soon obtained service under the Crown, and after Bairâm Khân's death was promoted to the rank of an *Amîr*. When after the conquest of Patna, Emperor Akbar returned to Jaunpûr by boat, Şadiq Khân was ordered³ to bring back the camp slowly by the land route and over suitable ferries. It so happened that an elephant named Lâl Khân was drowned at the Chausa ferry, and it was discovered that Şadiq Khân had not taken the necessary precautions in crossing the ferry. His fief was confiscated and he was forbidden to appear at the Court, and sent to Tatta⁴ (Sindh). It was laid down that until he produced an elephant to replace the one that was lost, he was not to be allowed to perform his obeisance. In fact it was a lesson in

¹ This is a reference to Şadiq Khân being also the Paymaster General in his view of his being the *Mir Bakhsî*. For *Ghair hâdari* see Irvine, *W. Army of the Indian Mughals*, p. 25, according to which pay was cut "if a man was absent from three consecutive turns of guard (*chauki*)."

² Blochmann's translation of *A'în* I (2nd edn.) pp. 382-384.

³ *Akbarnâma*, Text, III, p. 105, Beveridge's translation, III, pp. 146, 147.

⁴ In *Akbarnâma*, Text, III, pp. 143, the words are ﻭَرْجَ ﻡَوْلَى which Beveridge, p. 201, has rightly translated as "desert of exile." Tatta, however, appears to be a *lapsus calami* for Bhatti in Central India.

service so that in royal affairs he was not to make a distinction between small things and great. He having spent some time in ups and downs, came to the court in the 20th year, and produced one hundred elephants in payment of his fine. He was restored to favour, and appointed to the charge of Garha¹ in place of Rāī Surjan.

In the 22nd year, Şadiq Muhammed Khān was deputed with other officers to chastise Rāja Madhukar, whose presumption had increased owing to the impregnable nature of his country. When he passed the borders of Narwar, he attempted to admonish the Rāja, but the latter did not hearken, and so Şadiq Muhammed Khān proceeded to cut the jungle². Near Orcha there was a great battle. Hōral Rāo the Rāja's son was killed and he himself was wounded. Şadiq Muhammed Khān to make certain took up quarters in the district. The Rāja was obliged to sue for peace, and in the 23rd year he with Şadiq Muhammed Khān came to the Court. After this the latter was granted a fief in the Eastern districts.

When Mużaffar Khān was killed by the rebels (in Bihār), and the greater part of Bengāl and Bihār was taken possession of by the rebels, Şadiq Muhammed Khān behaved with fidelity and courage, and fought them, and saved several valuable districts from falling into the hands of the rebels. In the 27th year, he fought with Khabīṭa—who, as an unknown man of the Mughal tribe, had served among the Badkhshān troops, and distinguished himself with Ma'sūnī Kābulī as a sedition-monger. He came from Bengāl to Bihār and was practising tyranny on the peasantry. Şadiq Muhammed Khān fought a battle at Patna and was victorious. He cut off his (Khabīṭa's)³ head and sent it to the Court. When

¹ *Akkarnāma*, Text, III, p. 158, Beveridge's translation, III, p. 223.

² Through some omission in the text the cutting down of the jungle is ascribed to Rāja Madhukar. I have restored the proper text following *Akkarnāma*, Text, III, p. 229, Beveridge's translation, III, p. 324.

³ *Akkarnāma*, Text, III, pp. 388, 389. Beveridge's translation, III, p. 575. For Khabīṭa also see Blochmann, *op. cit.* p. 383, note 1.

Wazīr Khān was forced to encamp at Bardwān in his campaign against Qutlū Karārānī (Lōhānī)—who had conquered Orīssa and because of whose trickery Wazīr Khān could not make any progress, Şādiq Muhammad Khān in the 29th year joined him, and managed affairs so skilfully that Qutlū feeling helpless had to retire to Orīssa. The officers followed him, and he getting alarmed proposed a peace, and sent his brother's son with choice elephants to the Court. The officers left Orīssa to him, and Şādiq Muhammad Khān returned to his fief in Patna. When Shāhbāz Khān returned unsuccessful from the Bhātī country, and the fief-holders of Bihār were appointed to assist in the Bengāl campaign; Şādiq Muhammad Khān and he did not get on. When one work is assigned to two discordant leaders, confusion arises, and so Khwāja Sulaimān was sent from the Court to arrange that one of them should undertake the work, and the other return to Bihār. Şādiq Muhammad Khān took the work into his own hands in the 30th year, and in the same year went post-haste to the Court without being summoned. He was not admitted to an audience. When Shāhbāz Khān under royal orders returned from Bihār to Bengāl, Şādiq Muhammad Khān came to the Court, and was appointed Governor of Multān. When the Raushānis of Tīrāh—which is a hill country west of Peshāwar, 32 *kos* long and 12 broad—made the homeland of the Afridīs and Orakzaīs their shelter, and stirred up disturbances, Şādiq Muhammad Khān in 33rd year was appointed to put them down. By courage and skill he subdued them, and they agreed to keep the Khaibar route open, and handed over (to the imperialists) Mullā Ibrāhīm whom Jalālā respected as much as his father. Jalālā thereupon lost trust in them, and went off to Tūrān. When Zain Khān Kōkā—who had brought about some order in Swāt and Bajaur—returned to the Court, Şādiq Muhammad Khān was ordered in the same year to march from Tīrāh and reduce to obedience the remainder of the recalcitrants. In the 38th year when Prince Sultān Murād was transferred from Mālwa to Gujarāt, and as Ismā'il Quli Khān had not been able properly to manage the affairs of the Prince, Şādiq

Muhammad Khān was sent with the Prince as his guardian¹. In the 40th year when the Prince was ordered to conquer the Deccan, and Shāhrukh Mīrzā, Shāhbāz Khān and Khān Khānān were appointed auxiliaries, the old dislike between Sādiq Muḥammad Khān and Shāhbāz Khān again became acute, and they tried to injure each other. Though in the year 1004 A.H. (1595-96 A.D.) Ahmadnagar was invested, and on account of the prevailing famine the besieged were in difficulties, yet owing to the disagreement and negligence of the officers Chānd Bibī maintained her position. At last peace was arranged on feeble and flimsy conditions, and the army withdrew. The Prince with the officers went off to Berār, and Sādiq Muḥammad Khān taking upon himself the charge of the frontier made Mahkar his headquarters.

In the beginning of the 41st year, he was promoted to the rank of 5,000. In the same year he sent a force against and defeated Iwaz Khān², who was creating a disturbance, and obtained much plunder. When Khudāwand Khān Deccanī got together a number of Deccanī officers to join him and behaved with presumption, Sādiq Muḥammad Khān marched out against him, and had many hand to hand fights. Khudāwand Khān could not withstand him and fled, after losing many men. When the Prince abandoning Berār to some extent encamped at some six *kos* from Bālapūr in 1004 A.H. (1595-96 A.D.) and gave the place the name of Shāhpūr, and Khān Khānān and Mīrzā Shāhrukh were recalled to the Court, the control of the army and the administration of the country was assigned to Sādiq Muḥammad Khān alone and without any other officer to participate in it. In the beginning of the 42nd

¹ *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 641, Beveridge's translation, III, p. 985.

² In *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 711, the name is علی جوڑی which is adopted by Beveridge in the translation, p. 1059. Blochmann, p. 383, has Sarawar Khān. Maṭthīr has علی جوڑی and apparently Blochmann regarded this as a part of the name علی جوڑی appears to be more correct as this name occurs later also in *Akbarnāma*.

year¹, 1005 A. H. (1566-97 A. D.) he died of dysentery at Shāhpūr. He had made Dhōlpūr, 20 *kos* from Āgra his home, and had erected a *sarā'i*, a building and his tomb there, and had developed the neighbouring villages. His eldest son was Zāhid Khān² whose account has been separately recorded. His other sons were Dōst Muhammad and Yār Muhammad who had received suitable ranks during Emperor Akbar's reign. None of them survived into Shāh Jahān's reign. But Ṣādiq Muhammad Khān Bā'ījī(?) lived for a long while in Dhōlpūr and died there.

(HAKIM) SADRĀ

(Vol. I, pp. 577-579).

His title was Masīh-uz-Zamān (Messiah of the Age), and he was the son of Ḥakīm Fakhr-ud-Dīn of Shīrāz, who in the time of Shāh Tahmāsp, the ruler of Irān, received the name of Mīrzā Muhammād. Many of his relations, and people of his tribe were physicians. His genealogy goes up to Ḥāritīh, the son of Kalda³, who was in the service of "The Seal of the Prophets" (Muhammad)! upon whom be Peace! Be virtue of his benediction the science of medicine will flourish in his family till the day of judgment. Ḥakīm Fakhr-ud-Dīn was an expert physician and a man of good words. He was very skilled in the curing of diseases. The learned of the age regarded his dicta as authoritative, and his treatment as trustworthy. The physicians of the day prided themselves on being his disciples, and discussed medical books on the basis of his opinions. But as he was a free thinker⁴ (*ba tawassu' mashrab mashhūr būd*), the Shāh did not pay much

¹ Not in the beginning of the year, but in the 7th or 8th month of the year, see *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 720, Beveridge's translation, p. 1074. Ṣādiq Khān died in March, 1597 A.D.

² *Maathir-al-Umarā*, Text, II, p. 370.

³ *Kalāwah* in the text is apparently incorrect. I have followed *Bādshāhnāma*, I, part ii, p. 384, in adopting Kalda, as the account is apparently taken from it.

⁴ Possibly the words mean that he was addicted to drinking.

regard to him. Ḥakīm Ṣadrā, after learning other sciences, became famous, like his father, for his skill in medicine, and in the height of his youth migrated to India in the 46th year of Emperor Akbar's reign. In the time of Emperor Jahāngīr he was appointed head of the physicians, received the title of *Masīh-uz-Zamān*¹, and the rank of 3,000 with 500 horse². After the accession of Emperor Shāh Jahān he rose more and more into favour, and was appointed Reviser of Petitions (*Ard-i-Mukarrar*)—an appointment which was not given to any one but a really trusted person. In the 4th year he³ obtained leave to go to Mecca, and through divine aid and guidance successfully performed the pilgrimage. He returned *via* Basra to the port of Lāharī, and in the 8th year had the good fortune of kissing the threshold. He presented forty Arab horses which he had purchased in Basra and its neighbourhood. The present was accepted, and of these horses two, one a roan (*būz*) and the other a high-bred (*tarf*)—which were very good-looking, well-mannered, sound of limbs and fast-footed—became the heads of the Emperor's stud; they were known respectively as *Pādshāh Pasand* (approved by the Emperor) and *Tamam 'Iyār* (of perfect marks). The Ḥakīm was reappointed to his old rank, presented an elephant, and Rs. 20,000 in cash, and appointed Governor of the blessed port of Sūrat and the *parganas* pertaining thereto⁴.

As the Ḥakīm was a confirmed believer in the Imāmiyā sect, and

¹ See Rogers and Beveridge's translation of *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīr*, II, pp. 213, 217. Jahāngīr's caustic remarks in regard to the Ḥakīm refusing to treat him for his illness in the 17th year of the reign are specially interesting.

² In *Bādshāhnāma*, I, part i, his arrival at the Court in the 1st year of the reign of Shāh Jahān, and his being granted a robe of honour, and being confirmed in his earlier rank of 3,000 with 500 horse—is mentioned on pp. 159, 160.

³ See *Bādshāhnāma*, I, part i, pp. 406, 407, for a detailed account. It is also noted that for the post of 'Ard-i-Mukarrar Ḥakīm Hādhiq son of Ḥakīm Hamām Gilāni—was appointed as his successor.

⁴ The account is taken almost verbatim from *Bādshāhnāma*, I, part ii, pp. 102, 103.

was possessed of perfect piety and purity, he resigned his service¹, and with a tranquil mind lived in retirement at Lāhōrē. He spent most of the time in Lāhōrē, but used to go to Kashmīr during summer. Sometimes he was sent for, and in accordance with orders would present himself at the Court. As he exerted himself in curing the Bēgam Ṣāhib of the illness caused by her being burnt, he, in the 18th year, received an increase of Rs. 10,000 as a result of which his annual salary rose to Rs. 50,000². Thereafter he was allowed to depart. In the 24th year corresponding to 1061 A.H. (1651 A.D.) he died in Kashmīr. He had a poetical vein and his *nom-de-plume* was Masih-i-llāhī³. This verse is his:

Verse

My flavour is limited, but my price is beyond count!
One would say it is an early fruit from the garden of my life.

It is stated that the Ḥakīm had 300 maid servants. Every one had a fixed occupation, and they were all engaged in their respective duties from morning to evening, and from evening to midnight. He did not allow them even a moment's rest. When people asked him the reason for this strict regime and tyranny, he replied, "so long as women are not busy, idle thoughts come into their heads". It is also said that they were treated harshly in the matter of maintenance.

(MIRZĀ) ṢAFAVĪ KHĀN 'ALI NAQĪ
(Vol. III, pp. 653, 654).

He was related to the Ṣafavī Kings. In the 47th year of Emperor Aurangzib's reign he came to India, and entered into service. He

1. The appointment of his successor as the Governor of Sūrat is mentioned in the 12th year on page 116 of *Bādshāhnāma*, II.

2. See, however, *Bādshāhnāma* II, p. 399, where it is stated that he received a reward of Rs. 10,000, and an increase of Rs. 14,000 which resulted in annual emoluments being increased to Rs. 50,000. He was granted a further increase of Rs. 10,000 in the 19th year, p. 505.

3. But his *nom-de-plume* is given as *llābī* only in the account of his career in *Bādshāhnāma*, I, part ii, pp. 347, 348.

received the rank of 3,000¹ foot with 1,000 horse, and the title of Mīrzā Ṣafavī Khān, and was appointed to the high office of the 3rd Bakhsbī. In the 49th year when he was married² to the daughter of Mu'azzam Khān (Mīr Jumla), he was presented a robe of honour with a Sarpech (turban ornament) and Rs. 12,000 in cash. After the death of Aurangzib he accompanied Muhammad Ā'zam Shāh from the Deccan to Upper India, and was in the centre in the battle³ against Bahādur Shāh. Several notable officers sacrificed their lives with Ā'zam Shāh, and he also was⁴ killed.

SAFDAR KHĀN KHWĀJA QĀSIM

(Vol. II, pp. 733-736).

He is Saiyid Atā'. It is stated that he originally was one of the numerous servants of 'Abdullah Khān Bahādur Firūz Jang⁵. Later he attached himself to Prince Shāh Jahān, and by his long service during the period of alienation (from Jahāngīr) secured a place for himself in the Prince's affections. After the accession he, in the 1st year, attained the rank of 2,500 foot with 1,200 horse, and received a dress of honour, a jewelled dagger, a horse with a silver saddle, an elephant, and a present of Rs. 30,000 in cash⁶. Later, he received the title of Ṣafdar Khān⁷—which in Emperor Jahāngīr's

¹ This appointment is recorded in the account of the 48th year, see *Maathir-i-'Alamgiri*, p. 482, where it is stated that he was granted Rs. 5,000 cash on arrival at Sūrat for his expenses, and was appointed to the office of 3,000 with 1,000 horse, and granted a robe of honour, a horse, an elephant, and a *jugha* studded with gems.

² *Maathir-i-'Alamgiri*, p. 496.

³ Battle of Jajau, 18th June, 1707.

⁴ Irvine, *Later Mughals*, I, pp. 31, 32.

⁵ For his account see *Maathir-ul-Umarā*, Text, II, pp. 777-789, Beveridge's translation I, pp. 97-105.

⁶ This is based on *Bādsbāhnāma*, I, part i, p. 118, but the cash award there is Rs. 25,000 and not Rs. 30,000.

⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 201.

time had been held by Mirzā Lashkarī son of Saiyid Yūsuf Khān Radavī, and who was now granted the title of Ṣaf Shikan Khān. He was also appointed *Faujdār* and fief-holder of Sirōnj. At the time of the first rebellion of Jujhār Singh he was deputed² with Khān Jahān Lōdī on the expedition against him. After that he received the gift of a flag. In the 2nd year he went with Khwāja Abūl Ḥasan Turbatī in pursuit of Khān Jahān Lōdī, and in 3rd year he was honoured by an increase of 500 horse in his rank and the grant of drums. He then joined Rāo Ratan Hārā—who with some other officers had been appointed to block the path of the rebels by taking post at Bāsim at Bālāghāt in the province of Berār, Telingāna. Later he was promoted³ to the rank of 3,000 foot with 2,000 horse. In the 4th year he was appointed⁴ Governor of the capital and defender of its fort. In the 5th year his rank was increased to 4,000 foot with 2,500 horse⁵, and on the return of the Emperor from the Deccan, he did homage, and was appointed ambassador to Irān. At the time of departure he was allowed 1½ lacs of rupees for expenses, and presented a dress of honour, a *jūghāz*, a jewelled dagger, a horse with a golden saddle and an elephant. He was also to convey presents to the value of 4 lacs of rupees, one lac of which was in the form of decorated vessels, and the other three lacs comprised various rarities of India⁶. After reaching Irān, he had to wait a long time for an interview as the ruler of Irān, Shāh Safi, had gone on an expedition to Erivān on the borders of Turkey. After the interview, the Shāh greatly impressed by his knowledge of the etiquette visited him at his house, and greatly favoured him till his departure. He presented suitable gifts to the Emperor, and souvenirs to the officers. In the 11th year he returned⁷, and in the 12th year after reaching the Presēnce he presented⁸ to the Emperor 500 Irānian horses and various rarities of Irān. As he had performed the business of the embassy in a suitable

1 *Op. cit.*, p. 241.

2 *Op. cit.*, p. 307.

3 *Op. cit.*, p. 369.

4 *Op. cit.*, p. 408.

5 *Op. cit.*, pp. 477, 478.

6 *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p. 15.

7 *Op. cit.*, p. 117, but as he had arrived alone his *peshkash* consisted of

manner, he was treated with great favour, and his rank was advanced to 5,000 with 3,000 horse¹. In the same year, when the Emperor went from Agra to Lāhōrē, he, on the way, was appointed Governor of the capital, and granted a special dress of honour, a jewelled dagger with *Phūl Katāra* and an elephant². In the 14th year he was removed from there³, but on his arrival at the Court his rank was increased to 5,000 with 5,000 horse, and he was exalted by the grant of a dress of honour, a horse with golden saddle, and an elephant, and sent⁴ as the Governor of Qandahār in place of Qulīj Khān. In the 17th year⁵ he returned to the Court after removal from that office. As he had been ill in Qandahār he could not pay his respects, and in the 18th year corresponding to 1055⁶ A.H. (1645 A.D.) he died. His sons were favoured by appointment to suitable offices. The eldest was Khwāja 'Abdul Hādī, whose account⁷ has been separately recorded. His second son was Khwāja 'Abdul 'Azīz who upto the 3rd year had the rank of 800 with 600 horse.

ṢAFI KHĀN

(Vol. II, pp. 740-742).

He was the second son of Islām Khān⁸ Mashhadī. In the 19th year of Emperor Shāh Jahān's reign when his father was appointed

only 1,000 gold muhars and nine 'Irāqi horses. His offerings which were presented later are recorded on page 125.

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 122.² *Op. cit.*, p. 130.³ *Op. cit.*, p. 215.⁴ *Op. cit.*, pp. 223, 224.

⁵ He was removed from office in the 17th year, *op. cit.*, p. 356, but did not reach the Court till the 18th year, p. 413.

⁶ In the text the year of his death is wrongly given as 1054 A.H., instead of 1055 A.H., as in *Bādschāhnāma*, II, p. 418.

⁷ *Mā'āthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, I, pp. 772, 773, Beveridge's translation, I, pp. 35, 36.

⁸ For his account see *Mā'āthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, I, pp. 162-167, Beveridge & Prashad's translation, I, pp. 694-696.

Governor of the Deccan, he received a suitable increase in his rank, and went¹ with his father. In the 20th year, he came to the court with his father's offerings (*pêshkash*), and in the 21st year when his father died, he was promoted² to the rank of 1,500 with 400 horse. In the 22nd year he accompanied Prince Muhammâd Aurangzib Bahâdur to Qandahâr. In the 23rd year he was deputed³ as an envoy to 'Adil Khân at Bijâpûr. In the 25th year he came to the Court with 'Adil Khân's tribute—which in cash and goods amounted to forty lacs of rupees—and kissed the royal threshold⁴. After that he accompanied Sultân Aurangzib on the Qandahâr campaign. In the 26th year on return from there he was appointed *Bakhshî* and recorder of the four provinces of the Deccan⁵. In the 27th year he was exalted by the grant of the title of *Khân*⁶, and in the 30th year his rank, on account of some fault, was reduced by 500 and 100 horse; and on being relieved from office he was recalled to the Court. In the 31st year he was granted an increase of 200 horse, and appointed Commandant of the Kangra⁷ Fort. Later, when the throne was embellished by the coronation of Emperor 'Alamgîr, he, in the 1st year, when the Emperor was going to Ajmér to contend with Dârâ Shikoh, came to the Presence, and was appointed Commandant of the fort of the capital⁸. In the 2nd year he was appointed *Bakhshî* of the Household Troops (*Wâlâ Shâhîs*), and in the 5th year was raised to the rank of 3,000 with 1,200 horse. In the 6th year he was appointed Commandant and manager of the affairs of the capital in succession to Hôshdâr Khân. In the 10th year he went to the Deccan with Sultân Muhammâd Mu'azzam. In the 12th year he was appointed Governor of Orissa⁹ in succession to Tarbiyat Khân. Afterwards he was Governor of Agra, and in the 17th year was appointed Governor of Shâhjahâna-

1. 'Amal Sâlib, II, pp. 433, 434.

2. 'Amal Sâlib, III, p. 9.

3. Id., p. 105.

4. Id., p. 126.

5. Id., p. 151.

6. Id., p. 175.

7. Id., p. 248.

8. 'Alamgîrnâma, p. 292. His rank according to the same source was raised to 2,000 with 1,000 horse.

9. *Maâthir-i-'Alamgîri*, p. 90.

bād¹ (Delhī). In the 21st year he was appointed² to accompany Sultān Muḥammad Akbar, who was sent as the Governor of Multān. In the 22nd year he returned and was appointed³ Governor of the province of Āgra. In the 27th year he had charge of Aurangābād⁴, and in the 28th year he was again appointed⁵ Governor of the province of Āgra. His son was Mīr ‘Abd-us-Salām, who during Emperor Aurangzib's reign had the rank of 1,000 with 500 horse, and the title of Barkhūrdār Khān; he was also Superintendent of Sultān Mu'azzam's Artillery. When the said Prince ascended the throne, he received his grandfather's title of Islām Khān, had the rank of 5,000, and was appointed Superintendent of the *Dīwān-i-Khās* and the Chief *Mīr Tūzuk*. In the reign of Muḥammad Farrukh Siyar he was⁶ for a time *Mīr Tūzuk*, and also for some time the 2nd *Bakhshī*. In the reign of Muḥammad Shāh he was promoted to the rank of 7,000⁷. It is said that he was firm and trustworthy, and was well known for his good living. The *Qabūlī Islāmkhāni*⁸, which he introduced, was well prepared in his establishment.

ŞAF SHIKAN KHĀN MĪR ṢADĪR-UD-DĪN

(Vol. II, pp. 746, 747).

He was the son of Qawām-ud-Dīn Khān brother of Khalifa Sultān Premier of Irān. In the 17th year of Emperor Aurangzib's reign he came to India with his father, and entered royal service. He was granted a dress of honour, a sword with golden trappings, and the

1 *Id.*, p. 132.

2 *Id.*, p. 167.

3 *Id.*, p. 181.

4 *Id.*, p. 243.

5 *Id.*, p. 246.

6 Apparently he is the officer who acted as intermediary between Farrukh Siyar and the Bārah Saiyids, see *Later Mughals*, I, pp. 298, 299.

7 He is mentioned in *Khāfi Khān*, II, p. 827, as the Governor of Āgra, and who was forced in the conspiracy to raise Nēkū Siyar to the throne.

8 *Qabūlī* is a dish made of meat, pulse and rice with various condiments, see Blochmann's translation of *Zīn-I* (2nd edition), p. 62.

rank of 700 with 100 horse¹. When his father died in the 23rd year, he received a mourning dress, and sometime after was granted the title of *Shujā'at Khān*; later he was appointed Chief of the Artillery². In the 25th year he had the title of Şaf Shikan Khān, and received as gifts a dress of honour, a jewelled *jīghā'*, a flag and a *tōgb*, and was sent off to Seringāpatam. In the 29th year he offered his obeisance at the Court, and received a dagger and an elephant and was sent back to Bijāpūr³ which was being besieged by Muhammād Ā'zam Shāh. After it was taken in the 30th year, he received⁴ the gift of drums, and went with Firūz Jang for the taking of the fort of Ibrāhīmgār in the province of Haidarābād. In the siege of Gōlconda he erected a lofty battery, and brought it close to the battlements. He placed 90 cannon on it, but owing to a disagreement with Firūz Jang he withdrew from the work and resigned⁵. Accordingly he was censured, dismissed from his rank and had to go into the retirement of a prison⁶. After some days he presented a written bond to the effect that he would erect a battery on the other side in a short time, and bring it close to the battlements of the fort. On this assurance he was released from the prison, and did what he had promised⁷. In the 39th year he went⁸ with Khānāzād Khān to chastise Santājī Ghōrpāre. Owing to the jugglery of the heavens a defeat ensued, as has been detailed in the account of Qāsim Khān Karmānī⁹.

¹ *Maāthbir-i-'Ālamgiri*, p. 130. His father's name is given as Mir Qawām-ud-Din.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 240; this was in the 27th year.

³ *Op. cit.* p. 271.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, pp. 280, 284.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 290.

⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 291.

⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 291.

⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 375. The name of the Marhatta general is given as Baswant in the text, but it was Santājī Ghōrpāre for whom see Kincaid & Parasnis *History of the Maratha People*, pp. 142, 144, 151, 155, 158, 162, 166, 170, and *Cambridge Hist. India*, IV, pp. 291-295. Sir Jadunath Sarkar describes him there as "the greatest Maratha soldier after Shivaji."

⁹ *Maāthbir-ul-Umarā*, Text, III, pp. 123-126, translation *antea*, pp. 505-507.

He was censured and appointed *Faujdār* of Dhāmūnī. His son was Mukhlis Khān¹ of whom a separate account has been given.

ŞAF SHIKAN KHĀN MĪRZĀ LASHKARI²,

(Vol. II, pp. 736-738).

He was the son of Saiyid Yūsuf Khān Radavī³ of whom a separate account has been given. After his father's death he, in Emperor Akbar's reign, was working as the *Thānadār* of Bīr in the Deccan. In the beginning of Emperor Jahāngīr's reign he received the title of Şafdar Khān, and was granted a fief in Bihār. In the 5th year he was promoted to the rank of 1,500 with 700 horse⁴, and in the 6th year⁵ was appointed Governor of Kashmīr in place of Hāshim Khān son of Qāsim Khān *Mir Bahr*. In the 8th year he was removed⁶ from there, and in the 21st year when Mahābat Khān became presumptuous and fled from the Presence, and news was received that his treasure, which was being brought over from Bengāl, had reached near Delhī, Şafdar Khān was deputed with a force to take possession of it. When he reached there, Mahābat Khān's men shut themselves up in the inn (*sarāi*), and engaged themselves in fighting. After the gate of the inn was set on fire they ran away, and he took possession of the treasure⁷. Afterwards when Emperor Shāh Jahān ascended the throne, he was confirmed in the rank of 2,500 with 2,000 horse—which he had held at the end of Emperor Jahāngīr's reign. When Khwāja Qāsim Saiyid Atā' was granted the title of Şafdar Khān, his title was

¹ *Maathbir-ul-Umarā*, Text, III, pp. 641-644, translation *antea*, pp. 251-253.

² Blochmann in his translation of *A'in I* (2nd edition) included a short account of his life at the end of his father's biography.

³ *Maathbir-ul-Umarā*, Text, III, pp. 314-321.

⁴ Rogers & Beveridge's translation of *Tuzuk-i-Jahāngiri*, I, p. 167.

⁵ *Id.*, p. 256, but this was in the 8th year.

⁶ *Id.*, p. 303; not in the 8th year as in the text, but in the 10th year.

⁷ *Iqbālnāma-i-Jahāngiri*, pp. 278, 279, also see Beni Prasad *History of Jahāngīr*, p. 419; this took place near Shāhābād.

changed to Şaf Shikan Khān. When Bīr was taken out of the hands of the officers of Nizām-ul-Mulk Deccanī, he, according to the old arrangements, was (again) appointed *Thānadar* of the place¹. He remained there a long time. For some reason he became the object of censure, and was deprived of his rank and fief. A pension of Rs. 12,000 a year was assigned to him, and he resided in Lāhōrē. In the 19th year corresponding to 1055 A.H. (1645 A.D) he² died.

It is stated that he was of a perverse nature, of a careless disposition and a babbler. He would blurt out whatever came into his mind. As he was an old officer the governors of the Deccan used to treat him with respect. When he was the Governor of Kashmīr he went alone with one groom as an envoy to the Rāja of Kishtwār. He was recognized by the people of the country and imprisoned, but was released at the intercession of the Rāja's mother. For a time he was appointed to Kābul. He invited the *Manṣabdārs* of the area to a feast, and gave all of them roast pork to eat. When this was reported to Emperor Jahāngīr, he was summoned to the Presence and his explanation was asked for. He stated that wine and pork were equally prohibited, but here (apparently meaning in the Court of Emperor Jahāngīr) pork alone was regarded as unsavoury. Accordingly he was out of favour for a time. Khān Jahān (Lōdī) took his part, and by presenting him a sum of money and appointing him to the *Thānadarī* of Bīr a shadow of mercy was spread over him; but³ he had the merit of looking after his relations.

ŞAF SHIKAN KHĀN MUHAMMAD TĀHIR

(Vol. II, pp. 738-740).

About the end of the reign of Emperor Shāh Jahān he was appointed Superintendent of the Artillery in the Deccan. When Aurangzib made the wish for enquiring after his father's health a

¹ *Bādsbābnāma*, I, pt. i, p. 250.

² *Bādsbābnāma*, II, p. 725.

³ Either the conjunction *but* is sarcastic implying that Emperor Jahāngīr was possessed of this good quality, or that Şaf Shikan Khān was very clannish.

pretext for going to Upper India, Muḥammad Tāhir after the crossing of Narbadā was honoured by the grant of title of Şaf Shikan Khān¹. In the battle against Mahārāja Jaswant Singh he rendered good service. In the 1st year (of Aurangzib's reign) he was sent with Shaikh Mīr Khawāfi to the bank of Jumnā to block the way for Sulaimān Shikoh. Afterwards he was with Khalil Ullāh Khān who with Mīrzā Rāja Jai Singh had been sent to pursue Dārā Shikoh, who was hurrying towards Panjab. When the news of the flight of Dārā Shikoh from Multān was received, he was appointed with a force to pursue him. He did not halt till he reached² Tatta. When Dārā Shikoh entered the Gujarāt territory, Şaf Shikan Khān meanwhile having received the orders of recall returned and waited upon Emperor Aurangzib when the latter went to Ajmēr to fight the second battle with Dārā Shikoh. In the 4th year he was, on account of some fault, deprived of his rank. After some time he was pardoned, and was confirmed in the rank of 2,000 foot with 1,000 horse, and in the 5th year received an increase of 200 horse. In the 6th year, when the Emperor went to Kashmīr, he was directed to station himself at the foot of the Bhimbar Pass, and to guard the passage in that area³. In the end of the same year his rank was advanced to 3,000 with 1,500 horse, and he was sent with a force to the Deccan to join Sultān Mu'azzam. In the 9th year he returned to the Court. In the 10th year he was again attached to the said Prince, who had been sent to administer the Deccan⁴. In the 11th year he returned⁵ to the Court, and in the 12th year was appointed *Faujdār*⁶ of Mathurā. In the 17th year on the death of Shujā'at Khān Ra'adandāz Khān, he was appointed Superintendent⁷ of the Artillery. In the 18th year corresponding to 1085 A.H. (1674 A.D.) he⁸ died.

1 'Ālamgirnāma, p. 53.

2 *Maāthir-i-Ālamgiri*, p. 17.

3 *Id.*, p. 46.

4 *Id.*, p. 61.

5 *Id.*, p. 77.

7 *Id.*, p. 132.

6 *Id.*, p. 84.

8 *Id.*, p. 141.

SA'ID KHĀN BAHĀDUR ZAFAR JANG

(Vo. II, pp. 429-437).

He, a Chaghtā'i, was the son of Ahmad Bēg Khān Kābulī¹. Through his ancestor Amīr Ghiyāth-ud-Dīn Tarkhān—who was an *Amīr* of Timūr—and by his other ancestors who attained the ranks of *Amīrs*, he was a house-born servant of ten generations (*dab kursī*)². From the time of Emperor Jahāngīr he was an auxiliary of the Kābul administration. He was unique for his bravery and courage, and for his good judgement. Through his favourable stars and good fortune he, without coming to the presence, attained, by successive promotions, during Emperor Shāh Jahān's reign, a high rank, and was appointed Governor of the Kābul area. As princes and great men have inspirations, the Emperor, in spite of the fact that Sa'īd Khān had not rendered any conspicuous service, raised him in his absence, between the 1st and 2nd year of the reign, from the rank of 2,000 to one of 3,000 with 2,000 horse³. In the 3rd year in the Dhul Hijjah of 1039 A. H. (July 1630 A. D.) when Kamāl-ud-Dīn Rōhilla on the writing of Khān Jahān Lōdī foolishly stirred up a commotion, and induced many of the Afghān tribes, from the river of Attak (Indus) to the neighbourhood of the city of Kābul, to join him; he first raised the dust of strife in Peshawar. Sa'īd Khān received news of it at the *thāna* of Kōhāt, and moved over to Peshawar the same day. As he had not with him such a force that he could engage in battle after providing for the safety of the city, he was obliged to remain in the mud-fort—which with the passage of time had fallen into a state of disrepair. He distributed the batteries, and provided for the security of every district. The auda-

¹ For his account see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, I, pp. 126, 127. Beveridge's translation, I, pp. 156, 157. Sa'īd Khān was his second son.

² Perhaps the author implies that he was connected with Ghiyāth-ud-Dīn Tarkhān through his (maternal) grandfather. The passage is taken from *Bādsbāhnāma*, I, pt. i, pp. 400, 401.

³ *Bādsbāhnāma*, I, pt. i, p. 266.

cious rebels—who were like locusts and ants in numbers—fell upon the city, but wherever they attacked, the defenders manned the batteries with musketeers, and then sallied forth and putting the enemy to the sword returned triumphant. One day they carried boards in front of them in place of shields and advanced to the fort. Sa'íd Khān heeded not their numbers, and attacked them at full gallop, and despatched many of them to hell. The others fled, but Sa'íd Khān pursued them for 5 or 6 *kos*, and put to the sword whosoever he met¹. As a reward, he was promoted to the rank of 4,000. In the 4th year when the inhabitants of Kābul—who were Hānafis, were discontented with the administration of Lashkar Khān², the Governor, on account of the difference in their respective religious beliefs, Sa'íd Khān was transferred from the *Thānadarī* of the Bangashes as the Governor³ of Kābul, and the number of his cavalry was increased; he rendered valuable service in uprooting the basis of the Afghān disturbances. As he had not paid his respects since the accession, he came in the 7th year and offered his obeisance, and then returned⁴. By excellent planning he induced 'Abdul Qādir son of Aḥd Dād—who was the leader of rebellion amongst the Afghāns in the Kābul direction—to abondon his evil ways, and to become an active servant of the Empire. In the 8th year he personally brought him to the Court. Sa'íd Khān was graciously received and his rank was advanced to 5,000 foot with 4,000⁵ horse, and he was sent back to Kābul with 'Abdul Qādir who was given the rank of 1,000.

In the 11th year the tribes of Naghīz sent for Karīm Dād Kōr Raushānī, who was in the Lōhānī country, and raising a commotion took possession of the *parganas* of Bangash, Sa'íd Khān sent a strong force to extirpate them. Many of the hillmen were awed and joined

¹ *Id.*, pp. 311-314; he was given the rank of 4,000 with 2,500 horse.

² He is 'Abul Hasan Mashhadī who had the title of Lashkar Khān. For his account see *Māathir-ul-Umarā*, Text, III, pp. 163-168, Beveridge and Prashad's translation, I, pp. 831-834.

³ *Id.*, pp. 400, 401.

⁴ *Bādsbāhnāma*, I, pt. ii, pp. 11, 13.

⁵ *Id.*, p. 67.

as imperial servants. Karīm Dād sought refuge in ravines difficult of access, but the brave warriors continued to pursue him, and arriving like a sudden calamity started a violent attack. Those with whom he had taken shelter, finding the position helpless, seized him with his family and dependants, and delivered them to the imperialists. He was capitally punished, and the world was delivered from his commotions¹. In the same year, 1047 A.H. (1637-38 A.D.), 'Alī Mardān Khān, the ruler of Qandahār, having decided to give up his allegiance to the Shāh of Irān, turned his face of hope towards the threshold of Emperor Shāh Jahān. Sa'íd Khān in accordance with the orders started for that place. On reaching near Qandahār he learnt that Siyāwash Qublār Āqāsī (Commander of the troops) had arrived with nearly 7,000 Qazilbāsh cavalrymen at about a *kos* from Qandahār, and was getting ready for a contest. Sa'íd Khān left Mīrzā Shaikh his eldest son with 'Alī Mardān Khān to defend the fort, and himself marched out with 8,000 cavalry. A fierce engagement took place, and the men of both sides performed brave deeds, but at last the Irānians were defeated, and taking to flight did not turn rein till they reached their camp. In reward for this outstanding victory Sa'íd Khān was promoted to the rank of 6,000 with 6,000 horse, and granted the title of Bahādur Zafar Jang². Mīrzā Shaikh received the title of Khānāzād Khān.

As the Qandahār territory had been assigned to Qulīj Khān, Sa'íd Khān looked after its administration till he arrived. In the 12th year he came³ to the Court, and was graciously received. In this year the Emperor visited Kābul. As owing to inattention on the part of Emperor Jahāngīr the administration of the country had fallen into disorder, some of the Aimaqs of the Hazārājāt frontiers of Kābul rebelled against the Governor, and joined Ilangtōsh Üzbeg who was raiding the country and reducing the people to submission. Sa'íd

¹ *Bādsbābnāma*, II, pp. 13, 14.

² *Id.*, p. 47, for a detailed account of the campaign see, pp. 23-60.

³ *Id.*, p. 128.

Khān was deputed for the chastisement and admonition of these short-sighted persons. The said Khān immediately after receiving instructions went to that area, and overran the country with his troops. Everyone who submitted was pardoned and protected. In the 14th year the charge of Kābul was assigned¹ to 'Ali Mardān Khān, and Sa'īd Khān succeeded him as the Governor of Panjāb; Khānazād Khān was exalted by being appointed as the *Faujdār* of the *Dāman-i-Kōh* of Kāngra, and was deputed to accompany Prince Murād Bakhsh for chastising Jagta (Jagat Singh) the *Zamīndār* of Mau'.² Although he did not spare himself, he was somewhat slower than others in the taking of the fort of Mau'. After the termination of this campaign he was sent off as the Governor of Multān. In the 16th year he was appointed³ Governor of Lāhōre. In the 17th year he was appointed Governor of Qandahār, and so handed over the administration of the Panjāb to his son Khānazād Khān⁴. In the 20th year, he left his second son Luṭf Ullāh as his deputy in Qandahār, and came to the Presence, and was again appointed⁵ Governor of Multān. In the same year he was promoted to the high rank of 7,000 foot and went⁶ with his sons to Balkh in attendance on Prince Muḥammad Aurrangzib Bahādur. In the famous seven days' battle of Balkh he was in command of the left wing. Near Āqcha he sent his *Bakhsbī* with a force to hold the bank of a canal—which lay across the road of the enemy—and to prevent them from crossing it. A few Uzbegs appeared on the opposite bank, and stood there unconcerned. The young brave men, eager for the fray, behaved without caution and crossing the canal chased them. They had gone a little distance, when a large force of Uzbegs came out of an ambush and surrounded them all round like a halo. They bravely sacrificed their lives. Khānazād Khān and

¹ *Id.*, p. 222.

² *Id.*, p. 236.

⁴ *Id.*, p. 356; but according to the account Khānazād Khān was appointed Commandant of the fort of Qalāt, and Qulīj Khān Governor of the Panjāb.

⁵ *Id.*, p. 577.

³ *Id.*, p. 317.

⁶ *Id.*, pp. 640, 641.

Lutf Ullāh by their father's order quickly arrived there, and with a view to avenging their comrades' misfortune attacked the enemy. Meanwhile another large force which had turned back from confronting Bahādur Khān Röhilla came up and joined them in the fight. Despite his illness he attacked their centre like a lion. In the height of the battle when the two sides were almost equally matched, Sa'īd Khān's horse stumbled into a hole, and he was thrown on the ground. On foot he fought bravely. The armies of the two sides came to close grips. Khānazād Khān and Lutf Ullāh Khān fought bravely and went to paradise. The brave Khān though he was wounded was still fighting heroically, when the Prince arriving scattered the foes and saved Sa'īd Khān from death¹. In accordance with the royal orders he started for the Court, and in the 21st year he had the good fortune of kissing the threshold of Khilāfat. Emperor Shāh Jahān by his royal kindness and favours comforted him and appointed him Governor of Bihār,² and the sum of a lac of rupees, which was due from his sons, was remitted. In the 24th year he came to the Court from Bihār, and was appointed³ Governor of Kābul. In the 25th year, on 2nd Ṣafar, 1062 A.H. (4th January, 1652 A.D.) he⁴ died. As he had performed valiant and outstanding services, and by virtue of his devotion and zeal had attained a high office as his reward from the august sovereigns of this great kingdom, the appreciative Emperor lamented his death and prayed forgiveness for him from the Almighty.

Sa'īd Khān was of a soldierly mien. He was a good leader, and was firm in his dealings. So long as he lived, he never lost his good position or his influence. He had a large family. It is stated that he had twenty-two sons. The first and second sons, who were the best of them, fell in the Balkh campaign, as has been recorded already. After his death his son 'Abdullāh⁵ received the rank of 2,000 and Fath Ullāh of 1,000, while Nasrat Ullāh and others were given suitable ranks.

1 *Id.*, pp. 688-691.

2 *'Amal Salib*, III, p. 6.

3 *Id.*, p. 123.

4 *Id.*, p. 134.

5 *Id.*, p. 134.

SA'ID KHĀN CHAGHTĀ¹

(Vol. II, pp. 403-408).

Sa'īd Khān's ancestors served the Timūrid dynasty throughout with distinction and fidelity, and were always well known and held high positions. His grandfather Ibrāhīm Bēg² Chābūq was one of Emperor Humāyūn's officers, and was one of the leading officers in the Bengāl campaign. His son Yūsuf Bēg while coming from Oudh to Bengāl in the course of that campaign was attacked in the vicinity of Jaunpūr by Jalāl Khān alias Salīm Shāh. He died a hero's death. Another son Ya'qūb Bēg, the father of Sa'īd Khān, was among the distinguished men of the time. Through his good fortune, courage and bravery, he, during the reign of Emperor Akbar, rose to a very high rank and surpassed his ancestors in wealth, position and reputation. For a long time he was in Multān³. As, in addition to a noble lineage, he had an abundant share of ability, tact and modesty, he in the 22nd year was appointed guardian⁴ of Prince Dāniyāl. When the inhabitants of the Panjab complained against Shāh Qulī Khān Mahram⁵, the Governor of the province, Sa'īd Khān was appointed in his place. Later, when the administration of Lāhōre was with the military charge of the province assigned to Rāja Bhagwant Dās Kachwāha, Sa'īd Khān was granted the *sarkār* of Sambal⁶ as his fief. In the 28th year he was summoned to the Court, promoted to the rank of 3,000, and made⁷ fief-holder of Hājīpūr and the adjacent territory in succession

¹ For his life see Blochmann's translation of *A'm*, I (2nd edn.), pp. 351, 352. It is not mentioned in either of the notices that his daughter was married to Prince Salim.

² *Akbarnāma*, Text, I, p. 149, Beveridge's translation, I, p. 330, note 1.

³ *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 37, Beveridge's translation, III, p. 53.

⁴ *Id.*, Text, III, p. 204, translation, III, p. 288.

⁵ *Id.*, Text, III, p. 247, translation, III, pp. 356, 357.

⁶ *Id.*, Text, III, p. 397, translation, III, p. 587.

⁷ *Id.*, Text, III, p. 422, translation, III, p. 629.

to Mīrzā Kōka. In the 32nd year when Wazīr Khān died in Bengāl, Sa'īd Khān was sent from Bihār to take charge of that province¹. He for a long time carried on the administration of that area, and in recognition of his services was promoted to the rank of 5,000. When Rāja Mān Singh was appointed to Bengāl², Sa'īd Khān returned to the Court in the 40th year, and presented 100 elephants with trappings. In the 41st year 1004 A.H. (1595-96 A.D.) he was reappointed³ as Governor of Bihār. When in the year 1011 A.H. (1602-03 A.D.) Mīrzā Ghāzī, after the death of his father Mīrzā Jānī Bēg behaved presumptuously in Sindh, Emperor Akbar assigned the fief of Multān⁴ and Bhakkar to Sa'īd Khān, and sent him against the Mīrzā. On Sa'īd Khān's arrival at Bhakkar, the Mīrzā gave up his evil designs, and on the advice of Khusrau Khān, who was the *Vakil* and old servant of the family, waited upon Sa'īd Khān. The Mīrzā made friends with Sa'īd Khān's son Sa'd Ullāh Khān—who was not wanting in laudable qualities—and in his company had the good fortune of kissing the royal threshold⁵.

It is stated that in Emperor Jahāngīr's time Sa'īd Khān was nominated to the government of the Panjab. As it had been reported that his eunuchs oppressed the peasantry, a bond was to be taken from Sa'īd Khān to the effect that he would have to pay with his head if the people were oppressed⁶. At this time, he died, and was buried in the garden of Sīrhind. It is said that he left over the charge of affairs to one Chatr Bhōj, and did not

¹ *Id.*, Text, III, p. 525, translation, III, p. 800.

² *Id.*, Text, III, p. 650, translation, III, p. 999. On Rāja Mān Singh's appointment as Governor of Bengāl in the 39th year, Sa'īd Khān was appointed Governor of Bihār. He returned to the Court in the 40th year, Text, p. 671, translation, p. 1031.

³ *Id.*, Text, III, p. 711, translation, III, p. 1060.

⁴ *Id.*, Text, III, p. 810, translation, III, p. 1216, but this happened in the year 1010 A.H.

⁵ *Id.*, Text, III, p. 839, translation, III, p. 1257.

⁶ Rogers & Beveridge's translation of *Tuzuk-i-Jahāngīr*, I, p. 13, and notes 1, 2.

look into the things himself. He was very fond of eunuchs, and had in his entourage some 1,200 good looking and well trimmed eunuchs. Three of them he selected as their chiefs. Each of them had to find 400 well-equipped ones for the night watch. In addition, there were other leading servants, and he had fixed four watches. At every watch 400 plates of food were placed before the soldiers. It is stated that when after twenty years' stay in Bengal and Bihar—which are moist areas—he came to Multān, his clerks combined together, and took out ten seers weight of uncoined and hammered (*madrūb*) gold—which was plentiful in his treasury—and represented that they had weighed the gold in Bengal which was a damp country, and that now in Multān—where the sun was very strong and hot—the weight had been reduced by ten seers. Sa'id Khān replied, "This is a slight difference. I should have expected it to amount to a maund". This incident is likely to be misunderstood by subtle critics. Sa'id Khān had risen to the high position he held during Emperor Akbar's reign as a result of thorough and intense training, and was well known for his sagacity and ability. The reign of Emperor Akbar—who is rightly regarded as the founder of good administration—was far in advance of other sovereigns; his administration provided excellent opportunities for correctly assessing the capabilities of all impostors, while there was a ready market for experts in all trades and professions. It was, therefore, impossible for base or gilded coins to gain currency during that regime. It was not through folly and ignorance, but as a result of knowingly ignoring and overlooking the transgression in deference to the needs of the times, that such an offence was treated (by Sa'id Khān) magnanimously and with lenience and indifference, particularly during a period of power and plenty—it is not without merit to ignore and excuse faults through liberality and generosity but not through ignorance. If even in such times one is to lose one's forbearance and display anger and annoyance, when would one expect to have peace and tranquillity.

In contradiction to this story there is another well known anecdote

which will be given in this chapter of right and wrong.

about Sa'íd Khān. Khwāja Hilāl, an eunuch, was originally a servant of Qāsim Khān Namakin, and afterwards was in the service of Emperor Jahāngīr. In the beginning of the reign he was *Mir Tūzuk*, and ruled very strictly. In the town of Rankatta, six kos from Āgra, which was his *jāgīr*, he built a small fort, a *pucca* inn and renamed it Hilālabād. In Āgra towards the Madār Gate he built a lofty mansion, and invited most of the leading officials to a housewarming feast. Sa'íd Khān, who was also there, approved the building, and praised it greatly. Khwāja Hilāl out of politeness said, "Take it as a *pēshkash* (present)". Sa'íd Khān stood up and made three salutations; and sent for his men and his furniture. Hilāl—who had been exalted by the Emperor's companionship—objected. Sa'íd Khān's servants used force. The Emperor on hearing of the incident remarked to Sa'íd Khān, "This behaviour was not worthy of your position". Sa'íd Khān replied, "Long live your Majesty. Should a grey-beard like me make three salutations to a slave in the presence of a number of great officers, and shall these go for nothing. It concerns my honour. If your Majesty orders I may be killed". At last by this infidel-like ruse he succeeded in taking possession of the house.

It is stated that in the establishment of Sa'íd Khān there were two good and confidential eunuchs. One was Ikhtiyār Khān, who was his court-agent, and who built bridges and inns in Patna and Bihār. The other was I'tibār Khān who was the *Faujdār* of his *jāgīr*. He was very courageous. For twelve days in month of Rabi' I, he used to celebrate the birthday of the Prophet, on whom be Peace! Every day nearly a thousand men were invited. In front of each man were set nine *shirmāl* loaves, nine dishes and half of a white *pargāla* (cloth) for wrapping them up. A bundle of five seers of sweets (*shirni*) done up in a white cloth and with a velvet outer cover was also laid before each person. On these days the house was brilliantly adorned, and much 'attar (otto of roses) and incense was used. Sweet voiced *Hāfiżes* read (the Qur'ān) day and night. To obtain a blessing he would spread under their feet a mat of the stuff that he was to use later on. It is extraordinary to relate that he carried on like this all his life.

SAIF KHĀN

(Vol. II, pp. 479-485).

Saif-ud-Dīn Maḥmūd alias Faqīr Ullāh was the son of Tarbiyat Khān¹ Bakhsī of Emperor Shāh Jahān's time. In view of his constant presence at the Court he was a favourite. In the 30th year he was appointed Superintendent of the Qūr Khāna (Arsenal), and had the rank of 700 with 100 horse. When Mahārāja Jaswant² with great pomp and show was appointed to Mālwa, Saif Khān had his rank increased, and was attached to his contingent. Rāja Jaswant out of bravery and pride attempted to stop the path of Aurangzib's army, and engaged in a fight. At last, however, when a number of famous officers had been killed, he selected for himself the path of flight, and many others also took to flight³. Some fortunate ones, on the other hand, separated themselves from the opposing force, and paid their respects to Aurangzib; among them was Saif Khān. He was treated with favour, given the rank of 1,500 with 700 horse, and granted the title of Saif Khān⁴. As in the battle with Dārā Shikoh he behaved like a brave soldier, he was treated with favour and appointed Superintendent of the Body-Guard and Master of the Horse (*Akhṭa-bēgī*). In the battle with Shujā⁵, as Rāja Jaswant Singh, who had command of the right wing, turned aside and behaved treacherously, Islām Khān Badakhshī—who was in the van—was appointed in his place, and Saif Khān and Ikrām Khān were posted in the vanguard⁶. By chance while the struggle was at its height, Islām Khān's elephant turned tail as a result of the blows of rockets, and disorganised the forces. Many men forced from their places could not regain them. Saif Khān, Ikrām Khān and a few others kept their ground, and made brave endeavours⁶. After the victory, as he did not receive favours proportionate to his expectations, or for

¹ *Māthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, I, pp. 486-490.² *'Amal Sālib*, III, p. 285.³ *Op. cit.*, p. 287.⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 256.⁴ *'Alamgirnāma*, p. 78.⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 262.

some other reason he wished to go into retirement, and wanted to resign his rank and service. After sometime, however, he received the rank of 2,500 with 1,500 horse¹.

When in the 2nd year Dārā Shikōh and his son Sipihr Shikōh were brought to the Capital, Saif Khan was commissioned to put Dārā Shikōh to death, and this was effected on 21st Dhul Hijja, 1069 A.H.² (30th August, 1659 A.D.). Next day he, according to orders, conveyed Sipihr Shikōh to the fort of Gwālior, and after handing him over to the officers in-charge of that strong fort, returned to the capital. He was appointed Governor of the capital in place of Mukhlis Khan³ who had been appointed to Bengal. As Saif Khan was of a hot disposition and arrogant of his record of good service and knowledge of warfare, he did not pay due regard to the chief officers, and did not hesitate even to oppose the Emperor. He was for some fault dismissed, and retired to Sirhind. In the 5th year he was again received in favour and confirmed in his rank. When the Emperor visited Kashmir, in the 6th year, Saif Khan was appointed Governor⁴ of that province in succession to Islām Khan. In his zeal and love of service he did not spend his period of government in idleness and vanity, but on his collecting necessary forces he courageously and bravely and after fighting for twenty days conquered Iskardū—which was so difficult of access in several places that one could proceed without the aid of ladders. After that he added to the royal territories Gilgit and Barshal. Afterwards he spread the religion of Islām and the light of Muslim doctrines in the country of Great Tibet, which from ancient times had been an abode of heathenism, and the rulers of which had never submitted to the rulers of Islām. In the 8th⁵

¹ Op. cit., p. 342.

² Op. cit., p. 432; Bernier (Constable edn. 1891), pp. 101, 102; Irvine, *Storia do Mogor*, I, pp. 356-358, and Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, I, II, pp. 547-549.

³ 'Alamgirnāma, p. 433.

⁴ Op. cit., pp. 923, 924. The name of the Zamindār is given as Dalan Namjal in 'Alamgirnāma and as Daldal Mahmal in Maathir-i-'Alamgiri, p. 52.

⁵ Op. cit., p. 832.

year the Emperor issued a *farmān* in the name of Dalā'ī (Lāmā) Bemabal, the *Zamindār* of the country, about introducing the rites of Divine Worship. This was sent through Muhammad Shafi' *Mansabdār* and some of Saif Khān's servants. The *Zamindār* submitted, and had the *Khu'bā* recited in the Emperor's name, and coined much gold and silver in the name of Emperor 'Ālamgīr. He directed the building of mosques, and sent a gold key as an indication of delivering over the country.

As the right thinking attitude of the Khān had been established, the Emperor increased his rank and the number of troopers. In the 9th year he came to the Presence, and was appointed Governor of Multān. In the 10th year on removal from that office he returned to the Court. In the 12th year he was again appointed to the government of Kashmir. In the 14th year he was, as a result of inconsideration—which was a part of his nature—dismissed¹ from his rank and went into retirement. In the 15th year he was restored to his rank and reinstated in service². His good fortune was such that his service always turned out well. If he did things contrary to the will of the Emperor—who was of a jealous nature himself, but did not like jealousy in others, and who dismissed old and new officers for slight acts of independence or presumption—he was removed from office, but after being admonished he was not left in that condition. It is not unlikely that if the Khān were not of a bohemian (*rindānā*) temperament, he would have reached the highest rank of Amirship.

After sometime he was again favoured³, and then again retired. In the 21st year he was sent as Governor⁴ of Bihār. Later he was appointed Governor of Allāhabād. There he died in 1095 A.H.

¹ *Ma'ābir-i-'Alamgiri*, p. 83.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 112.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 118.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 147.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 169.

(1684 A.D.) in the beginning¹ of the 28th year. He was of a libertine disposition and had strange ways, but he had ability, and a tincture of poetry and eloquence. Nāsir 'Alī², with all his love of freedom and exclusiveness, was long his devoted companion, as he writes:—

Verse

'Alī extracts from the mirror this parrot speech:
"But for Saif Khān my life were vain."

He was very skilful in music and melody, and composed a treatise called *Rāg Darpan*³, which was mainly a translation of Mānik Sohal, which former masters (*nāyaks*) had composed, and which he completed with later additions in regard to division and rules for practice etc. Saif Khān made his home at a place called Saifābād near Sirhind, and was buried there. His son, in the end of Emperor Aurangzib's reign received his father's title, and was appointed *Faujdār* of Tāl Kōkan (Lower Konkan), commander of the fort of Ā'zamnagar, Malgāon, and the *Thānadar* of Satgāon. When the appointments in question together with the government of Bijāpūr was assigned to Chin Qulīj Khān, he (Saif Khān's son) was appointed his deputy. In the beginning of the 49th year he received the same appointment in succession to Chin Qulīj Khān, and with an increase of 500 his rank became 1,000 with 300 horse. After Aurangzib's death he became a teacher of Prince Muhammad Kām Baksh in the art of archery. He became his companion and was given drums and a flag. When that insane Prince, in his folly and at the instigation of the interested slanderers,

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 247. He is stated to have died on 25th Ramadān, 1095 A.H. (6th September, 1684 A.D.).

² For his account see Rieu, *Cat.* II, 699b. The verse refers to the practice of teaching a parrot by setting it in front of a mirror.

³ See Garcin de Tassy, *Litt. Hindouie*, III, p. 417. The original *Rāg Darpan* was composed by the order of Rāja Mān Singh Tonwar of Gwālior, see about him Jarrett's translation of *A'm*, III, p. 251.

became suspicious of some of his faithful officers, and specially of Ahsan Khān Mīr Malang—who was his general and chief officer—and destroyed them, he imprisoned Saif Khān on a charge of disloyalty, on the evidence of a letter which at the time of coming to Haidarābād he had written in reply to one from Rustam Dil Khān, the Governor of the place to the effect that with regard to what he had asked about the treatment of his companions by the master (Prince Kām Bakhsh), he should endeavour to please Ahsan Khān. Though the poor man urged that the contents of the letter proved his fidelity, it was of no avail. Kām Bakhsh ordered his (right) hand to be cut off in his presence. On this the oppressed one broke out and said—"It is a low nature which you have inherited from your mother. This hand which you have cut off without any fault, taught you archery." The tyrant ordered them to cut out his tongue also. He died of these wounds¹.

SAIF KHĀN² KŌKA

(Vol. II, pp. 373-375).

He was the eldest brother of Zain Khān Kōka. It is stated that his mother always bore daughters, and his father became so angry that when she was pregnant with Saif Khān, he said that if this time she bore a daughter, he would cease to keep her in his house or to treat her as a wife. That chaste lady went to Miriam Makānī and obtained permission to cause an abortion. Akbar came to know of this, and though he was very young he said to her, "If you have any regard for me, you will not do such a thing, and the Almighty God will bless you with a good son." The old lady regarded this speech of the Prince as a mysterious message, and refrained from committing abortion. Saif Khān was born, and the parents rejoiced, and returned thanks to the Prince³. Akbar made him a special favourite. When

¹ The account of the son Saif Khān appears to be taken from Khāfi Khān, II, pp. 610-613. Kām Bakhsh was the son of Udaipūri Bēgam, who was formerly Dārā's wife.

² Blochmann's translation of *A'in*, I (2nd edn.), pp. 375, 376.

³ See *Akbar-nāma*, Text, III, p. 58, Beveridge's translation, III, p. 83.

he ascended the throne, and though Saif Khān was still young, he was appointed to the rank of 4,000. He was unique for courage, and in bravery and gallantry was far above his compeers. In the 17th year during the seige of Sūrat on a day when there was a continuous barrage of arrows, gun and artillery fire, and active patrols were being carried out, Saif Khān distinguished himself by his bravery and courage. During these attacks he received a gun-shot wound which confined him to his bed for a month; at last he recovered. Some one asked him, "The Emperor is pleased with you, and in regard to the leaders like you, and in fact for many who have not attained anything like your rank the Emperor has frequently said that they should not knowingly expose themselves in dangerous places." He replied, "I took the wrong road in the battle of Sarnāl, and could not, therefore, get there. My life, in view of my failure on that day, is a burden to me and I am trying to lighten the weight thereof"¹. In the year 980 A.H. (1572 A.D.) in the 18th year, when Emperor Akbar made a rapid march in nine days from Āgra to Ahmadābād, and fought with Muhamad Husain Mirzā, Saif Khān in the first skirmish vanquished his opponent by his herculean bravery. Having received two prominent wounds on his face he went seeking for the Emperor saying "Ajmeri, Ajmeri," He saw that Muhamad Husain Mirzā and some scoundrels with him were behaving presumptuously in the battlefield. The Kōka advancing on them bravely attacked them, and was killed². The Emperor was very grieved on the death of such a faithful and old companion. When he returned to the capital, it was found that Saif Khān was heavily in debt. The Emperor out of regard for the dead man paid off these debts. His sons Sher Afgan and Aman Ullah received suitable appointments.

¹ The account of Saif Khān during the seige of Sūrat is taken from *Akbar-nāma*, Text, III, p. 18, Beveridge's translation, III, p. 27. In the *Akbar-nāma*, however, the person is stated to have said "The Emperor is not pleased with you" instead of is pleased with you.

² *Akbar-nāma*, Text, III, pp. 57, 58, Beveridge's translation, III, p. 82.

SAIF KHĀN MIRZĀ SAFI (Vol. II, pp. 416-421).

He was the son of Amānat Khān. In view of the old relationship¹, Malikā Bānū, the elder daughter of Āsaf Khān Yamīn-ud-Daulah was married to him, and he was appointed *Dīwān* of Gujarat. As that province was in the fief of Prince Shāh Jahān, the heir-apparent, Rāja Bikramājīt was acting for him as the Governor. When Emperor Jahāngīr's mind became alienated from the Prince, and the Prince, forced by the circumstances marched with a well-equipped army towards Āgra and Dēlī, the Rāja, in accordance with the Prince's orders, left his brother Kanhar Dās at Ahmadābād, and himself joined the Prince's stirrups. He was killed near Dēlī. 'Abdullāh Khān in the course of the fight deserted the vanguard of the imperial army, and joined the Prince, and at the time—when the Prince resolved to return to Māndū—he en route begged through Afdal Khān and Shāh Qulī Khān that the government of Gujarat be assigned to him. This was not approved of, as the Rāja had administered the province well, and had sacrificed his life in the Prince's service. It was not, therefore, proper that in return for his good service the province should be taken from his brother who was managing it at the time, particularly as this might mean disorganising the province during this time of confusion. But as 'Abdullāh Khān was very insistent, his request about this matter was, with a view to satisfying him, agreed to. 'Abdullāh Khān appointed Wafadār, an eunuch, with a small number of men to manage Ahmadābād. Mirzā Safī remaining firm in his loyalty to the Emperor applied himself to collecting troops. Leaving the city he hurried to Mahmūdābād. Outwardly he gave out that he was proceeding to join the Prince.

¹ See Rogers & Beveridge's translation of *Tuzuk-i-Jahāngiri*, II, p. 262, according to which Amānat Khān was the brother's son of Āsaf Khān for whom see *Māthir-ul-Umara*, Text, I, pp. 167-185, Beveridge's translation, I, pp. 282-287. According to this account Malikā Bānū was the younger sister of Mumtāz Mahāl.

but secretly he arranged with Nāhir Khān, Saiyid Dilēr Khān and other royal officers—who were stationed in their respective *jāgīrs*—to behave loyally, and waited for an opportunity. Muhamad Ṣalih, the *Faujdar* of Pitlād correctly understood his design, and fearing that he might lay hands on the Prince's treasure, went off to the Prince with nearly ten lacs of rupees. Kanhar Dās took a jewelled *pardah* which had cost two lacs of rupees, and went with him. But on account of its weight he could not take away the throne which had been prepared at a cost of ten lacs of rupees. Mīrzā Ṣafī finding the coast clear, sent word to his confederates and rapidly entered the fort of Ahmādābād. The eunuch was taken completely by surprise, and took refuge in the house of Shaikh Haidar, a grandson of Shāh Wajīh-ud-Dīn. On the information of the master of the house he was brought out with his hands and neck bound. Mīrzā Ṣafī having put the city into order set about collecting his troops. He broke up the jewelled throne, which had taken years to construct, and dividing the gold among his men himself appropriated the jewels. When this news reached Māndū, 'Abdullāh Khān took leave of the Prince, and started with all speed. In his presumption he did not worry about Mīrzā Ṣafī, and did neither arrange for reinforcements and equipment nor did he take the necessary precautions. Mīrzā Ṣafī with Nāhir Khān, Dilēr Khān and other auxiliaries of the province advanced beyond the village of Batūh, and arranged for the battle. As the place where 'Abdullāh Khān was stationed, was full of thorn-bushes, and had only narrow passages, so when his elephants—which were in front of the army—turned round at the noise of the rackets, all his army was thrown into confusion, and as a result of this misfortune 'Abdullāh Khān was forced to fly. Mīrzā Ṣafī—who had never dreamt of such a day—was promoted by the Emperor, as a reward for this great service, from the rank of 700 with 300 horse to that of 3,000 with 2,000 horse, given the title of Saif Khān, granted a flag and drums, and exalted by appointment as Governor of Gujārāt¹. On the place where he had

¹ The above account of Safi Khān and of the defeat of 'Abdullāh Khān

gained the victory, he built a garden, and named it Jannat Bārī. They say that when Khān Jahān Lōdī came as his successor to Ahmādābād, Saif Khān invited him to a banquet, and displayed great splendour in regard to food and carpets. From the trays to the drinking cups every article was of gold or silver. Khān Jahān said that except for Āṣaf Jāh no one else was so lucky in regard to his office. When Khān Jahān was deputed with Prince Parwīz in place of Mahābat Khān, Saif Khān was reappointed Governor of Gujārāt. At this time the death of Emperor Jahāngīr occurred. Saif Khān in view of his earlier conduct was greatly worried, and indulged in vain thoughts. Meanwhile Shāh Jahān wrote from Junair to Nāhir Khān—who had the title of Sher Khān—to take possession of Ahmādābād and place Saif Khān under restraint. As Malikā Bānū his wife was the real elder sister of Mumtāz Mahal, to please the latter Khidmat Parast Khān was ordered to hasten to Ahmādābād, and not to permit any injury to Saif Khān's life. He was to bring him carefully to the Presence. When Shāh Jahān crossed the Narbadā, he proceeded towards Ahmādābād, and Khidmat Parast Khān produced Saif Khān who was very ill. At the intercession of the Bēgam he was forgiven and relieved of his fears¹. After the accession, he, at the request of the Bēgam, received the rank of 4,000 foot² and horse, was appointed Governor of Bihār in succession to Khān 'Ālam. He built grand houses in Patna. In the 5th year he was transferred as Governor of Allāhābād³, and in the 8th year was nominated as Governor⁴ of Gujārāt. Later he was moved from there and appointed to the charge of Āgra. When in the 12th year Islam Khān the Governor of Bengāl was summoned to the Court for appointment as the Premier, and Bengāl was made over to the agents of Prince Shujā', an order was issued

is taken from *Tāzuk-i-Jahāngīr*, II, pp. 262-267. The value of the throne is given there is 5 lacs and not 10 lacs of rupees.

¹ Based on *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. i, pp. 76-78.

² *Op. cit.*, pp. 177, 228.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 426.

⁴ *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. ii, p. 102.

to Saif Khan to proceed rapidly to that province and to take charge of it till the arrival of the Prince who was in Kabul. After the arrival of the Prince—who was still young, he was to assist in the management of that extensive territory¹. In the end of the 13th year, 1049 A.H. (1639-40 A.D.) he died in Bengal. Emperor Shāh Jahan went to the house of his widow, Malikā Bānū—who, in accordance with orders, was in attendance on the Emperor—and comforted her. To her three sons, Muhammād Yāhiyā, Muhammād Shāfi and Abūl Qāsim he presented mourning robes². In the 14th year Malikā Bānū also died. Emperor Shāh Jahan went to the house of Yamīn-ud-Daulah to perform her obsequies. Saif Khan's brother was Sultān Nazr. He knew by heart the *Dīvāns* of Khāqāni and Anwāri, and the *Mashnawī* and *Hadiqā*. At first he was the *Bakhshī* and Recorder of Āgra. Later, while in Gujārāt, he quarrelled with his brother, and joined Khān Jahān Lōdī who had been appointed Governor. He became intimate with him, and received an excellent fief in the Deccan. During Emperor Shāh Jahan's reign he had the rank of 1,000³.

SAIF KHĀN SAIYID ‘ALI ASGHAR
(Vol. II, pp. 410, 411).

He was the son of Sayid Mahmūd⁴ Khān Bārah. He was a favourite⁵ of Emperor Jahāngīr from the time he was a prince, and was a constant attendant of his august assemblies. When Jahāngīr ascended the throne, and in the 1st year of the reign Khusrau fled and caused a disturbance, Shaikh Farīd Murtadā Khān was appointed to pursue

¹ *Bādsheh-nāma*, II, p. 130.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 198.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 736.

⁴ For his account see *Muatbir-ul-Umarī*, Text II, pp. 375-377; translation ante, pp. 35-38. Also see Blochmann's translation of *Dīn*, I (2nd edn.), pp. 424, 425.

⁵ See Rogers & Beveridge's translation of *Memoirs of Jahāngīr*, I, p. 32. It is stated there that he was granted the rank of 3,000.

him.¹ A battle took place near Lāhōre. Saif Khān was in the vanguard of the said Shaikh's forces, and acquitted himself bravely during the fight. He received seventeen wounds². Accordingly he was rewarded by appointment to the rank of 2,000 with 1,000 horse, and in the 14th year his rank was advanced to 2,500 with 1,350 horse, and his heart's desire was gratified by appointment as the *Faujdār* of Hīṣār³. In the 5th year he was granted a flag⁴. In the 8th year he was deputed with Sultān Khurram in the campaign against Rānā Amar Singh. In the 10th year he was exalted by the grant of drums, and was attached to Prince Parvīz, and went off to the Deccan. In the 11th year (corresponding to 1025 A.H. (1616 A.D.) he died⁵ of cholera.

SAIF ULLAH KHĀN MĪR BAHR

(Vol II, pp. 486-489)

During the reign of Emperor Aurangzib he was *Mīr Bahr* (Admiral) and Superintendent of the Fleet (*Nawārab*), and served in these posts for a long time. After the Emperor's arrival in the Deccan he was exalted by the grant of the title of *Khān*. In the 28th year he was removed from his offices, but was later appointed *Mīr Tūzuk*.

It appears that he died in the 29th year⁶. When Shāh 'Alam Bahādur was sent from Ajmēr in pursuit of Muhammād Akbar, he was deputed to convey some orders to the Prince. On his return, it became known that the Prince had not granted him anything as a reward, and the Emperor therefore, gave him a sum of Rs. 5,000, and an order was issued that the said amount should be deducted from the

¹ Rogers & Beveridge, *op. cit.*, p. 64.

² Rogers & Beveridge, *op. cit.*, p. 157.

³ Rogers & Beveridge, *op. cit.*, p. 172.

⁴ Rogers & Beveridge, *op. cit.*, p. 325.

⁵ See *Mashīr-i-Alamgīr*, p. 275, where the appointment of Muhammād Matlib as *Mīr Tūzuk* after his death is recorded.

Prince's allowances¹—in a way this was to be a lesson for the Prince, for it was the rule of sovereignty to show favour to the bearer of a message, more so, as indicating respect for the message, especially when it was from a lofty quarter. His eldest son Mīr Asad Ullāh was a talkative person, and not without a touch of insanity, but he was possessed of a great deal of subterfuge and cunning. On account of some fault he incurred the displeasure of Emperor Aurangzib, and was sent off to holy Mecca. When he returned after performing the pilgrimage, he was appointed to the rank of 500. He distinguished himself by his diligence and skill in the siege of Khelna. He was, therefore, received into favour, granted the title of his father², and an increase in rank, and appointed *Mir Bahr*. Later he was promoted to the office of *Mir Tuzuk*. On the day when Wāgingera was taken, he was wounded in the arm by a bullet, and received one hundred *asbrafis* as the “cost of a plaster”³. In the reign of Emperor Bahādur Shāh his madness led him into a dispute with Dhulfiqār Khān, the Amīr-ul-Umarā. Inasmuch as when a straw contends with a lofty mountain, in rising up into the air it is buffeted by the wind, and if a drop of water brushes the bank of a broad river, it is carried down to annihilation; in that encounter he was thrown head over heals, and, being thoroughly discredited and disgraced, took to flight. As a result of his headstrong nature, he assumed for himself the office of the *vakil* of Prince Kām Bakhsh, who was making a bid for sovereignty and beating the drum of opposition in the Deccan. He joined Rājas Jai Singh and Ajit Singh, who had fled from the Presence and were stirring up strife. He made with them a pact that if the Prince should come by the route of Gōndwāna towards their area, they would produce at the Narbadā 15,000 Rājpūt horsemen, so that before

¹ *Maāthir-i-Ālamgiri*, p. 207, apparently at this date in the 24th year, he held the office of *Mir Bahr*.

² *Id.* p. 456. Also see Khāfi Khān, II, pp. 501, 502, where there is a detailed record of his being sent for pilgrimage, and his return and appointment.

³ *Maāthir-i-Ālamgiri*, p. 505, also Khāfi Khān, II, p. 538.

Emperor Bahādur Shāh's return from the Deccan they would all accompany the Prince to the Capital, and place him on the throne, and having collected 50,000 horsemen oppose Bahādur Shāh. He took from them a sealed compact in this connection, and with a view to having his devotion and loyalty—which had resulted in the performance of such signal service—recognized, hastened towards Haidarābād via Dēogarh and Chānda. In fact, he made the wheel take a large revolution, which resulted in great commotion. But as his gurdian star was declining, his scheme did not prosper. As soon as the Prince heard of his arrival, he felt convinced that he was a fraud, and a trickster, and was sure that he was in league with Bahādur Shāh. Saif Ullāh remonstrated that the tree of good service in his cause had produced nought but the fruit of condign punishment, and that efforts to help the Prince's cause had proved like beating a cold iron. As Saif Ullāh's urgency and vehemence exceeded all bounds, a daily supply of food was allotted to him, but he was never summoned to the Presence¹.

I praise the gentleness of the merciful Emperor (Bahādur Shāh) whom hardly any of the earlier sovereigns equalled in forgiveness and tolerance. When Saif Ullāh after the battle with Kām Bakhsh was introduced through the intermediation of Khān Khānān, his offences were forgiven, he was confirmed in his former rank, and was granted an annual allowance of Rs. 5,000². For the sake of position he again entered service, and in the reign of Emperor Farrukh Siyar he accompanied the Amīr-ul-Umarā to the Deccan, and was appointed *Mir Bah̄r* for that area. Though he kept company with the leader, he lived wretchedly. Afterwards, at the recommendation of that generous patron, he was appointed Superintendent of Branding and Mustets. In the time of the reigning sovereign (Muhammad Shāh) he served in that office for some time. He died at the appointed time. His brother Liyāqat Khān Mīrzā was an elegant man with very pleasant

¹ He is apparently not the Saif Khān who was tortured by Kām Bakhsh, see Irvine *Later Mughals*, I, pp. 54, 55.

² Khāfi Khān, II, p. 629.

manners. In every respect he was the counterpart of his brother, even in the matter of religion, for like his ancestors he was an Imāmiyā while Saif Ullāh Khān was a bigoted Sunnī. (Rānā) Sakrā¹ was a great and valiant soldier who was appointed to the rank of 200 foot with 1,000 horse in the 1st year of Emperor Jahāngīr's reign. He was sent with a force to chastise Dalpat Bhurtia, and was victorious. In the 2nd year he was exalted by promotion to the rank of 2,500 foot with 1,000 horse. In the 11th year his rank was advanced to 3,000 foot with 2,000 horse.

He was the son of Rānā Udai Singh son of Rānā Sāngā. When his brother Pratāp opposed Akbar, he joined service under the Emperor, and was appointed to the rank of 200. In the 1st year of Emperor Jahāngīr's reign he received a present of Rs. 12,000², and was appointed to accompany Sultān Parvīz in the campaign against the Rānā. In the end of the same year he was sent with a force to chastise Dalpat Bhurtia, and was victorious. In the 2nd year he was exalted by promotion to the rank of 2,500 foot with 1,000 horse³. In the 11th year his rank was advanced to 3,000 foot with 2,000 horse.

SALĀBAT KHĀN

(Vol. II, pp. 742-746).

His name was Khwāja Mir Khwāfī. He was born in India, but his ancestors migrated to India from Khwāf. As most men of Khwāf are distinguished for their good and straightforward nature, the said Khān was in his dealings correct and honest, and was always active and resourceful in the service of his master. Through his good fortune he was approved by Emperor Aurangzib, and he gained a place of regard and trust near him. For his zeal and knowledge of affairs he was appointed the Superintendent of Elephant-

¹ See Blochmann's translation of *A'in I* (2nd edn.), p. 585 for an account of his career. He is apparently Sagari and Sukta of Tod, *Annals of Rajasthan* (1914 edn.), I, pp. 264, 270. His name is given as Rana Shankar in *Memoirs of Jahāngīr*, Rogers & Beveridge's translation, I, p. 17 etc.

² Rogers & Beveridge, *op. cit.*, p. 49.

³ Rogers & Beveridge, *op. cit.*, p. 112.

stables¹ in place of Bahramand Khān in the 22nd year, and on account of his imposing stature, for he was tall and powerful, was granted the title of Salābat Khān. In the 23rd year he was exalted by his appointment² as the Superintendent of Artillery in place of Rūh Ullāh Khān. Later for some fault he was dismissed³ from service, but in the 25th year he was restored to his original rank⁴ and appointed Chief of the Artillery (*Mir Ātish*). Afterwards he was posted to Oudh. When he came from there to pay his respects, he was appointed Superintendent of the Grooms. In the 28th year he was sent as the Superintendent of the Sūrat⁵ port in place of Kārtalāb Khān Muḥammad Bēg. In the 33rd year he returned to the Presence at his request, and was appointed⁶ first *Mir Tūzak*. After that he was Superintendent of *Khās Chauki* (Special Guards), and he was promoted to the rank of 2,500 foot with 1,200 horse.

They say⁷ that one day in Gaurīgāon Sōhrāb Khān the second *Mir Tūzuk* struck for purposes of correction one of the officers of the artillery on the head with a staff three cubits long in the open *Diwān*. Some of the respectable men of that body siding with the culprit attacked Sōhrāb Khān. Salābat Khān being the 1st *Mir Tūzuk* wanted to punish them. But the affair took another shape, and ended in an attack on the heads of the department. The riot created by them suddenly came to such a pass, that the Emperor left the hall. Influential officers were deputed to quell the disturbance. They protected Salābat Khān and conveyed him to his house. The tumult lasted till the next day. Rūh Ullāh Khān I mounted his

¹ *Ma'athir-i-'Ālamgiri*, p. 171. His name is wrongly written painted as *Khwāja Mirzā*.

² *Op. cit.*, pp. 187, 188.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 192.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 247.

⁷ Taken from *Khāfi Khān*, II, pp. 393, 394. The name of the place is there given as Gōrgāon towards Pūna (Poonch).

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 216.

⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 333.

horse, and by warnings and bullying put down the mischief-mongers. He brought Ṣalābat Khān from his house to the Darbār. Some of the well-known *minkbāshīs*¹ and *yuzbāshīs*² were censured and reprimanded.

The Khān in the 36th year, at the end of 1103 A.H. (1592 A.D.) at Galgala obtained leave of absence on account of protracted illness to return to the capital. After traversing a few stages he died. About this time he often recited this verse:

Verse

“We have gone ourselves, and taken a corner of the grave
So that our bones might not burden any one’s shoulders”³.

It has been chronicled that the Khān was twice Chief of the Artillery and that in the 28th year, he became Superintendent of the port of Sūrat, while in the 33rd year, he, at his own request, came to the Court. This disagrees with the facts, as during the siege of Gōlconda in the 29th year, when Saf Shikan Khān, *Mir Ātish*, on account of a disagreement with Fīrūz Jang resigned his post, he was succeeded by Ṣalābat Khān. After that, as he also could not manage the business, he resigned and Saiyid ‘Izzat Khān was appointed in his place. At last at midnight owing to the neglect and self-indulgence of officers (*sardārān-i-kārkun*) the enemy attacked the battery (*damdama*). They made prisoners ‘Izzat Khān, Sarbarāh Khān, Jalāl Chēlā and a number of others, and took them inside the fort. Ṣalābat Khān was appointed *Mir Ātish* a second time. Accordingly Ni’mat Khān Hāji—who is unique in his own line—in his *Wāqa-i-Haidarābād*, which he has written in a jocular but clever style, has recorded that Ṣalābat Khān was made *Mir Ātish* a second time, and that he refused the appointment. He has indulged in pleasantries about these happenings,

¹ Artillery Captains, commanders of a 1,000, see Irvine, *Army of Indian Moghuls*, p. 157.

² Probably hunting men.

³ *Maathir-i-Alamgiri*, p. 349.

but what is evident is that the Khān was twice Superintendent of the port of Sūrat, but *Maāthir-i-Ālamgīrī* does not record¹ it. Ṣalābat Khān had a worthy son, who was a zealous soldier. In his father's lifetime he often distinguished himself, and received the title of Tahawwar Khān. His energy and bravery and that of Jān Nīthār Khān Khwāja 'Abdul Makārim were so impressed on the Emperor's mind that he mentioned their names in connection with the command of Khān Jahān Bahādur. Their courage and devotion were extolled by him, when he dwelt on the perfunctoriness (*wāsōkhiagī*) of the Khān Jahān. When the two were deputed to chastise the Marathas, they in the 37th year encountered the famous Sānta near the borders of the Karnātik (Carnatic). After a good fight their camp and artillery were plundered, they were wounded and with difficulty saved their lives. In the 40th year he was appointed *Faujdār* of Sahāranpūr. On returning to the Court after removal from there, he was appointed Superintendent of the Armoury (*Qūr Khāna*). In the 49th year, he was honoured by the grant of the title of Fidā'i Khān².

(SAIYID) ṢALĀBAT KHĀN BĀRAH

(Vol., II, pp. 457-460).

His title was *Ikhtisās Khān* and his name Saiyid Sultān. His father was Saiyid Bāyazīd son of Saiyid Hāshim son of the famous Saiyid Mahmūd Khān Kündlīwāl³. He was a leading officer of Prince Dārā Shikoh, and was greatly in his confidence. In the 24th year he was appointed to the Panjab province as the Prince's deputy, given the rank

¹ In *Maāthir-i-Ālamgīrī*, p. 332, there is a record of his petitioning to be allowed to return to Court in the 36th year, and of I'timād Khān succeeding him as the *Faujdār* and *Diwān* of Sūrat.

² *Maāthir-i-Ālamgīrī*, p. 493.

³ See Blochmann's translation of *A'in*, I (2nd edn.), pp. 424-427. The genealogical tree on p. 427 should also be consulted. For Saiyid Hāshim's account see p. 461 of the same work.

of 2,000 with 400 horse, granted the title of Ṣalābat Khān¹ and presented an elephant. In the same year, at the Prince's recommendation, he was transferred to the Allahābād province as its Deputy Governor. For a long time he remained in charge of that province, and put down many malcontents, and bridled most of the savage spirits. In the 25th year he received² a flag and in the 27th year by successive increases was advanced to 2,000 with 1,500 horse, and he was also granted drums. In the 30th year he conciliated Anūp Singh, *Zamīndār* of Bāndhū whose territory adjoined Allahābād, and brought him to the Court. Through his guidance he agreed to join royal service³. When in the end of the 31st year Sulaimān Shikōh, the eldest son of Dārā Shikōh, marched with a well equipped army against Prince Shujā—who on hearing of the illness of Emperor Shāh Jahān had started from Bengal at the head of a strong force with the intention of proceeding to Āgra. Though his agent wrote to him that the Emperor had recovered, he ascribed this report to the machinations of his elder brother, and considered it to be of no value. Besides the King's officers who had been appointed auxiliaries, Dārā Shikōh—without a careful consideration of his own needs and position—sent off (with Sulaimān Shikōh) all leading men of his own whom by intensive training for years he had made into men of position⁴ and influence. He even sent off Saiyid Ṣalābat Khān with a number of the Bārah Saiyids, who were the best of his men and in whose bravery and courage he had full confidence. Afterwards when through the changing Fortune the affairs of Dārā Shikōh fell into confusion, and after setting up forces and fighting with 'Alamgīr's forces he was defeated—which he had never anticipated—Sulaimān Shikōh, who, after defeating Shujā, was hastening back for helping his father, became bewildered on hearing this news, and turned back to Allahābād. There he held a conference with the leading and

¹ 'Amal Sālib, III, pp. 115, 121.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 135.

⁴ Adapted from 'Amal Sālib III, p. 278.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 231.

responsible officials of his father. All parties of them considered various plans, but because of the prevailing bewilderment none could give proper advice. At last the Bārah Saiyids—who were the best men of the force, and inhabited the *Dūab*—urged that he should proceed towards Chāndpūr Medīna¹ (?), and from there go on to Parnī (?) and Sahāranpūr, whence they should move on to the Panjāb and join his father at Lāhōre. After discussion this plan was approved and they set off. After passing Lucknow, a body of troops was sent against the *Karōri* of Medīna—which formed the fief of the Bēgam Sāhib—in order to requisition from him whatever revenues he might have collected. He shut himself in his house, and took measures to oppose them. The soldiers under the orders of Sulaimān Shikōh fell upon his goods and family. They made prisoners of him and his son, and extended the arm of oppression against his property and honour, and also against the property of and honour of the other inhabitants of the *pargana*. Meanwhile Saiyid Şalābat Khān—who, through the turn of events and his sagacity and foresight, saw that it would not be to his advantage to accompany Sulaimān Shikōh—deserted him, and went away to join 'Ālamgīr's forces. Before the latter had crossed the river Beās in pursuit of Dārā Shikōh, he caught up with them, and was received favourably. Within two or three days, as a result of his good fortune, he was exalted by appointment² as Governor of Berār in succession to Husām-ud-Dīn Khān. Nothing further is known about him.

¹ It is Nadīna in 'Ālamgīrnāma, whence the whole account of Sulaimān Shikōh's retirement to Allāhābād, his attack on the *Karōri* of Nadīna and the desertion of Şalābat Khān is taken, see pp. 171, 172. Parnī should probably be Būriya in the Ambālla District, see *Imperial Gazetteer*, III, p. 167. Sahāranpūr, Būriya and Chāndpūr, the villages of Bārah Saiyids are mentioned together in *Ma'āthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, II, p. 854.

² 'Ālamgīrnāma, p. 199, where it is recorded that he received the title of İkhtisās Khān and in addition to being appointed Governor of Berār was presented with a dress of honour and a horse.

ṢALĀBAT KHĀN RAUSHAN DAMĪR

(Vol. II, pp. 731-733).

He was the second son of Ṣādiq Khān¹ *Mīr Bakhsbī*. In the 5th year of Emperor Shāh Jahān's reign his rank² was raised to 1,000 with 200 horse, and he was appointed *Qurbēgī* (Head of the Body-guard) in place of Sardār Khān. When his father died in the 6th year, Prince Muḥammad Aurangzib, in compliance with his father's orders, went and escorted the eldest son Ja'far Khān and his brothers to the Presence. He was favoured by the grant of a dress of honour and an increase in his rank³. In the 8th year he was exalted to the rank of 2,000 foot with 800 horse⁴ by an increase of 500 foot with 100 horse. Later he received the title of Ṣalābat Khān⁵. In the 11th year he had a further increase of 500 foot with 200 horse so that his rank became 2,500 foot with 1,000 horse⁶. In the 12th year he was removed from the office of *Qurbēgī*, and appointed 2nd *Bakhsbī* in succession to Tarbiyat Khān, and his rank was raised to 3,000 foot with 1,000 horse⁷. In the 17th year he was exalted by his rank being increased to 4,000 foot with 2,000 horse, and the grant of a flag and drums.

In the same year about the end of Jummādā I, 1054 A.H. (July, 1644 A.D.) Rāo Amar Singh son of Rāja Gaj Singh killed him with a dagger. A brief account of this incident is as follows: The said Rāo had for sometime been absent from the Court owing to illness. On his convalescence he came to the Court, and Ṣalābat Khān introduced him in the private parlour of Sultān Dārā Shikoh's house where

¹ *Maāthir-ul-Umara*, Text, II, pp. 729-731, translation *antea* pp. 656, 657.

² *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. i, p. 417.

³ *Id.* pp. 538, 539.

⁴ *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. ii, p. 87, but the number of his horse should be 600 not 800 as in the *Maāthir*.

⁵ *Id.*, p. 103.

⁶ *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p. 104, his rank became 2,500 with 1,000 horse.

⁷ *Id.*, p. 135.

the Emperor was then living. He was standing on the left side and Salābat Khān on the right. After the evening prayers while the Emperor was writing a *Farmān* to one of his officers with his own hand, Salābat Khān came down from the portico for some purpose, and was engaged in hot conversation with some one. Amar Singh drew his dagger, and ran to Salābat Khān, and struck him unawares under the breast. As he was struck in the region of the heart he died immediately¹. He was a well-behaved young man, and had been reared by the Emperor, and was destined for higher offices—the Emperor expressed great sorrow because of the valuable and sincere service rendered by him, and of his youth. Muḥammad Murād, his son, who was four years old, was raised to the rank of 500 with 100 horse², and by the 30th year had reached the rank of 1,000 with 100 horse. In the 2nd year of Emperor Aurangzib's reign he was granted the title of Iltifāt Khān, and in the 6th year was raised to the rank of 1,500 with 150 horse. In the 9th year he had an increase of 100 horse.

SAMĀNJI KHĀN³

(Vol. II, pp. 401, 402).

He was *Qūrughchī*, and was one of Emperor Humāyūn's officers. Under Emperor Akbar he attained the rank of 1,500. In the end of the 5th year of Akbar's reign he was⁴ deputed with Ādham Khān Kōka for the conquest of Mālwa, and rendered good service. In the 9th year he went⁵ with Muḥammad Qāsim Khān Kishāpūrī in pursuit of 'Abdullāh Khān Üzbeg. In 13th year he accompanied

¹ *Bādshānāma*, II, pp. 380, 381;² *Id.*, p. 384.³ Blochmann's translation of *A'in*, I (2nd edition), pp. 489, 490. He was originally a servant of Mirzā Hindāl see *Akbarnāma*, Text, I, p. 315, Beveridge's translation, I, p. 587. Both in the text and the translation *Qūrughchī* has been wrongly separated from his name. *Qūrughchī* means a sentinel.⁴ *Akbarnāma*, Text, II, p. 135, Beveridge's translation, II, p. 208.⁵ *Id.*, Text, II, p. 226, Beveridge's translation, II, p. 347.

Ashraf Khān *Mīr Munshī* on the expedition to the fort of Ranthambhōr, but from the way he was deputed¹ to chastise Mīrzā Muhammād Husain, and other sons and grandsons of Muhammād Sultān Mīrzā, who returning again and again from Gujārāt were creating disturbances in the province of Mālwā. Afterwards he was granted a fief in Oudh². In the affair of Branding he originally joined the rebellious officers, but later separated from them, and joined the royal forces. In the 39th year in compliance with the royal summons he came³ to the Presence, and paid his homage. He died a few years later. After his death his sons⁴ having received suitable employment loyally served the Emperor.

(MUBĀRIZ-UL-MULK)⁵ SARBULAND KHĀN BAHĀDUR
DILĀWAR JANG

(Vol. III, pp. 801-806).

His name was Mīr Muhammād Rafī', and his homeland Tūn. During the reign of Emperor Aurangzib he came from Irān to India with his father whose name was Mīr Afdal and who had the title of Muqtadavī Khān. His father was exalted by his appointment as the

¹ *Akbarnāma*, Text, II, pp. 329, 330, Beveridge's translation, II, p. 484.

² According to Blochmann this should be Ārrah in Bihār as on the outbreak of the Bengal Rebellion he was *Jāgīrdār* of Ārrah, see *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 285, Beveridge's translation, III, p. 419, but he is stated to have been recalled from Oudh in the 39th year, *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 651, Beveridge's translation, III, p. 1000. It seems probable that his *jāgīr* was transferred from Ārrah to Oudh after the Branding affair.

³ *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 651, and Beveridge's translation, III, p. 1000. He also came to the Court in the 44th year, Text, p. 751, translation, p. 1122.

⁴ They were present at the taking of Asīrgarh, *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 778, Beveridge's translation, III, p. 1165.

⁵ There is a long account of this officer in Dowson & Elliot's *History*, VIII, p. 340 where he is styled Mumtāz-ul-Mulk. See also *Hadiqat-ul-Aqalim* under Tūn, lithograph edn. p. 381. According to Irvine *Later Mughals*, I, p. 200, footnote, he was born in 1085 A.H. (1674 A.D.) and died in 1154 A.H. (1742 A.D.).

Dīwān of Gwāliyār in the neighbourhood of Akbarābād (Āgra). After his father's death he went to his maternal uncle Bashārat Khān who was the *Faujdār* of Malkāpūr in Berār. He distinguished himself in putting down the seditions in the villages of that *pargana*, and as a reward was appointed to a suitable rank. Later he went to the royal camp, and married Hadiya Bēgam, the daughter of Rūh Ullāh Khān *Bakhshī*¹. As Āyisha Bēgam, the second daughter of the said Khān, was married to Sultān 'Azīm-ush-Shān, he during the reign of Bahādur Shāh, at the request of the said prince, received the title of Sarbuland Khān, and was employed in the prince's establishment. Later the prince sent him to Bengāl to carry out settlement operations. As he could not agree with Muḥammad Farrukh Siyar son of 'Azīm-ush-Shān—who had been appointed to govern Bengāl on his father's behalf—'Azīm-ush-Shān recalled him to the Court, but while on the way he was appointed *Faujdār* of Karta in the *śuba* of Allāhābād². After Bahādur Shāh's death, and as 'Azīm ush-Shān and his brothers were killed in the battle, and Muḥammad Farrukh Siyar had started for fighting with Jahāndār Shāh, Sarbuland Khān on account of his earlier differences hurried³ off to join Jahāndār Shāh with the revenue he had collected in his area. As about this time the governorship of Gujārāt as an adjunct of the Prime Minister's post had been conferred on Aṣaf-ud-Daulah Asad Khān, Dhulfaqār Khān appointed him the Deputy Governor of that province. When Muḥammad Farrukh Siyar was successful, he, at the instance of Saiyid 'Abdullah Khān Quṭb-ul-Mulk, was forgiven, and appointed⁴

1 For his account see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, II, pp. 309-315, translation *antea*, pp. 611-615. The marriage of his daughter Ayisha Bēgam is mentioned on p. 313 of the text. See also *Maāthir-i-'Alamgiri*, p. 347.

2 See Irvine *loc. cit.* He was sent to Bengal as a *Nā'ib* in the 2nd year of Bahādur Shāh's reign, but as he quarrelled with Diyā Ullāh Khān, the *Dīwān*, he was recalled, but in the 3rd year "was sent to the charge of Kora" where 'Azim-ush-Shān had his *jāgir*.

3 Khāfi Khān, II, pp. 693, 715. *Siyar-ul-Muiz-khikhirin*, Text, II, p. 391.

4 Irvine, *loc. cit.*, p. 262.

Governor of Oudh. After a time he was removed from this office and came to the Court. After the transfer of Mīr Jumla, however, he was appointed Governor of 'Azīmābād Patna. On reaching there he set out for the chastisement of Dharmājī¹, a seditious landholder of that province, and after a protracted struggle and great exertion put him to flight. As he was running away, he was wounded and died.

As he followed no system in the management of his soldiers and employed commanders (*Tumandār*) of high standing, he after coming to the court after his removal, was for long embarrassed by the demands of the soldiers for their pay. As during this period the Emperor was not on good terms with the Premier and the *Bakhshī*, the latter to improve their own position secretly sent him money to free him from the demands of the soldiers². Later, in the time of Rafī'-ud-Darajāt he was sent³ as the Governor of Kābul. In the time of Muhammād Shāh he was transferred from there, and came to the Court and in 1138 A.H. (1725-26 A.D.) was exalted by his appointment as Governor of Gujarāt⁴ in succession to Nizām-ul-Mulk Āṣaf Jāh. He sent a grant of the Deputy Governorship of the province to Shujā'at Khān Gujarātī. Hāmid Khān, the paternal uncle of Āṣaf Jāh, who was his deputy in Ahmādābād, marched out without equipment, and took up his quarters in the village of Dōhad. He summoned Kanthā Maratha to his assistance, and marched to Gujarāt.

¹ See Khāfi Khān, II, pp. 768, 769, where he is called Dhir. In *Hadiqat-ul-Aqalim*, p. 381, he is described as the Rāja of Bhōjpur.

² See Khāfi Khān, II, pp. 801, 802 where it is stated that Sayyid 'Abdullāh Khān and in addition to sending him cash etc. had him appointed Governor of Kābul. For an account of his return to the Capital and the intrigues resulting in his appointment as Governor of Agra, see Irvine *loc. cit.*, pp. 346, 347, 363, 364.

³ See Irvine, *loc. cit.*, p. 405, where the date of his departure is given as 19th Rabī' II, 1131 A.H. (10th March, 1719).

⁴ See Irvine *Later Mughals*, II, p. 152; *Cambridge History of India*, IV, pp. 350, 351,

There he fought Shujā'at Khān and killed him. Rustam 'Alī Khān, a brother of Shujā'at Khān, who was in Sūrat, marched against him with Pilājī Gaikwār, and a battle took place on the bank of river Māhī. As Pilājī was secretly in league with Hāmid Khān, Rustam 'Alī Khān was also killed. On receipt of this news Sarbuland Khān in the year 1138 A.H. (1726 A.D.) took a sum of money from the royal treasury as an advance of pay, and set off to his province. Hāmid Khān's Bakhsbī came forth to oppose him, but was killed, and the said Khān entered Ahmādābād. But as a result of lack of foresight and his lavish extravagance he spent not only the money he had received as advance, but the revenues of the imperial estates and of the *jāgīrdārs* in the province, and even became indebted to his own servants. Consequently he lost control over them, and they started practising oppression. They seized anyone whom they thought to be man of means, and shutting him up in his own house extorted money from him. He himself was also not wanting in oppression. Finally in consideration of the great predominance of the Marathas he agreed to paying them *chauth* in that province. Accordingly in the 11th year of the reign Abhai Singh alias Dhōkar Singh son of Ajit Singh was appointed Governor of the province in his place¹. Sarbuland Khān returned to Dēlhi, and for a long time lived in his house. On account of the persecutions of his creditors he had fortified the main gate of his house. It is stated that whenever the Emperor sent for him, a government palanquin and some *sazāwals* were also sent so that he may not be molested by his creditors en route. After Nādir Shāh's arrival when an assessment was levied on the inhabitants of the Capital, he was appointed to make the collections after the death of Burhān-ul-Mulk Sa'ādat Khān, who was really responsible for his levy. Complaints were rife in the streets

¹ See Irvine *loc. cit.*, pp. 169-183, 185-214 where a detailed account of his administration in Gujarāt and his battle with Abhai Singh and finally surrendering Gujarāt to him and returning to Agra and later to Dēlhi is given. The *Māāthir* account is comparatively brief and most of the incidents in Gujarāt are omitted.

and lanes¹. As he was audacious and reckless in regard to expenditure, he was never successful. He died in 1158² A.H. (1745 A.D.). His son Khānazād Khān Bahādur, though he attained the rank of 6,000, lived the life of a relatively poor man in Shāhjahānābād (Dēlhi), and died in the beginning of Ahmad Shāh's reign. His second son Mir Gujarātī achieved nothing of an outstanding nature. Mahndī Khān, the son of Khānazād Khān bides his time through the help of this and that one.

SARBULAND KHĀN KHWĀJA RAHMAT ULLĀH

(Vol. II, pp. 477-479).

He was the sister's son of Najabat Khān³ Mīrzā Shujā'. On account of his lineage he received a suitable rank, and was personally known to Emperor Shāh Jahān. In the 25th year he was appointed to the high office of *Mir Tūzuk*. In the 26th year he accompanied Prince Dārā Shikōh to the Qandahār campaign. In the 27th year he was promoted to the rank of 1,000 with 250 horse. In the 29th year he had an increase of 150 horse, and in the 30th year his rank was advanced to 1,000 with 500 horse, and he was granted the title of Sarbuland⁴ Khān. In the 31st year he was appointed Master of the Horse (*Ākhtabēgi*) in succession to Asad Khān⁵, and afterwards was made Superintendent of the Artillery with an increase of 100 horse⁶. Later when the times assumed another aspect, and the gates of victory were opened for Aurangzib, Sarbuland Khān after the battle of Samūgarh had the good fortune to enter⁷. Emperor Aurangzib's service.

1 See Elliot, *op. cit.*, p. 91, and Irvine *loc. cit.*, p. 373.

2 This is apparently incorrect as according to Irvine, *loc. cit.*, p. 215, he died on 13th Dhūl Qa'da 1154 A.H. (19th January, 1742 A.D.).

3 *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, III, pp. 821-828, translation *antea* pp. 364-371.

4 *'Amal Sālib*, III, p. 240 where the grant of the title of Sarbuland Khān to Rahmat Ullāh *Mir Tūzuk* is recorded.

5 *Op. cit.*, p. 244.

6 *Op. cit.*, p. 271.

7 *'Alamgīrnāma*, p. 113.

After the first coronation he was appointed *Faujdār* of Mandasūr. In the 6th year his rank¹ became 2,500 with 1,500 horse. In the 9th year he accompanied Sultān Muḥammad Mu'azzam to the Kābul area in view of the report that the ruler of Irān was advancing towards that side. In the 10th year he accompanied the same Prince², who was deputed to administer the provinces of the Deccan. In the 12th year he returned to the Court. As the report of the said Prince having done certain things contrary to the Emperor's wishes was received, his revered mother Nawāb Bāī was sent to reprimand him, and in the 13th year Sarbuland Khān was deputed to escort³ the revered lady. On his return Sarbuland Khān was appointed *Qushbēgi* in succession to Faiḍ Ullāh Khān. In the 15th year he was made Governor⁵ of Akbarābād (Āgra) in succession to Nāmdār Khān, and later he was in addition appointed 2nd *Bakhshī*⁶ in place of Himmat Khān, and also had charge⁷ of the office of the *Wālāshābis* (Household troops). In the 17th year when Shujā'at Khān Ra'dandāz Khān was killed in royal service in the affair of the Yūsufza'is, he was appointed to Peshawār⁸ with a suitable force. In the 18th year his rank⁹ was advanced to 4,000 with 2,500 horse. In the 19th year when Shamshēr Khān Mīr Ya'qūb son of Shaikh Mīr Khwāfi was killed in battle with the Afghāns, Sarbuland Khān was sent with a suitable force and equipment to chastise¹⁰ them. On account of some fault he became an object of censure, and was removed from office. After a time, however, he was restored¹¹. In the 21st year when Āī Bēgam his mother—who was a daughter of Mīrzā Shāhrukh—died, Nāmdār Khān brought Sarbuland Khān to the Court, and by the grant of a robe of honour his mourning was brought to an¹² end. In the 22nd year he was sent to take¹³ Jōdhpūr from the Rāthōrs who

1 *'Alamgirnāma*, p. 817.

2 *Māzthir-i-'Alamgiri*, p. 60.

4 *Op. cit.*, p. 106.

6 *Op. cit.*, p. 120.

8 *Op. cit.*, p. 133.

11 *Op. cit.*, p. 150.

3 *Op. cit.*, pp. 102, 103.

5 *Op. cit.*, p. 118.

7 *Op. cit.*, p. 127.

10 *Op. cit.*, p. 145.

13 *Op. cit.*, p. 179.

9 *Op. cit.*, p. 139.

12 *Op. cit.*, p. 163.

had rebelled. In the 23rd year¹ corresponding to 1090 A.H. (1679-80 A.D.) he died after a long illness.

SARDĀR KHĀN

(Vol. II, pp. 491-494).

His name was Sardār Bēg, and he was the son of Bāqī Khān Qalmāq² *Chēla* of whom a separate account has been included. Sardār Bēg was, through good fortune, a favourite in Emperor Aurangzib's reign, and received a suitable rank and the title of Ihtimām Khān. When the Emperor went to Hasan Abdāl, he was Superintendent³ of Buildings at the Capital, and later was appointed *Kōtiwāl* (Provost-Marshall) of the royal camp. He long served in this capacity in Upper India and in the Deccan; and as the Emperor was constantly on the move, he performing his duties satisfactorily gained the Emperor's confidence. When Aurangābād was honoured by the arrival of the Emperor, he was, for a time, employed in building the city wall of that town. In the 28th year he was appointed Superintendent of the Fleet⁴ in succession to Saif Ullāh Khān. As the Emperor had become assured of his capability and loyalty, the duties in connection with the Superintendence of certain works at Junair were also added to his charge. In the 29th year he was appointed⁵ *Nāzir* (Supervisor) of the harem in succession to Khidmat Khān. The *Krōñship* of the market was also a part of his duties. When during the siege of Gōlconda the river Mānjara and the other rivers were, as a result of excessive rains, flooded, the arrival of provisions was stopped. As a result there was a famine, and both the city of Haidarābād and the camp were full of

¹ *Maāthir-i-Alamgiri*, p. 187. He died on the 4th Dhūl Hijjah 1090 A.H. (6th January, 1680 A.D.).

² *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, I, pp. 427-429, Beveridge's translation, I, pp. 380, 381.

³ *Maāthir-i-Alamgiri*, p. 132 where his name is given as Ihtimām Khān.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 250.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 274.

dead bodies. From morning to evening every day sweepers went on removing the dead bodies from around the royal quarters, and throwing them on the river bank, and similar accumulations were taking place during the night time. At this juncture the office of *Karōri* was taken from Ihtimām Khān and given to Saiyid Sharif Khān of Qannaūj¹. For a long time the Emperor had suspicions of the loyalty of Prince Muhammad Mu'zzam also known as Shāh 'Ālam, and at this time Khān Firuz Jang got possession in the entrenchments of Gōlconda of letters written by him to Abūl Hasan of Haidarābād, and placed them before the Emperor. And as the suspicions were confirmed, the Prince and his two elder sons, who were with him, were put into prison. Ihtimām Khān's rank was raised by an increase of 500 to 1,500, he was granted the title of Sardār Khān, and put in charge of the Prince².

They say that after some days Sardār Khān was ordered to convey a message to the Prince bidding him to confess his fault and beg for pardon, so that the Emperor might excuse his transgression. The Prince replied that he had committed many sins against his God and his father, but that he had never done what he was now charged with. Censure followed censure, and for six months he was not allowed to have his hair cut or his nails trimmed³. Nāzir Khidmat Khān Nāib of Emperor Shāh Jahān relying on his earlier services boldly represented the case, and did not mince matters. He was permitted to take up measures for his redress. After a long time when Aurangzib's wrath gradually subsided, and the unhappy mind was moved by paternal affection, he several times made over to Sardār Khān the traditional prayers for conveyance to the Prince in order that he might make use of them, and that thus "our loving heart be turned towards his release,

¹ The account of the floods and the resulting famine is taken from *Maathir-i-'Alamgiri*, pp. 291, 292, where also the appointment of Saiyid Sharif Khān as *Krōri* is recorded.

² *Maathir-i-'Alamgiri*, pp. 293-295.

³ Khāfi Khān, II, pp. 333, 334.

and the Prince might be freed of the pain of separation.” One day Sardār Khān represented that the Prince’s release was in His Majesty’s power. The Emperor answered: “True, but the Master of kings has made us a ruler. Wherever oppression is practised by an oppressor on an oppressed one, I hope that the complaint by the oppressed would be made to us, and that we shall do justice. Oppression has, on account of certain worldly accidents, been inflicted by our hand upon this person, but the time has not yet come when I could release him. He has no refuge but the throne of the Almighty. So it is right to hope that he will not despair of us, and not complain to God. If he does, how can we escape¹.”

In the 31st year Sardār Khān was appointed Superintendent of the Elephant-stables in succession to Mu’tamad Khān. When in the 33rd year the Emperor went from the village of Badrī to Quṭbābād Galgala, Sardār Khān was appointed *Faujdār*² for a circuit of 12 *kos* round the camp. In the 35th year 1103 A.H. (1692 A.D.) he died³. He was, both outwardly and inwardly a loyal servant of his master and of the public. He was not devoid of religious feelings, and friendship for the poor. His son Hamīd-ud-Dīn Khān⁴ surpassed his father and grandfather in reputation, as is apparent from the narrative of his life. He also had other children.

SARDĀR KHĀN KHWĀJA YĀDGĀR

(Vol. II, pp. 411, 412).

He was a brother of ‘Abdullāh Khān Firūz Jang⁵. In the time of Emperor Jahāngīr he received a suitable rank, and in the 5th year

¹ *Maāthir-i-Alamgiri*, pp. 341, 342. For a good account of Shāh ‘Ālam’s imprisonment see also Sir Jadunath Sarkar *History of Aurangzib*, IV, pp. 364, 365.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 335.

³ *Op. cit.*, pp. 344, 345.

⁴ *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, I, pp. 605-611, Beveridge & Prashad’s translation, I, pp. 611-614

⁵ For his account see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, II, pp. 777-789, Beveridge’s translation, I, pp. 97-105.

was granted a flag. In the 8th year¹ he was appointed *Faujdār* of Jūnāgarli in the province of Gujarāt, and received an increase of 500 with 300 horse in his rank. When the appointment in question was given to Kāmil Khān Mīrzā Khurram son of Khān Ā'zam Kōka, the Emperor out of regard allowed the increase granted to Sardār Khān to be maintained. In the same year he was in attendance on Sultān Khurram in the campaign against Rāna Amar Singh. In the 10th year he received a drum at the recommendation of 'Abdullāh Khān. When in that year 'Abdullāh Khān was summoned from Ahmadābād on account of his severity to 'Ābid Khān Bakhsbī of Gujarāt—who had preferred a complaint—an order was issued that he should leave Sardār Khān as his deputy in Gujarāt². In the 14th year he was deputed to accompany Sultān Khurram on the Deccan campaign. In the 15th year on his return from there, he accompanied his brother to Kālpī which had been granted to him as his fief. He died at his appointed time.

SARDĀR KHĀN SHĀHJAHĀNĪ

(Vol. II., pp. 437, 438).

He was in the service of Shāh Jahān while he was a prince. When there was a disagreement between the Emperor and the Prince (Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān), Sardār Khān out of loyalty and sincerity stuck to the service of the Prince, and did not leave him at all. When the Prince returned from Bengāl and reached Burhānpūr, he summoned to his presence Rāja Gōpāl Singh³ Gaur—who had during his absence rendered good service in safeguarding the famous fort of Asīr—and

¹ The grant of the title of Sardār Khān to him on his arrival from Gujarāt is recorded in the account of the 8th year, see Rogers & Beveridge's translation of *Memoirs of Jahangir*, I, p. 237. The increases in his rank etc. are recorded on p. 239.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 331.

³ This is apparently incorrect, as his name in *Bādschāhnāma*, I, pt. i, pp. 117, 124 is given Gōpāl Dās Gaur.

sent Sardār Khān there to look after it. After the accession to the throne, Sardār Khān was raised to the rank of 3,000 with 2,000¹ horse, and granted a flag and drums, and a gift of Rs. 30,000. When the uprooting of Jujhār Singh Bundīla and the conquest of his territory took place, and in the beginning of the 9th year on return from the Deccan the Emperor encamped near Ārcha, the capital of the state, Sardār Khān was appointed to the charge of the fort of Dhāmūnī, which had been built by Jujhār Singh's father. That *pargana* was granted to him in fief, and the administration of the area was placed in his charge². In the 14th year he was appointed to the charge of the two Bangashes³. In the 17th year he was promoted as the Governor of Mālwa, and his rank was increased to 4,000 with 3,000 horse⁴. Later he was made *Tiyūldār* (fief-holder) of Chūrāgarh⁵, but as he could not manage it properly, he was soon removed from this office. In the 26th year he was appointed Governor of Tatta (Sindh), but he died en route in 1063 A.H.⁶ (1653 A.D.).

SARFRĀZ KHĀN CHAGHTĀ'

(Vol. II, pp. 421-423).

He was the grandson of Musāhib Bēg⁷ of Humāyūn's reign whose account has already been recorded. Emperor Akbar used to call him by his grandfather's name. In the beginning of his reign Emperor Jahāngīr favoured him because of his ancestry, and appointing him to a suitable rank granted him the title of Sarfrāz Khān, and made him *Faujdār* of Pattan in Gujarat. In the 12th year his rank was 2,000 foot with 1,000 horse⁸, and at the end of that Emperor's reign

¹ *Bādsbāhnāma* I, pt. ii, p. 117.² *Op. cit.*, p. 123.³ *Bādsbāhnāma*, II, p. 223.⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 378.⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 425. He was appointed fief-holder of Dhāmūnī & Chūrāgarh.⁶ *'Amal Śāliḥ*, III, p. 154.⁷ *Maāthbir-ul-Umarā*, Text, III, pp. 179-181, translation *antea* pp. 321-323.⁸ Rogers & Beveridge's translation of *Tuzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*, I, p. 413.

he had the rank of 3,000 foot with 2,000 horse. After Shāh Jahān's accession he, in the 2nd year, was promoted to the rank of 4,000 foot with 3,000 horse¹. In the 4th year he paid his respects, and was permitted to proceed to his fief. In the 12th year corresponding to 1049 A.H. (1639 A.D.) he² died. One of his sons was Sardār Khān whose real name was Dildost. In the 20th year of Shāh Jahān's reign his rank was 1,000 foot with 700 horse³, and he was one of the auxiliaries of the Gujarāt province. In the 28th year, at the recommendation of Sultān Murād Bakhhsh, he was promoted to the rank of 1,500 foot with 1,000 horse, and appointed *Thānadār* of Bijapur in the *Sarkār* of Pattan. When the said prince, during Emperor Shāh Jahān's illness, assumed the insignia of sovereignty, and then in response to Aurangzib's summons started (for Āgra), Sardār Khān accompanied him. When Murād Bakhhsh was imprisoned, he joined 'Ālamgīr's service, received the title of Sardār Khān, and was appointed *Faujdār* of Pattan. Later, when Dārā Shikoh after the battle of Ajmēr proceeded towards Gujarāt, he did not forego his allegiance, rather joining a force he captured Saiyid Ahmad, the brother of Saiyid Jalāl Bokhārī, whom Dārā Shikoh had appointed Governor of Gujarāt and imprisoned him. He also fortified the city and fortress, and offered strong resistance. As a reward his rank was raised to 2,500 foot with 2,500 horse of which 500 were two horse, three-horse troopers⁴. In the 4th year, he was summoned to the Court, and appointed *Faujdār* and fief-holder of Broach⁵. In the 10th year when he was appointed *Faujdār* of Junāgarh, and Islāmābād was also assigned to his charge. His rank was advanced to 3,000 foot with 3,000 horse, of which 2,500 were two-horse, three-horse troopers.

¹ *Bādsbāhnāma*, I, pt. i, p. 267.

² *Bādsbāhnāma*, II, p. 149, he was the *Faujdār* of Pattan when he died.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 733.

⁴ *'Ālamgīrnāma*, p. 213, but his rank there is stated as 2,000, with 1,500 horse of which 1,000 were 2-horse, 3-horse troopers; later, p. 345, his rank was raised to 2,500 with 2,500 horse.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 629.

Another son was Dildār. He in the end of Emperor Shāh Jahān's reign had the rank of 800 foot with 600 horse, and in the beginning of Emperor Aurangzib's reign received the title of Khān.

SARFRĀZ KHĀN DECCANI

(Vol. II, pp. 469-473).

He was of distinguished lineage, and it is stated that he belonged to the Quraish family. His ancestors came to the Déccan from holy Medīna, and after undergoing many hardships entered the service of the Nizām Shāhīs. Sarfrāz was granted the title of Safrāz Khān and having attained the rank of an *Amīr* became famous. When Malik 'Ambar rose to the head of the government and became Commander-in-chief of the forces, he was appointed head of the Telingāna Army. When Naṣīrī Khān Daurān set himself in the 4th year of Emperor Shāh Jahān's reign to take the fort of Qandahār—which for its size and impregnability was one of the leading forts of the country—Sarfrāz Khān who had arranged his forces between the town and the fort, and had placed the artillery in front, bravely attacked him in that area. The brave attackers were greeted with a heavy barrage of artillery and musket fire from the fort and the ground. Khān Daurān and his companions fought bravely and killed many of the enemy. Some whose time had not yet arrived, saved their lives by flight. Sarfrāz Khān abandoned his bag and baggage, and with a few followers escaped and joined the Nizām Shāhī troops—which under the command of Muqarrab Khān and Bahlōl Khān in company with Randaula Khān 'Ādil Khānī had arrived near the fort to reinforce the garrison. The town came into the possession¹ of the imperialists. As the fortune of the Nizām Shāhī dynasty was declining, its arrangements fell into disorder, and at this time Muqarrab Khān alias Rustam Khān Deccanī, the Commander-in-chief of the Nizām Shāhī forces, through his good fortune entered the imperial service. Sarfrāz Khān also followed the

¹ *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. i, pp. 374, 375.

same course, and was appointed to the rank of 4,000 foot with 3,000 horse¹. He came to Upper India in attendance on Emperor Shāh Jahān, but took leave to serve in his native country—to which he was greatly attracted and attached and did not again leave it. He had *pargana* Lōhgāon in Nāndair as his fief. He made the village of Balolī in that *pargana* as his home, and made it famous above all the nearby villages by erecting there a fine mosque and other buildings. He served for some thirty to forty years. Though he did not perform any outstanding service, yet he did not lose his position. He always served diligently under Prince Muhammad Aurangzib Bahādur during the reign of Emperor Shāh Jahān. When the said Prince went off to war with Dārā Shikoh, Sarfrāz Khān was raised to the rank of 5,000², and despite his objections had to accompany him with the Deccan auxiliaries. When in the 9th year of Emperor Aurangzib's reign Mīrzā Rāja Jai Singh, Governor of the Deccan, proceeded to devastate the Bijāpūr territory, the fort of Mangalvide³, which was on the bank of the Bhīmra (Bhīma river), and 16 *kos* from Bijāpūr, was captured by the exertions of Nētu the Commander-in-chief of Shivāji's army. Mīrzā Rāja appointed Udai Singh Bhadauriyah to the charge of the fort, and made Sarfrāz Khān the *Faujdār* of the district⁴, and marched forward.

About the same time Sharza Khān Bijāpūrī came with 6,000 cavalry to attack the fort of Mangalvide. Though the Rāja had strictly enjoined Sarfrāz Khān to exercise all due care and foresight, and not to engage if the enemy came with a strong force, but to

¹ *Bādsbābnāma*, I, pt. ii, p. 297.

² See 'Ālamgīrnāma', p. 47 where his rank after promotion is given as 5,000 with 4,000 horse.

³ Mangalpira in the Text, Mangalpahra in *Khāfi Khān*, II, p. 192, and Mangalbēd in 'Ālamgīrnāma' and *Maāthir-i-Ālamgiri*. The correct name is Mangalvide as given in Sir Jadunath Sarkar's *Shivaji*, p. 331 and *Cambridge History of India*, IV, p. 284.

⁴ 'Ālamgīrnāma', p. 992. Nētāji the name of Shivāji's general is given as Nētu in the Text.

take shelter in the fort, but, he out of impetuosity and valour, engaged with them in battle at the head of a small force, and after much fighting was killed. After this event his sons with the remaining soldiers and elephants entered the fort, and found shelter there¹. Sarfrāz Khān was a grey bearded man. He was very economical (*salāmat*² *ravī*), and neither harmed nor helped any one. He had five sons. Two of them Husain Khān and Muhammād Purdil Khān left descendants. Husain Khān, who was the eldest, received the title of Sarfrāz Khān after the death of his father, and having acquitted himself bravely was killed in the battle of Malkhair³ (Malkhed), which Dilēr Khān fought with the 'Ādil Shāhīs. His sons were Murād Ullāh Khān, and Burhān Ullāh Khān. The latter about the end of the reign of Aurangzib was the *Faujdār* of Nusratābād Sakkar (Sagar). In the 49th year he was removed from there, and the *Faujdārī* with the government of Bijāpūr was assigned to Chīn Qulīj Khān Bahādur. In the end he was in great distress. Nawāb Aṣaf Jāh made him for sometime, after the battle with 'Alam 'Ali Khān, the Superintendent of Branding and Musters. He was an elegant (*rangīn*) man, and was very intimate with the author. He died a natural death at Aurangābād. As long as he lived, the town of Balōlī, despite his quarrels with his brothers, formed their *jāgīr*. At present this also has been taken from them.

SARFRĀZ KHĀN SAIYID LATĪF

(Vol. II, pp. 499, 500).

At first he was in the service of the Bijāpūr rulers. In the 20th year of Emperor Aurangzib's reign he, at the recommendation of Dilēr Khān Dādzai entered the royal service, and gradually attained a high

1. 'Alamgirnāma pp. 995, 996. Also see Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzeb*, IV, p. 112.

2. Apparently implying that he was prudent and of a retired disposition.

3. Battle of Malkhed, situated some 20 miles to the east of Gulbarga, in September 1677. See Jadunath Sarkar, *op. cit.* p. 147.

rank, and received the title of Sarfrāz¹ Khān. In the 27th year he was deputed with Muḥammad ‘Āzam Shāh for besieging Bijāpūr, and after the victory was honoured by the gift of an elephant. Later he was in attendance on Muḥammad Kām Bakhsh—who was at Sakkhar and had been appointed to assist Dhulfiqār Khān who was besieging Gingee. Afterwards he was appointed commandant and *Faujdār* of Nuṣratābād Sakkhar². In the 40th year he was removed³ from this post, and in the 43rd year⁴ he was appointed with Muḥammad Bīdār Bakhsh to pursue Rāma Bhōnsle, and rendered good service. He was later dismissed from his rank on account of some fault, but in the 47th year, at the request of Muḥammad Kām Bakhsh, he was⁵ reinstated in the rank of 6,000 with 5,000 horse. After that he rendered good service in the pursuit of Bēd⁶ (Pidia) Nā’ik and as a reward in the 50th year his rank was increased to 6,000 with 6,000 horse⁷. After the death of Emperor Aurangzib he was killed by a bullet while he was attacking a village. His son was Sarafrāz Khān Saiyid Amīn, who in Nizām-ul-Mulk Āṣaf Jāh’s time was the Governor of Haidarābād; he built houses in Musta‘idpūra outside the city. After his death his grandson inherited a small fief. At the time of writing he too is dead.

1 In Khāfi Khān, II, p. 291, his name is given as Latīf Shāh.

2 It is spelt as Sakkhar and Sakkar in *Maāthir-i-‘Ālamgiri*, p. 304 where it is stated that the place was named Nuṣratgarh, p. 307. Its situation is given as between Bijāpūr and Haidarābād. It is really Sāgar some 72 miles east of Bijāpūr city, see Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *Histary of Aurangzib*, V, p. 216.

3 *Maāthir-i-‘Ālamgiri*, p. 384.

4 *O.p. cit.*, p. 411.

5 This was in the 48th year, see *Maāthir-i-‘Ālamgiri*, p. 480.

6 Bēd in Text should be Pidia for whom see Sir Jadunath Sarkar’s excellent account in the work cited pp. 218-234.

7 *Maāthir-i-‘Ālamgiri*, p. 513.

SATRSĀL¹ BUNDILA

(Vol. II, pp. 510-512).

He was the son of Champat Bundila, who after Jujhār Singh was killed, and his territory confiscated to the state, stirred up strife there, and attacked and plundered the country. In the 12th year² of Emperor Shāh Jahān's reign 'Abdullāh Khān Firūz Jang was appointed to chastise him, and in the 15th year³ Rāja Bahār Singh Bundila was deputed for the same duty. As Champat Bundila had long been in the service of Bīr Singh Dēo and Jujhār Singh, he abandoned the idea of turbulence, and for a time became his (Pahār Singh's) servant. Afterwards he entered the service of Sultān Dārā Shikoh⁴. When Aurangzib started for Upper India in 1068 A.H. (1658 A.D.), he, after the battle with Mahārāja Jaswant Singh and through the inter-mediation of Subh Karan Bundila entered Aurangzib's service, and was appointed to a high rank⁵. When the Emperor returned from Multān to oppose Sultān Shujā', he was attached⁶ to the contingent of Khalil Ullāh Khān, the Governor of Lāhōre. As he was innately seditious, he ran⁷ away to his home from there, and took to highway robbery. As the Emperor had great affairs, such as the opposing of Sultān Shujā', the chastisement of the Mahārāja, and the encountering of Dārā Shikoh, on hand, he winked at the transgression, but at the time

1 For the traditional history of Champat and Satrasāl, or Chhatur Sāl, see Pogson—*History of the Boondelas* (Calcutta, 1828). It is stated (p. 105) that he had 13 children alive, while according to tradition he had 52 sons. His mausoleum is at Chutturpur (Panna) where he died in December, 1731, at the age of 82 years.

2 11th year in the Text, but 12th in *Bādshāhnāma* which has been adopted, see pp. 136, 137 of vol. II.

3 End of the 11th year in Text, but 15th in *Bādshāhnāma*, I, p. 303.

4 *Op. cit.*, p. 304.

5 *Ālamgīrnāma*, p. 78. He was appointed to the rank of 1,000 with 500 horse.

6 *Op. cit.*, p. 217.

7 *Op. cit.*, p. 301.

of the march to Ajmēr he sent Subhkarn Bundila and other Rājas to chastise him. After disposing off the claims to the share of the sovereignty, Aurangzib in the 4th year sent Rāja Dēbī Singh to overthrow him. He got frightened, and hid himself from day to day. Rāja Sujān Singh—who was attached to the Bengāl contingent—made enquiries and ascertained that he was hiding in the village of Sahrah the home of Rāja Indrāman Dhandera. Accordingly they hurried to summon him. The men got frightened, and cutting off his head sent it to the Court¹. After him Satrsāl, who held a minor post, went off to Shivājī Bhōnsle, who sent him to his native country. There he, according to the hereditary custom, stirred up turbulence. In the 22nd year Rāja Jaswant Singh Bundila was sent to punish him. Thereupon he undertook to take up imperial service, and in the 44th year was appointed² Commandant of the fort of Ā'zam Tārā alias Satāra. In the 48th year, he deserted to his home. In the 49th year, at the solicitation of Fīrūz Jang his offence was pardoned, and he was appointed to the rank of 4,000. After the death of Emperor Aurangzib he retired to his own estates, and though in the reign of Emperor Bahādur Shāh *Farmāns* recalling him were issued, he did not come. But after the return of Emperor Bahādur Shāh from the Deccan he joined the imperial army, and was appointed to the forces which were to act against the Gurū who was the leader of the Sikhs. In the time of Emperor Muhammad Shāh, when Muhammad Khān Bangash led an army against him and forcibly took possession of some imperial estates and reduced his power, he intrigued with the Marathas in Mālwa, and with their assistance marched against him and besieged him in Garhī. After four months, the Marathas on account of an outbreak of plague returned, but he continued with the siege for another three months. At last peace was arranged³.

¹ The account of Debi Singh's campaign against Champat Bundila is based on 'Ālamgirnāma', pp. 632, 633.

² *Maātbir-i-Ālamgiri*, p. 424.

³ For a good account of the Bundelkhand campaign see Irvine *Later Mughals*, II, pp. 230-241. Garhī should be Jaipūr, where Muhammad Khān

They say that he had many children. One of his sons was Kanwar Khān Chand, who was with Nizām-ul-Mulk Āṣaf Jāh in the Deccan, and had *pargana* Shērpūr in Berār as his fief.

(RĀO) SATRSĀL HĀRĀ

(Vol. II, pp. 260-263).

He was the grandson of Rāo Ratan¹. His father Gōpī Nāh had a slender body, but was so strong that he would sit between two branches of a tree, each of them of the thickness of the centre pole of an awning (*Shāmiāna*), and putting his foot on one, and his back against the other part them asunder. As a result of these improper exertions he fell ill and died during his father's life-time. When Rāo Ratan died in the 4th year of Emperor Shāh Jahān's reign, Satrāl was made his successor according to the Rajpūt custom, according to which if the eldest son was dead, his son succeeded. The Emperor appointed him to the rank of 3,000 with 2,000 horse, gave him the title of Rāo, and the fief of Būndī and Kanker and the neighbouring *parganas* which formed the home territory of Rāo Ratan². When he came from the Bālāghāt and did homage, he presented 40 elephants, which had belonged to his grandfather. Eighteen, the value of which was $2\frac{1}{4}$ lakhs of rupees were kept and the rest returned. He was granted a robe of honour, a horse with silver trappings, and a flag and drums³. Later he was appointed to the Deccan, and in company with Khān Zamān he, in the 6th year, distinguished himself by his loyal service in the siege of Daulatābād by superintending the batteries, providing aid wherever required, and bringing in provisions from Zafarnagar⁴.

with his small force was besieged till on signing a written agreement he was allowed to evacuate.

For the earlier career of Satrāl see Irvine, *loc. cit.* pp. 228-230.

¹ See *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, II. pp. 208-211, translation *antea*, pp. 603-605.

² Taken fram *Bādsbāhnāma*, I, pt. i, pp. 401, 402.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 417.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, pp. 503, 505, 510, 519.

One night the Deccanīs finding the defenders off their guard attacked the quarters of Khān Zamān of which the Rāo had charge. He stood firm and bravely defended the place. The Deccanīs retired after killing the brother's son of Bahlūl. In the 7th year he performed valiant deeds in the siege of Parenda¹. In the 8th year when the government of the Bālāghāt was entrusted to Khān Zamān, the Rāo was attached² to him. In the 9th year when the Emperor proceeded to Khāndesh to chastise Sāhū Bhōnsle and for comforting his Deccan subjects, the Rāo and Khān Zamān joined³ him after his arrival near Burhānpūr. Later when three armies were sent out under the commands of three leading officers, the Rāo was placed in the van of the army under Khān Zamān, and at all times and in all places he with the said Khān exerted bravely in the chastisement of the malcontents. In his absence (*ghāibāna* i.e. without personally appearing at the Court) his rank was advanced to 3,000 foot with 3,000 horse by an increase⁴ of 1,000 horse. After having spent a few years in the Deccan he came⁵ in the 15th year to the Court in attendance on Prince Muḥammad Aurangzib Governor of the Deccan. In the same year he was deputed⁶ with Sultān Dārā Shikōh to the Qandahār campaign. On his return in the 18th year he was granted a robe of honour, and was permitted to go to his country⁷. In the 19th year he⁸ went with Prince Muṣṭafā Bakhhsh on the campaign to Balkh and Badakhshān. When the said Prince on account of inexperience left that country, the Rāo returned to Peshawar either on account of the unsuitability of the climate or from love for his native country. The Emperor ordered the Attock officers not to allow him to cross⁹ (the Indus). In the 20th year when Sultān Aurangzib was appointed to that province, he accompanied him, and distinguished himself in the fights with the Uzbegs and Alamānān. When the Prince by

¹ *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. ii, pp. 33-47.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 63.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 135.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 177.

⁵ *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p. 284.

⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 293.

⁷ *Op. cit.*, pp. 387, 388.

⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 484.

⁹ *Op. cit.*, p. 633.

his father's orders made over the province to Nadhar Muḥammad, and returned to Kābul, the Rāo was summoned to the Court from Kābul, and he arrived there in the 21st year; he paid his respects and was allowed to go to his home. In the 22nd year he was summoned to the Court, and granted the rank of 3,500 foot with 3,500 horse, and sent¹ with Prince Muḥammad Aurangzīb on the campaign to Qandahār, which had passed into the hands of the Irānians. He was sent with Rustam Khān and Qulīj Khān to Bust, and fought bravely² in the battle with the Irānians. In the 25th year with the said Prince³, and in the 26th year with⁴ Prince Dārā Shikōh he was again sent on the same expedition. In the 29th year he was appointed to the Deccan, which province had been assigned to Prince Aurangzīb, and in the taking of the forts of Bidar and Kalyānī had frequent encounters with the Deccanīs, and performed valuable services through bravely sticking firmly to his allotted positions. In the 31st year when there was a change of affairs, and Sultān Dārā Shikōh in spite of the counter orders of Shāh Jahān, appointed strict *Sazāwals* for sending back⁵ to the Court the officers who had been deputed to the Deccan and thus in spite of the fact that Sultān Aurangzīb was busy with the siege of Bijāpūr and was within a day or two of taking it, the Rāo left without the Prince's leave, and returned to the Court. In the battle near Āgra in 1068 A.H. (1658 A.D.) between the two Princes he was⁶ in Dārā Shikōh's vanguard. He performed great deeds of valour, and courageously attacked the centre of Sultān Aurangzīb's army, where he was slain by the brave warriors of that force⁷.

1 'Āmal Szālih, III, p. 71.

2 Op. cit., p. 89.

3 Op. cit., p. 139.

4 'Ālamgirnāma, p. 29.

5 Op. cit., p. 95.

6 See Sir Jadunath Sarkar's *History of Aurangzib*, I, p. 403. His name there is given as Chhatra Sal. See also Tod, *Rajasthan* (1914 edn.), II, pp. 388, 389.

7 Op. cit., p. 157.

SAZAWAR KHĀN

(Vol. II, pp. 438-441).

He was the son of Lashkar Khān Abūl Ḥasan whose account¹ has been included in this work. In the 1st year of Emperor Shāh Jahān's reign he was given the rank² of 1,000 with 500 horse, and when his father was appointed Governor of Kābul, he was attached to him, and went with the advance force. After the suppression of Nadhar Muḥammad Khān, the ruler of Balkh, in that province, he was rewarded with an increase of 500 with 100 horse, and in the 3rd year his rank was advanced to 2,000 with 700 horse. Afterwards, he appeared at the Court in the Deccan, and in the 4th year was appointed to assist 'Āzam Khān, who had requested for his appointment. His rank was increased to 2,500 with 1,000 horse. In the 5th year he went off to his father who had been appointed Governor of Delhī. In the 6th year he had an increase of 1,000 horse, and was granted a flag and drums, and appointed *Faujdār*³ of the Lakhī Jangal in succession to Jān Nīthār Khān. In the 8th year he was removed⁴ from there, and in the 9th year when the Emperor went to the Deccan, he was appointed⁵ with Khān Daurān to devastate Ādil Khān's territories. He rendered good service in the siege and capture of the fort of Ausa⁶, and as a reward received in the 10th year an increase of 500 horse. In the 13th year⁷ he was promoted to the rank of 3,000 with 2,500 horse. In the 15th year he came to the Court from the Deccan⁸ in attendance on Sultān Aurangzib Bahādur, and went with Sultān Dārā Shikoh when he left for Qanda-

¹ *Ma'āthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, III, pp. 163-168, Beveridge & Prashad's translation, I, pp. 831-834.

² *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. i, p. 121.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 476.

⁴ *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. ii, p. 64.

⁵ *Id.*, p. 136.

⁶ Üdgir in *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. ii, pp. 217, 218.

⁷ *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p. 205.

⁸ *Id.*, p. 204.

hār with the intention of fighting with the ruler of Irān. In the 17th year, he was appointed¹ Governor of Junair on the death of Sipāhdār Khān. Probably he was also *Faujdār* of Sultānpūr and Nandurbār, which office was taken from him in the 22nd year. As he was ill for a long time, he was deprived of his rank. In the 29th year after recovering his health he came to the Court, and was appointed to the rank of 3,000 with 1,200 horse, and made *Faujdār* of Tīrhūt, and received many of its estates in fief in succession to 'Abdur Rasūl son of 'Abdullāh Khān Bahādur. After reaching there he died in 1065 A.H. (1655 A.D.). His son Shafqat Ullāh, at the end of Shāh Jahān's reign had the rank of 500 with 150 horse. In the 28th year he was appointed Commandant of the fort of Trimbak in the Deccan, and in the 31st year was promoted as Superintendent of the Bangash. In the 1st year of Aurangzib's reign he was exalted by promotion to the rank of 1,000 with 250 horse, and granted the title of his father². In the 16th year when Shujā'at Khān Ra'dan-dāz Khān went to chastise the Afghāns of the Khaibar, he was sent as second-in-command of the artillery. In the 17th year he accompanied³ Sultān Muḥammad Akbar, who had been appointed to proceed to Kābul by the route of Kōhāt. In the 21st year he was appointed *Faujdār* of Qanauj⁴. Later he was, for a while, under censure, but in the 28th year he was pardoned, and appointed⁵ 2nd *Mīr Tūzuk*. He died in the 29th year⁶. His son Rahmat Ullāh received a mourning robe.

¹ *Id.*, p. 378.

² *Ālamgīrnāma*, p. 127. His father's death in Bihār is also recorded on the same page.

³ *Maāthir-i-Ālamgīri*, p. 136.

⁴ *Id.*, p. 163.

⁵ *Id.*, p. 255.

⁶ *Id.*, p. 267. The name of his son is not mentioned there.

SHĀDĪ KHĀN ÜZBEG

(Vol. II, pp. 661, 662).

He was a *Mansabdār* during the reign of Emperor Shāh Jahān, and was posted to the fort of Qandahār. In the 22nd year corresponding to 1058 A.H. (1648 A.D.) when the King of Irān came to take the fort, and encamped in the garden of Ganj 'Alī Khān, Shādī Khān had charge of the Wais Qaran Gate on behalf of Khwās Khān the Commandant of the fort. After the siege had lasted a long time, he turned unfaithful to his salt, and following the path of disgrace allied himself with the enemy. He also led away Qibchāq Khān—whose account has been written separately—from the straight path. With some other *Mansabdārs* he went to the Commandant of the fort and represented that as the roads were blocked by snow there was no hope of reinforcements reaching them, and that from the energy with which the Irānian army was conducting the siege it was evident that the fort would soon be captured. After that they would have neither any chance of safety for themselves, nor could they hope to rescue their children and families. The Commandant, who had lost courage, instead of using his sword contented himself with admonishing them.

Verse

Whenever it is essential for you to prescribe an operation!

If you apply an ointment (instead), it is of no avail.

Then he retired to his house. After a few days he sent a message to the Commandant that a person by the name of Muḥammad

¹ The account appears to be based on *'Amal Sālib*, III, pp. 73-77. The date of surrender of the fort of Qandahār is given there as 8th Safr—see also *Khāfi Khān*, I, pp. 688, 689 where the date is 9th Safr 1059 A.H. The year 1056 A.H. as given in the Text of *Maāthir* above, is a mistake for 1059 A.H. as Shādī Khān was appointed to Qandahār only in 1058 A.H. See also Banarsi Prasad Saksena's *History of Shāh Jahān*, pp. 224, 225 where the date of surrender of the fort is given as February 11, 1649. See also *Cambridge History of India*, IV, p. 204. For Qibchāq Khān see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, III, pp. 82-85, translation, *antea*, pp. 524-526

Bēg with Sharaf-ud-Dīn—who was the Superintendent of buildings and stores of the fort of Bust—had come on behalf of the ruler of Irān with some messages, and had brought four letters. The Commandant sent Mīrak Hasan Bakhsbī to send back the messenger. When Mīrak Hasan reached the Gate, he found that Shādī Khān had seated Muhammād Bēg inside the Gate, and that Qibchāq Khān and a number of *Mansabdārs* were also sitting there. Accordingly he returned and informed the Commandant. He sent his writer (*Lashkar navīs*) to take charge of Muhammād Bēg, and to send Qibchāq Khān and Shādī Khān to him. When they arrived, he asked them why they admitted an enemy (inside the fort) without his permission. They replied that he brought some letters, and it did not seem right to send him back without seeing them. The Commandant went himself to the Gate, and read the letters. When he learnt that the fort of Bust had been taken, he agreed to five days (i.e. surrender on the fifth day). On the 5th day 28th Ṣafr 1056 A.H. (5th April, 1646 A.D.) Shādī Khān made over the Wais Qaran Gate to 'Alī Quli Khān, the leader of the King of Irān's forces, and himself went with Qibchāq Khān to the King of Irān.

SHĀHAM KHĀN JALĀIR¹ (Vol. II, pp. 603-605).

He was one of the old officers of Emperor Akbar. His father Bābā Bēg Jalāir had rendered good services for the dynasty. Emperor Humāyūn appointed him the Governor of Jaunpūr. As the climate of Bengāl suited that Prince, the gates of pleasure and enjoyment were opened. Jalāl Khān also known as Salīm Shāh in accordance with his father Shēr Shāh's instructions arrived at Jaunpūr, and besieged it. Bābā Bēg defended the place with bravery² and skill. Afterwards in

¹ Blochmann in his translation of *Ā'in*, I (2nd edn.), pp. 450, 451 published a more detailed biography of Shāham Khān Jalāir.

² *Akbarnāma*, Text, I, pp. 153, 154. Beveridge's translation, I, p. 336. Jalāl Khān however succeeded in taking possession of Jaunpūr, see S. K. Banerji's *Humayun Badshah*, I, p. 220.

the affair of the Chausa ferry in 946 A.H. (1539 A.D.) when Shēr Shāh attacked Humāyūn's camp unawares and defeated him, and Humāyūn fled in confusion to Āgra, he appointed Bābā Bēg to escort Hājī Bēgam and other ladies of the harem. The royal soul was killed¹ at the door of the royal enclosure by the Afghāns. Shāham Khān by his good and devoted service under Emperor Akbar attained the rank of *Amīr*. When he was deputed with Khān Khānān Muntīm Khān for the conquest of Bengal, it so happened that the Khān Khānān died there, and the officers for protecting the country selected him as their leader². After this, in the 32nd year, his fief in Garh was fixed in accordance with a rank of 3,000. Later he was favoured by the Emperor by appointment as Governor of Delhī. When after a stay of fourteen years in the Panjab, in the 43rd year, Delhī became the seat of royalty, it was reported that Shāham Khān had made over the administration of the place to some greedy persons, and was himself spending the time in idleness. He was censured and placed in the background³ (i.e. removed from office). In the Āsīr campaign in the Deccan, in accordance with the royal orders, he collected equipments, and arrived quickly. As a result he was again exalted with favours⁴. During the siege he died of dysentery in the 45th year in the month of Dhūl Hijjah 1009 A.H. (May, 1601 A.D.⁵).

¹ *Akbarnāma*, Text, I, p. 159, Beveridge's translation, I, p. 343. See also Banerji *op. cit.*, p. 232.

² *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 160, Beveridge's translation, III, pp. 226-228.

³ *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 749, translation, p. 1118.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 772, translation, p. 1154.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 774, translation, p. 1156. In regard to his death see Beveridge's note 2 on p. 1156 and Index, p. 56 from which it would be seen that he died in August, 1600.

SHAHĀMAT KHĀN SAIYID QĀSIM BĀRAH

(Vol. II, pp. 681-683).

Originally he was in the service of Dārā Shikōh, and with his headquarters in the fort of Allāhābād he looked after the administration of that province on his behalf. When Dārā Shikōh after being defeated went to the Panjāb, Aurangzīb sent Khān Daurān Saiyid Maḥmūd to take the fort (of Allāhābād) either by negotiation or by force. Meanwhile Muḥammad Shujā' in accordance with the agreement with Aurangzīb had taken possession of the province of Bihār, and while Aurangzīb was in the Panjāb pursuing Dārā Shikōh, Muḥammad Shujā' advanced on finding the capital deserted, and the Governors of the forts of Rohtās and Chunār—who held these forts on behalf of Dārā Shikōh—made these over to Muḥammad Shujā' in accordance with instructions in letters from Dārā Shikōh written after his flight. Saiyid Qāsim also informed Muḥammad Shujā' about this arrangement¹, and when the latter came to Allāhābād, went and waited upon him. He was² with him in battle, but after his defeat returned before him to Allāhābād, which Muḥammad Shujā' had left under his charge. After Muḥammad Shujā' arrived there he sagaciously refused to surrender the strong fort to him. When news was received of the approach of Prince Muḥammad Sultān and Mu'azzam Khān—who had been appointed to pursue Shujā'—he sought an alliance with Khān Daurān, and made the surrender of the fort a means of attaining his intercession³. In accordance with the royal orders he reached the Court in the 1st year, and paid his respects. He was honoured by the grant of a robe of honour, the rank of 3,000 with 1,000 horse, and the title of Shahāmat Khān⁴. In the 2nd year he

¹ The above account of the surrenders of the forts of Rohtās and Chunār to Shujā' by Rām Singh and 'Abdul Jalil, the Commandants of the forts on behalf of Dārā Shikōh, and the offer by Saiyid Qāsim Khān to surrender the fort of Allāhābād to him is taken from 'Alamgirnāma, p. 225.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 257.

³ *Op. cit.*, pp. 285, 286.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, pp. 303, 304.

was appointed *Thānadar* of Ghaznīn¹ in succession to Shamshēr Khān Tarīn. In the 4th year he was removed from there, and nominated as an auxiliary of the province of Kābul. In the 6th year he was exalted by being appointed² to the charge of the fort of Kābul. He was for a long time in that country. Sometimes he was in charge and at other times he was only included amongst officers appointed to that province. He died in the 24th³ year. Nuṣrat Yār Khān, his brother's son attained a high rank in the time of Emperor Muḥammad Shāh, but did not accomplish anything.

SHAHBĀZ KHĀN alias SHERŪ RŌHILA

(Vol. II, pp. 650, 651).

In the 1st year of Emperor Shāh Jahān's reign he received the title⁴ of Shahbāz Khān, and was deputed⁵ with Mahābat Khān when he was sent to chastise Nadhr Muhammad Khān the ruler of Balkh, who was creating a disturbance round about Kābul. Afterwards he was sent with 'Abdullāh Khān to chastise Jujhār Singh Bundila who had rebelled for the first time. In the 3rd year he was appointed to Bāsim along with Rāo Ratan Hārā, and granted⁶ a flag. Afterwards he went⁷ to the fort of Qandahār in the Deccan with Naṣīrī Khān, and rendered good service in its capture. Then he went⁸ with Ā'zam Khān to Bhālkī and Chātkōha in Bīdar, and in the 4th year corresponding to 1040 A.H. (1630 A.D.) he was killed with his son in royal service in a battle which ensued during a foraging expedition when Bahādur Khān Rōhila and Yūsuf Muḥammad Khān of Tāsh-

1 *Ālamgīrnāma*, p. 341.

2 *Op. cit.*, p. 834.

3 His appointment as the Commandant of the Kābul fort in the 24th year is recorded in *Ma'ābir-i-Ālamgīrī*, p. 196, and the appointment of his successor in the same year on p. 207.

4 *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. i, p. 204.

5 *Op. cit.*, p. 213.

7 *Op. cit.*, p. 374.

6 *Op. cit.*, p. 298.

8 *Op. cit.*, p. 379.

kānd were taken prisoners by the Deccamīs¹. He had attained the rank² of 3,000 with 2,000 horse.

SHAHBAZ KHĀN KAMBŪ³

(Vol. II, pp. 590-601).

He⁴ was sixth in descent from Hājī Jamāl, who was a disciple of Makhdūm Bahā'-ud-Dīn Zakriā of Multān. It is stated that a darwesh asked the Makhdūm to give him, for the love of God, an *ashrafi* in the name of each of the prophets. The Makhdūm was perplexed and the Hājī said to him, "Make over the man to me." He took him to his home and said, "Mention the name of each prophet, and receive an *ashrafi*". The darwesh named ten or twenty, and received an *ashrafi* for each, and then humbly confessed that he could not name any more. When this was reported to the Makhdūm, he blessed Hājī Jamāl by saying that no one of his descendants would ever have a deficient intellect. Accordingly most men of the Kambū family are famed throughout India for the sharpness of their intellect. Shahbāz Khān at first passed his days like his ancestors in asceticism and as a darwesh. Later, he discharged so well the duties of the *Kōt-wāl*, that his work met with the approval of the Emperor Akbar, and he was promoted from the rank of 100 to that of an *Amīr*, and appointed *Mir-Tuzuk*. In the 16th year when Lashkar Khān, the Chief *Bakhsī*, was censured, his office was assigned to Shahbāz Khān, and after sometime he was appointed⁵ the Chief *Bakhsī*. In the 21st year he was deputed to punish the turbulent Rāthōrs, especially Kalā son of Rām Rāī grandson of Rāī Maldēo, and to reduce the fort of Siwāna

1 *Bādshābnāma*, I, pp. 380, 381.

2 *Bādshābnāma*, I, pt. ii, p. 298.

3 For Kambū see Yazdani 'Amal Sālib, I, pp. 3, 4, and edition of Elliot's Glossary, I, p. 304.

4 Blochmann's translation of *Ā'īn*, I (2nd edition), pp. 436-440. Hājī Jamāl is called Hājī Ismā'il, and the story is differently told there.

5 *Akbarnāma*, Text, II, p. 364, Beveridge's translation, II, pp. 529, 530.

in the Jōdhpur territory. A number of the recalcitrants of the neighbourhood had collected in the fort of Dēokur, and he first addressed himself to reducing it. He was soon victorious, and a large number of the rebels were killed. After that he took the fort of Dūtārā, and then applied himself to the taking of Siwānah—which was one of the famous fortresses in the country. The garrison capitulated and surrendered the¹ fort. Shahbāz Khān returned to the Court, and was graciously received.

In the same year, which corresponded to 984 A.H. (1576 A.D.), Shahbāz Khān was deputed against Rāja Gajpatī who was one of the leading Zamīndārs of Bihār. Gajpatī had always collaborated with the imperial troops and rendered good service in subduing Bengāl, but he developed some improper ideas in his head, and returned to his domain. At the time of confusion, which followed in Bengāl after the death of Mun'im Khān, Gajpatī adopted evil ways, became a robber, and began to plunder and devastate the country. Farhat Khān, the fief-holder of Ārrah, and his sons Farhang Khān and Qarā Tāq Khān fell in battle against him. When Shahbāz Khān came, the pillars of Gajpatī's power shook and he thought it best to fly from the area. Shahbāz Khān did not give up the pursuit and followed him wherever he went and finally besieged him in Jagdēspūr which was his strongest fort. When the fort was reduced after a time, his family were made prisoners and he became a vagabond. Shahbāz Khān also took the fort of Shērgarh which Sī Rām, the son of Gajpatī, was holding. At this time the fort of Rohtās—which is impossible to reduce by ordinary means—was in the hands of Junaid Karārānī. He made it over to Saiyid Muḥammad, a trusted servant. When Junaid Karārānī died, Muẓaffar Khān set off to take the fort. Saiyid Muḥammad turned to Shahbāz Khān and implored for protection. This was granted, and he delivered the fort².

¹ *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, pp. 167, 168, Beveridge's translation, III, pp. 238, 278. I have Beveridge followed for the names of the forts.

² *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, pp. 185-189, Beveridge's translation, III, pp. 260-268.

After these distinguished services Shahbāz Khān returned to the Court, and received boundless favours. Later, he was appointed to chastise the proud Rānā Partāp, and in the 23rd year, 986 A.H., 1578-79 A.D., he besieged the fort of Kōmbalmīr, which had seldom before been taken. The Rānā was frightened, and in the dead of the night fled disguised in the dress of a *sanyāsī* and went and hid himself in the hills. The fort was captured, and the next day the forts of the Gōgandah and Udaipūr were taken possession of. He left no part of the territory undevastated, and having annexed it established fifty *thānas* in the hill country (Kōhistān), and thirty-five outside it from Udaipūr to Purmandal. He made Dūdā, the son of Rāi Surjan Hārā, who had always been turbulent, submissive, and took him with himself to the Court, and received royal favours. He was again deputed to the Ajmēr Province in the neighbourhood of the area for punishing the obstreperous. Accordingly Rānā Partāp—whose family and belongings had been plundered—found his territory clear of evil doers and occupied by an army. Other recalcitrants became so alarmed that they considered every morning and every evening their last.

When the disturbance of the disloyal officers occurred in Bihār and Bengāl, Shahbāz Khān was sent there. But in his presumption he could not get on with Khān Ā'zam Kōka, who had also been deputed to chastise the rebels. He acted independently in uprooting the seditious mongers of Bihār. He administered suitable punishment to 'Arab Bahādur, and moved off to chastise the rebels of Jagēspūr. When it became known that Ma'sūm Khān Farrankhudī had gone astray, and that 'Arab Bahādur and Niyābat Khān had joined him, Shahbāz Khān hastened to Audh (Oudh). Near Sultānpur Bilhārī, 25 *kos* from Audh (Faiżābād) an engagement took place. Ma'sūm Khān attacked the Centre, and Shahbāz Khān losing control fled; nor did he turn rein till he reached Jaunpūr, some 30 *kos* distant. Accidentally a report of the death of Ma'sūm Khān dispersed his troops, and at this time the left wing of the imperialists rushed into action. After a short fighting Ma'sūm Khān was wounded and

fled to Audh. When Shahbāz Khān heard the good news of the victory, he quickly renewed the battle 7 *kos* from Audh. After a hard fight the enemies were defeated and had to disperse in various directions as they could not establish themselves in Audh.

When the disturbance of these sedition-mongers was quelled, Shahbāz Khān marched to the Capital city of Āgra, and in the absence of the Emperor—who had gone to Kābul to put down Mīrzā Muham-mad Hakim—he in accordance with instructions carried on the administration of that great city in the Emperor's absence. In the 26th year on the return of the Emperor he offered his obeisance¹. As world's wine casts away men at a time when they have performed outstanding deeds, he fell into presumptuous ways during this time when there was the hunt at Nagarchīn, the *Bakhshīs* at the time of assigning the watches placed him below Mīrzā Khān son of Bairām Khān. As wine had encouraged him, he left his place and uttered unseemly expressions. Emperor Akbar with a view to teach him wisdom made him over to Rāī Sāl Darbārī². When in the 28th year, Khān Ā'zam who had become sick of the Bengāl climate, requested for appointment in some other area, Shahbāz Khān was sent³ to administer that area with a large contingent of officers. On reaching the place he went on an expedition to Ghōrāghāt to fight with Ma'sūm Khān Kābulī, and after a hard struggle defeated him. The elephant Parshād and other spoils fell into his hands, and Shahbāz Khān pursued Ma'sūm Khān to the country of Bhātī where he had taken refuge.

Bhātī is a low lying country to the south of Tānda, and is nearly 400 *kos* long (broad) and almost 300 *kos* broad (long from North to South). As Bengāl is a higher level tract than this area, the latter is known as Bhātī. When this tract was devastated by the imperialist troops, and Baktrapūr, the residence of the ruler of Bhātī was sacked, and Sōnārgāon taken possession of, and the shores of Brahmaputra—which is a great river which comes from China (Tibet)—were

¹ *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 372, Beveridge's translation, III, p. 546.

² *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 375, Beveridge's translation, III, pp. 550, 551.

³ *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, pp. 401, 402, Beveridge's translation, III, p. 594.

conquered, Isā, the Zamīndār of the place, failed to defeat the imperialist armies, and so was obliged to have recourse to blandishments and propose peace. It was agreed that a royal Superintendent should be placed in charge of Sōnārgāon, and that Ma'sūm Khān should be sent off to Mecca, provided the imperial army was withdrawn. While Shahbāz Khān after crossing the rivers was waiting for the execution of the engagements, Isā temporised, and finally turning the page prepared for battle. The officers were disgusted with Shahbāz Khān's overbearing and proud behaviour, and instead of co-operating with him everyone deserted him. He was forced to retreat to Tāndā, and all the acquisitions (of territory) were lost. Some persons lost their lives, and a number were taken as prisoners. The enemy being emboldened recovered possession of several places. Shahbāz Khān, on account of the treachery and dissension in his command prepared to return to the Presence. On receiving the news the Emperor appointed *Sazāwals* and ordered him to return. The fief-holders of Bihār were deputed to accompany him. Shahbāz Khān obeying the orders turned back, and through his great exertions recovered the lost places. He repeatedly defeated the culprit Ma'sūm, who thereupon became a vagabond¹.

In the 30th year, selfishness and arrogance resulted in a dissension between Shahbāz Khān and Śādiq Khān. Śādiq Khān in accordance with the orders of the Emperor took up the management of Bengāl, and Shahbāz Khān retired from the territory before the work had been finished. After sometime he went with the *Sazāwals*² of His Majesty from Bihār to Bengāl and addressed himself to the settlement of the country. He overthrew many of the rebels, and sending a force to Bhātī reduced the Zamīndār to obedience. He also appointed a force to Kōkrah—which was a populous country between Orīssa and the Deccan—and collected much booty; Mādhū Singh the land-holder of the place paid a tribute. When in the 32nd year tranquillity had been established in that territory, and Sa'īd Khān reached there from

¹ *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 460, Beveridge's translation, III, p. 695.

² *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 448, Beveridge's translation, III, pp. 672, 673.

Bihār, Shahbāz Khān proceeded to Court, and in the 34th year was appointed *Kōtwāl* of the imperial camp¹. Later he was deputed to chastise the Afghāns of Sawād (Sawāt). As he returned from there without permission, he was put into prison². He was released after two years, and was made guardian of Mīrzā Shāhrukh who had been appointed to Mālwa. Then he and Mīrzā were appointed to the Deccan campaign under the leadership of Prince Murād. During the siege of Ahmādnagar, when the inhabitants of Shahr-i-Nau—which was known as Burhānābād—were relying upon a promise of protection which they had received from the Prince, Shahbāz Khān out of bigotry made a pretence of visiting the quarter known as Langar-Dūāzdah Imām (the House of the 12 Imams), and which was mostly inhabited by Shī'as. He gave a hint to his soldiers to plunder the area³. The Deccanis therefore lost faith in the assurances of the Moghuls, and most of them went off into exile. The Prince was displeased. As Shahbāz Khān had long been on bad terms with Sādiq Khān, the guardian of the Prince, he without leave went off to Mālwa. Emperor Akbar deprived him of his fief there, and transferred it to Mīrzā Shāhrukh⁴. He was sent to Ajmēr⁵ in the 43rd year, and in the expedition against the Rānā was appointed to the advanced forces of Prince Sultān Salim who had marched with this purpose from Allāhbād. As he was addicted so taking quicksilver, and was more than seventy years of age, he developed pains in his arms and waist. He recovered a little, but at Ajmēr was again attacked by the same malady and suffered from high fever. As a result of treatment by the physicians he recovered his health, but in the 44th year of the

¹ *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 537, Beveridge's translation, III, p. 817.

² *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 584, Beveridge's translation, III, p. 885. He was released in the 38th year, Text, p. 641, translation, p. 985, and according to the Badāyūni had to pay a fine of 7 *lakhs* of rupees.

³ See, however, *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 699, Beveridge's translation, III, p. 1046.

⁴ *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 717, Beveridge's translation, III, p. 1069.

⁵ *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 749, Beveridge's translation, III, p. 1120.

reign of Emperor Akbar, corresponding to 1008 A.H. (1599 A.D.), he suddenly died¹. The Prince took possession of his belongings, and without finishing the campaign returned to Allāhābād, and unfurled the flag of independence.

It is stated that Shahbāz Khān had directed in his will that he should be buried in the enclosure of the tomb of Khwāja Mu'īn-ud-Dīn, May Lord have mercy on him! The custodians objected, and he had to be buried outside. In the night the Khwāja appeared to them in a dream and enjoined them saying that Shahbāz Khān was one of the favoured ones, and that they should bury him inside in the northern part of the dome. Next day, at their insistence, the body was removed and placed in the appointed spot. His piety and asceticism were well-known. He observed all the canons of the *Shari'at* to the letter. He did not follow the prevailing custom of the day of trimming his beard short and did not drink any wines, nor did he have the word disciple (*Murīd*) engraved on his ring. He never missed the night or morning prayers or the afternoon ones, nor did he ever fail in his ablutions and he was always telling the rosary which he had in his hand. He did not talk of worldly affairs between the afternoon and evening prayers. One day towards the end of the day Emperor Akbar was enjoying fresh air on the bank of the Fathpur tank. He was holding Shahbāz Khān's arms, and began to discourse with him. Shahbāz Khān all the time kept watching the sun. Hakīm Abūl Fath—who was standing at a distance—said to Hakīm 'Alī, "If this man does not miss his evening prayers today, we will know that he is really pious". When the time of prayers was at hand, Shahbāz Khān represented the matter to the Emperor. The latter replied, "You can miss it; surely you are not going to leave me alone". Shahbāz Khān withdrew his arm, spread his *dōpatta* (shawl) on the ground, and began saying his prayers, and then proceeded to tell his beads. Emperor Akbar every now and then struck his hand on his head, and asked him to get up,

¹ *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 764, Beveridge's translation, III, p. 1142.

Hakīm Abūl Fath said, "It is not fair to interrupt this good man", so he went forward and urged, "All the favours should not be shown to this person only, there are others who are hoping for such a kindness (*i.e.* to be spoken to)". The Emperor left Shahbāz Khān and went over to them. It is on account of such acts that Shaikh Abūl Fadl has recorded¹ in his favour that in regard to every kind of service and as a military leader he would have had few equals, if he had not been imbued with excess of formality; and had he opened his lips with discretion he would have been adorned with the tiara of greatness. In energy and liberality he was unequalled; all were astonished and some said he had got hold of the philosopher's stone (*sang-i-pāras*). This is a stone which, whenever it touches a metal in the melted and deliquescent state, transmutes it into gold. It is stated that it is found in the province of Malwa. It was found before the time of Vikramājīt in the reign of Rāja Jai Singh Dēo. The fort of Māndū was completed in twelve years with gold produced by such a stone. One day he had arranged a feast on the bank of the river Narbadā, and wished to give a bountiful present to his Brahman. As he had to some extent withdrawn himself from wordly affairs, he presented him this stone. The Brahman in his ignorance was greatly enraged and went and flung it into the river; he had thus to regret his foolish action eternally. On account of the depth of the water it could not be recovered, and nowadays no trace of it is to be found.

It is stated that Shahbāz Khān had an excellent establishment of servants. Out of these there were ten of them who each received a lac a year. In the Brahmāputra campaign he had 9,000 troopers of his own. Every Friday eve he gave a thousand *ashrafis* as a *shirinī nadhar* (present of sweetmeats) to Hadrat Ghauth-ul-Shāqlīn. May God have mercy on him! To the men of the Kambū tribe he was so liberal that no one of them throughout India was left in distressed circumstances. After his death for fifty years *ashrafis* and rupees

¹ Akbarnāma, Text, III, p. 764.

used to be unearthed from his buried treasures. What is strange, however, is that up to the 40th year of Emperor Akbar's reign his rank was not more than that of 2,000. People's idea about his having found the philosopher's stone, therefore, gained currency, though that does not appear credible. His sons did not attain a high rank. Ilhām Ullāh, one of the sons, became the recorder of Baglāna in the reign of Emperor Shāh Jahān, and spent his life there. But Karam Ullāh¹, the brother of Shahbāz Khān was possessed of excellent qualities. He died a natural death at Sirōnj in 1002 A.H. (1593-94 A.D.).

SHĀH BEG KHĀN ARGHŪN²
(Vol. II, pp. 642-645).

He was known as the Khān Daurān, and was the son of Ibrāhīm Bēg Charīk³. In his younger days he was a servant of Mīrzā Muham-mad Hakīm, and was posted as the Governor of Peshawar. After the Mīrzā's death, and when Rāja Mān Singh in accordance with Emperor Akbar's orders crossed the Indus to bring over his family, Shāh Bēg went away to Kābul⁴, but later came to the Court with the Mīrzā's children; he was appointed to a suitable post⁵. He distin-guished himself in chastising the Yūsufzaīs in Swāt and Bajaur⁶, and was granted Khūshāb as his assignment. He did good service in the conquest of Tatta (Sind) under the Khān Khānān, and as a reward was raised to the rank of 2,500. In the 39th year when Mīrzā Muzzafar Husain of Qandahār, the Safavī, expressed his desire to enter the Emperor's service, Shāh Bēg Khān was deputed from Banga-

1 He forged the letter which led to Shāh Mansūr being hanged, see *Maāshir-ul-Umarā*, Text, I, p. 657.

2 The biography is freely translated by Blochmann, *A'm* I (2nd edn.), pp. 408-410.

3 Blochmann has Harik.

4 *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 469, Beveridge's translation, III, p. 706.

5 *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 473, translation, III, pp. 713, 714.

6 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 487, translation, III, p. 734.

shāt to govern Qandahār¹. He did great deeds in uprooting the Kākars, who for a long time had been committing robberies and terrorising the inhabitants; and in the 42nd year he was exalted to the rank of 3,500.

In the 1st year of Emperor Jahāngīr's reign Husain Khān Shāmlū, the Governor of Herāt on hearing of the death of Emperor Akbar came with a Khurāsān army and besieged Qandahār. Shāh Bēg Khān with a stout heart and proper courage daily sent out well arranged forces for fighting, and at night he sat on the top of the citadel and held festivities. When the Irānian envoy came to the fort, there was great shortage of grain, but Shāh Bēg Khān from his own stores heaped up every kind of corn in the streets and markets, so that the enemy might not be able to have an idea of the prevailing distress. As the siege had been started without the sanction of the Irānian king Shāh 'Abbās Ṣafavī, Husain Khān was rebuked and he had to return unsuccessful. In accordance with the royal commands Shāh Bēg Khān came to Kābul from Qandahār in 1016 A.H. (1607-08 A.D.), and waited upon Emperor Jahāngīr². He was rewarded by promotion to the rank of 5,000, the grant of the title of Khān Daurān, and was appointed Governor of Kābul and Afghānistān. From Ḥasanabdāl he was permitted to return to his territory³. He served there for a long time. When as a result of old age he lost his physical strength, and became incapable of riding or carrying out forced marches—which

¹ *Akbarnāma*, Text, pp. 633, 634, translation, III, pp. 972, 973.

² *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 650, translation, III, p. 999.

³ The author seems to have confused the events to some extent. Shāh Bēg Khān was promoted to the rank of 5,000 in the New Year's great feast, *vide* Rogers & Beveridge's translation of *Tūzuk*, I, p. 49. The report of the attack on Qandahār was received later, *vide* pp. 70, 71 whence the account in *Maāthir* is taken, also see p. 86 where the Shāh of Persia's intervention is mentioned, as also of Shāh Bēg Khān returning to the Court with the relieving force.

⁴ He was appointed to Tirāh, Kābul, Bangash and the province of Swāt and Bajaur, and received the title of Khān Daurān and various presents, *op. cit.*, p. 128.

were essential for a Governor of Afghānistān—he was recalled to the Court, and appointed Governor of Tatta¹ (Sind). In the 14th year he on the score of advanced age tendered his resignation. Emperor Jahāngīr out of regard for his valuable services assigned to him the *pargāna* of Khūshāb—which was his old assignment and which yielded Rs. 75,000—as his² fief.

It is stated that when he was going to Tatta, and went to take leave of Āsaf Jāh, the latter recommended to him the brethren of Mullā Muhammad of Tatta who was his companion. Shāh Bēg Khān had heard that the Mullā's brethren because of his influence paid no heed to the Governors, so he said in reply, "If they will behave properly, all will be well, otherwise I will skin them." Āsaf Jāh was greatly displeased, and this speech finally was the cause of ruin of Shāh Bēg Khān's officers, and the loss of his rank and assignment. Shāh Bēg Khān was a simple soldier and a frank Turk. During the reign of Emperor Akbar when at the time of his departure to Qandahār Shaikh Farid Mīr *Bakhshī* presented him the flag and drums, Shāh Bēg Khān immediately remarked, "What is the use of these things? Let my rank be increased and an assignment granted so that I may be able to employ more soldiers for the service of the Emperor." It is well known that in an assembly of Emperor Jahāngīr an eccentric person (*Diwāna*) said in full *Diwān*, "Your Majesty, in your father's entourage there were heroes whom Shāh Bēg was not worthy to touch (to scratch the skin of). Now these courtiers standing here are not worthy to touch Shāh Bēg." He was a constant drinker. He used to say, "Let the flask be there. It does not matter if the world is not there." It is stated that he used to mix *bhang*, opium and *Kūknār* with wine, and drank the mixture which he named *Chār*

¹ *Akbarnāma*, Text, p. 397. Blochmann's translation of this passage is incorrect. His return to the Court and his weak constitution is recorded on p. 61 of Vol. II, in the account of the 13th year, and his leaving for Tatha (Sind; wrongly given as Patna in the text as pointed by Beveridge) on p. 81 in the 14th year.

² See *op. cit.*, p. 97 where three sons and not two as in *Maāthir* account are mentioned.

Laghza¹ (Four delights), and he was, therefore, widely known as Shāh Bēg Khān Kōr (Blind) Chār Laghza Khōr. Of his sons Mīrzā Shāh Muḥammad, also known as Ghaznīn Khān, was an outstanding man, and one of the learned of the times. He rose to the rank of 1,000. Another, Ya‘qūb Bēg, was the son-in-law of Mīrzā Ja‘far Āṣaf Khān; he had mean tastes and did not rise to distinction.

SHĀH BEG KHĀN ÜZBEG

(Vol. II., pp. 665-667).

During the reign of Emperor Jahāngīr he was appointed to an office under the Crown and had the rank of 1,000 with 400 horse. In the 1st year of Shāh Jahān's reign he received the title of Khān², and was seconded to the force deputed to the pursuit of Jujhār Singh Bundēla under ‘Abdullāh Khān Bahādur. In the 2nd year he was granted an increase of 500 foot with 200 horse³, and in the 3rd year he received⁴ a flag, and by the promotion his rank was⁵ advanced to 2,000 foot with 1,000 horse. Later he had an increase of 200 horse, and in the 4th year of another 300 horse, and in the 6th year his rank was increased⁶ to 2,000 foot with 2,000 horse. Later he was granted another promotion of 1,000 foot and 1,000 horse. In the 9th year he was appointed to the force sent to chastise Sāhū Bhōnsle, and to ravage the country of ‘Ādil Khān in company with Khān Zamān; he had the command of the left wing⁸. After reaching Rāibāgh in the province of Bijāpūr he fought bravely, and killed and made pri-

1 Blochmann has *Bughrā* in place of *Laghzā*. *Bughrā* is a well known dish invented by Bughrā Khān of Khwārazm, *vide* Steingass, p. 192.

2 *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. i, p. 201.

3 *Op. cit.*, pp. 280, 281.

4 *Op. cit.*, p. 305.

5 *Op. cit.*, p. 306.

6 *Op. cit.*, p. 472.

7 *Op. cit.*, p. 543.

8 *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. ii, p. 160.

soners many of the enemy. In the 10th year he was promoted to the rank of 4,000 foot with 3,000 horse, and appointed Commandant of the fort of Junair¹. In the 15th year he received the gift of a drum, and was afterwards appointed Governor² of Berār. In the 18th year he went to the Court, and did homage, apparently in the same year he was appointed *Faujdār* of Mēwāt, as the author of *Bādshāhnāma* records that Shah Bēg came³ from Mēwāt to the court in obedience to orders, and was deputed to accompany Prince Murād Bakhsh on the Balkh and Badakhshān campaign. In the 20th year he was appointed⁴ Commandant of Ghōrī in place of Ihtimām Khān, and gave proofs of his valour and bravery in repeated chastisements and fights with the independent Üzbegs and the rebel Almānān. In the 21st year he returned from Ghōrī and presented himself at the Court. As the *Faujdār* of Mēwāt had been taken from his charge in his absence, he was granted a robe of honour, assigned certain estates in Berār, and allowed to depart to the Deccan. In the 28th year he was appointed to the high office of the Commandant of the Ahmadvār fort, but in the 29th year was removed from this charge. In the 30th year he accompanied Prince Muhamad Aurangzib Bahādur for chastising Qutb-ul-Mulk, the ruler of Haidarābād. After this expedition was over, he was appointed with some officers and a force of 3,000 cavalry to remain on the borders of the imperial territory till the end of the rains. After that when the times assumed another aspect, and the blue heavens added a new lustre to the affairs, the said Prince went off to the Court on the pretext of enquiring about his father's health. Shāh Bēg Khān⁵ was left behind as *Faujdār* of the outskirts of Aurangābād. Nothing further has come to light about his later career.

1 *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. ii, p. 234.

3 *Op. cit.*, II, p. 308.

3 *Op. cit.*, p. 481.

4 *'Amal Sālib* II, p. 498.

5 *Alamgirnāma*, p. 44.

SHĀH BUDĀGH KHĀN¹

(Vol. II, pp. 536-539).

He was one of the Miyānkāl Aimaqs of Samarcand. Under Emperor Humāyun he performed outstanding deeds and his services were recognized by his elevation to the rank of an *Amīr*. When the world was adorned by the rule of Emperor Akbar, he in recognition of his valuable services rendered in various combats against several powerful adversaries became a royal favourite and being admitted into the galaxy of distinguished officials received successive promotions which culminated in the rank of 3,000. In the 10th year he was² deputed under Mīr Mu'izz-ul-Mulk of Mashhad against Bahādur Khān Shaibānī. When the engagement took place, the enemy attacked the centre, and many behaved ignominiously and fled. Shāh Budāgh Khān did not lose courage, and launched an attack. After a hard struggle he fell from his horse and was taken prisoner. His son 'Abdul Maṭlab Khān did not keep up his fidelity, and joined the enemy³. In the 12th year when Shihāb-ud-Dīn Ahmad Khān was ordered to put down the rebellious Mīrzās and clear the country as far as Mālwa from the dust of this disturbance, Shāh Budāgh Khān was sent⁴ with him. Later he was given the assignment of Sārangpūr⁵, and for a long time he kept the lamp of justice alight in Māndū. He died there. Inside the fort, on the south side near the wall of the fort, he built an imposing and strong edifice and gave it the name of Nilkanth. The following verse was inscribed on it.

¹ See Blochmann's translation of *A'm*, I (2nd edn.) p. 402, and his notes regarding Miyānkāl and Aimaqs.

² *Akbarnāma*, Text, II, p. 257; Beveridge's translation, II, p. 384.

³ *Op. cit.*, Text, II, p. 262; translation, II, p. 391; Beveridge has wrongly rendered Maṭlib Khān in place of Maṭlab Khān.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, Text, II, p. 313; translation, II, p. 462.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, Text, II, p. 331; translation, p. 485.

Verse

One could spend one's life here engaged with water¹ and clay,
As perchance some pious soul may rest here a moment.

"Composed and inscribed by Shāh Budāgh." Under it Mīr Ma'sūm Bhakkarī whose *nom-de-plume* was Nāmī, inscribed in his own hand the following quatrain:—

Quatrain

At early dawn I saw an owl perched
Upon the pinnacle of the tomb of Shirwān² Shāh.
Lamenting it uttered this warning:
"Where is all the splendour? Where all the grandeur?"

The building in question occupies a large space. In 1026 A.H. (1616 A.D.) when this territory was honoured by the visit of Emperor Jahāngīr³, the latter on several Friday nights went there with the ladies of his harem. In that year, by his order, delightful buildings were erected in Māndū, and the residences of former kings were repaired. The fort of Māndū lies on the top of a hill. Its circumference on measurement under the orders of Emperor Jahāngīr was found to be ten *kos*. In the *Akharnāma*⁴, however, the circumference is as given as twelve *kos*. Probably there was some variation in the scale of the cubit used. In old times Māndū was one of the great cities of the kingdom of Mālwa, and several of the rulers had it as their capital. To this day there are remains of the Ghōrī and Khaljī princes. There is a minaret of eight storeys which is built of stone;

¹ *Maṣrūf-i-āb-ū-gil*: probably a reference to carrying on building operations.

² Shirwān was the name of the country to the south of the Caspian Sea, the Medina of the ancient. It now forms a part of the Asiatic U.S.S.R. The famous poet Khāqānī was a native of Shirwān.

³ *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīr* (Newal Kishore ed. 1900), pp. 180, 181, Rogers & Beveridge's translation, I, pp. 363-368.

⁴ *A'īn-i-Akbarī*, Text, I, p. 456, Jarret's translation, II, pp. 196, 197.

it is very elegant and symmetrical. And there is a cupola of stone and mortar which is very lofty and is the tomb of Sultān Hūshang Ghōrī¹. Water trickles from its roof in hot weather. Simple people have long wondered at this phenomenon, and regard it as one of the miracles of the Sultān. Investigators, however, have found out the true nature of things. Evidently the moisture in the atmosphere in the tomb on contact with the stone is congealed into water, and the stone appears to sweat. There is another enclosure where the Khaljī princes are buried. When Emperor Jahāngīr learnt that Sultān Nasīr-ud-Dīn² son of Sultān Ghiyāth-ud-Dīn Khaljī had for the greed of inheriting the kingdom poisoned his revered father, he ordered that his bones should be taken out (of the tomb) and thrown into the Narbadā. Except for some fragments of bones and some earthy scum nothing else was found.

SHAHDAD KHĀN KHWĒSHGĪ

(Vol. II, pp. 711-715).

His name was 'Abdur Rahīm and he was the brother-in-law of Shams Khān, who while *Faujdār* of the Bahat³ Dūāb (Jullundher) had several fights with the Sikhs, who at the time plundered at their ease every leading and influential person who opposed them. He was uniformly victorious, and at last suppressed them from one part of the country to the other (*sir dar sir*—hand over hand). Shahdād Khān was a man without means and position; he was also not of any distinguished lineage. In the reign of Emperor Bahādur Shāh he was appointed to the rank of 500, granted the title of Shahdād Khān, and was deputed to serve under Qut-ud-Dīn Khān, the uncle of Shams Khān who was carrying out operations in the *Faujdāri* of Jammū. When that Khān⁴ was killed by the oppressed Gurū (Bandā Bahādur)

¹ For his account see *Tabaqāt-i-Akkari*, Text, III, pp. 289-307, De & Prashad's translation, III, pt. ii, pp. 468-491.

² *Tabaqāt-i-Akkari*, Text, III, pp. 358-375; translation, III, pt. ii, pp. 553-574. For Māndū see also G. Yazdani's very detailed Monograph.

³ Text Tatta, but it is the Bahat Dūāb or Jullundhur Dūāb in the Panjab.

⁴ *Māthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, III, p. 130.

Shahdād Khān exerted himself zealously in the cause of the imperialists till the arrival of another Governor, and made himself a man of means. When 'Abdus Samad Khān Diler Jang was appointed Governor of the Lāhōre province, he had a small force and was apprehensive of 'Isā Khān Munj¹—who was behaving insolently on the roads. Shahdād Khān fortunately, through divine inspiration, advanced from Qasūr with a force and by his timely arrival and acting in concord rendered valuable service. Later as *Faujdār* of Lakhī Jangal he became famous and well known.

As Diler Jang was dissatisfied with 'Isā Khān Munj—who acted in the territory between the rivers Sutlej and Beās, as if he were the sole authority, and was ruling over this territory with great tyranny—he, after disposing off the affair of the Gurū, appointed Shahdād Khān to the *Faujdāri* of the Dūāb and sent him to punish that unjust usurper. Shahdād Khān actively engaged himself in enlisting troops, and when a force of recruits² was collected, he, because of the lack of funds and limited supplies, was apprehensive lest this body might not start quarreling among themselves, and so hastening forward started a fight near Tihārā (on the southern bank of the Sutlej River). When the landlord came to the field of battle—there ensued the shooting of bullets and smiting with scimetars on an extensive scale. The freshly hired recruits of Shahdād Khān fled, and 'Isā Khān pursued them hard. The two leaders coming face to face attacked each other, and although Shahdād Khān caught hold of 'Isā Khān's sword, his fingers were severed, and meanwhile the arrows of the Afghān body-guard of Shahdād Khān—who were round his elephant, made an end of the self-respecting 'Isā Khān. They cut off his head and his camp was plundered. As Shahdād Khān, owing to his wounds and having to attend to his wounded followers, could not move rapidly, he was only able to reach the Kōt, as the residence of the tribe was generally

¹ Mōmand in Khāfi Khān, II, p. 767.

² *Siyābz-i fālez* in text should *sipbāz-i fālez* see Irvine *Army of Indian Moghuls*, meaning "soldiers of the melon bed" or raw recruits.

known. Meanwhile the free booters of the neighbourhood—who also belonged to the same tribe—had plundered his belongings and carried away all the cash. The goods fell into Shahdād Khān's hands. He sent a part to Lāhōre, and despatched the rest to his home. Dilēr Jang became angry, and sent for the lists, and by his investigations forced them to produce all the goods of the deceased. Shahdād Khān, on the pretext that the property might be plundered *en route*, followed it. He appointed caretakers and took up his quarters in Dārā Shikoh's buildings (at Lāhōre). From hunger and lack of supplies by the shop-keepers whosoever was reached by his hand went to his destruction. Though Dilēr Jang used threats and put on an angry countenance, Shahdād Khān did not give way in the least. At last he sent for troops from his assignment, and a body of men from his home, beat his drums and went off to Qasūr. At first Dilēr Jang thought of punishing him, but later realizing that this would result in harm, he restrained himself, and swallowing his annoyance took refuge in patience.

It so happened that Mir Jumla, who had incurred the displeasure of the Emperor Farrukh Siyar, was banished to Lāhōre. After some time he was recalled to the Court. As he was fully apprised of the courage and bravery of Shahdād Khān, he sent for him, and made him accompany him to the Capital. At the time of presentation to the Emperor, he spoke in praise of Shahdād Khān more than was proper, but even this did not result in the latter gaining favour with the Emperor; he did not receive recognition or honour, and luck did not seem to favour him. Later, Qutb-ul-Mulk interceded for him, and he received an important rank, and was deputed to escort the treasure from Bengāl. At this time, Husain Khān Khwēshgī was killed. But even after he had brought the treasure, the ray of favour did not shine upon him, and he fell into want and poverty. In this crisis also he did not disperse his followers. When the Amīr-ul-Umarā was killed, Qutb-ul-Mulk again cherished him, and conciliated him with gifts of money. Later, when his prosperity increased, he became apprehensive of the Khān Daurān—who had been

promoted to the highest rank in the State—on account of his having killed 'Isā Khān Munj who was stated to have been connected with the Khān Daurān. Through his great good fortune, however, the Khān Daurān became his patron, and in the reign of Emperor Muhammad Shāh his rank was advanced, and he was appointed *Faujdār* of Hānsī and Hissār—which had long been a hot bed of strife, and had got out of hand owing to the downfall of the sovereignty. The brave Shahdād Khān exerted himself to attack and crush the rebels and the troublesome elements in the area. It is well known that in Hisṣār he sacrificed all of his men of Qasūr. Many of his relations and tribesmen were killed in the campaign of Garhī in the constant fighting day and night. But he was successful in establishing his power, and his greatness was so generally accepted as had seldom been the case in earlier times. When he had finished settling the country, he went to the Court, and by the favour of that great official (Khān Daurān) was promoted to the rank of 6,000, and granted a fringed palanquin. He lost his life in the battle with Nādir Shāh along with that eminent man¹. His sons attained high rank, and received valuable assignments, and were prosperous at the time when this notice was written.

(KHWĀJA) SHĀH MĀNṢŪR² SHIRĀZI

(Vol. I, pp. 653-659).

At first he was in the service of Emperor Akbar, and was the Accountant of the Perfumery department. Mużaffar Khān, the *Dīwān*, became displeased with him and interfered in his work. One day

¹ Amir-ul-Umarā Samşam-ud-Daulah Khwāja Ā'zam was killed in the battle against Nādir Shāh. For his account see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, I, pp. 819-825, Beveridge and Prashad's translation, I, pp. 775-778. Shahdād Khān is also mentioned as one of the officers killed in the battle against Nādir Shāh, see Irvine *Later Mughals*, II, p. 349.

² In Blochmann's translation of *A'in*, I (2nd edition), pp. 475-477, there is a good account of Shāh Mānṣūr based mainly on *Maāthir*.

he had a verbal altercation with Mużaffar Khān, and realizing the critical nature of the situation retired from his post. As he was out of employment he went to Jaunpūr. Owing to his sterling qualities he was appointed there as the *Dīwān* of Khān Zāmān. After that he allied himself with Mun'im Khān Khānān, and undertook the management of all his affairs. When the Viceroy died, Rāja Tōdar Mal imprisoned and put him in chains while the accounts were being examined. As during the period of his appointment as the *Dīwān* of Khān Khānān he had visited the Court to transact business, and his knowledge and skill had become known to Emperor Akbar, he without anyone's intercession became in the 21st year, 983 A.H. (1575-76 A.D.) the recipient of favours, and was exalted to the position of the *Vazīr*¹. The Khwāja through his correct understanding and penetrating intellect greatly improved the administration, and cleared up outstanding matters. The standing orders were that every year some skilful and honest officers should be appointed to report on the details of each district and *Pargana*; and on this basis year by year a *dastūr-ul-'Amal* (general statement) of the annual dues was prepared from these reports. As, however, the boundaries of the empire were greatly extended by annexation of freshly conquered territories, it became difficult to follow this procedure. Owing to the delay in the receipt of the necessary papers both the soldiery and the peasantry suffered serious hardships, and a commotion resulted from excessive realizations of the arrear dues, nor could equitable rates be fixed. Accordingly in the 24th year the Khwāja assessed the condition of each *Pargana* in respect of cultivation and value of produce, and fixed tenth part of it as the revenue for each year; he also had proper accounts prepared. In the same year, in accordance with the Khwāja's recommendations, the wide domains of India—which did not include Orissa, Kashmir, Sind, and the Deccan which had not been conquered so far—were divided into twelve

¹ Based on *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, pp. 193, 194, Beveridge's translation, III, pp. 273, 274. He was appointed *Vazīr* on 14th Aban.

provinces. Each province was designated a *Šūbah*, and had as officers a *Sipāh sälär*, a *Divān*, a *Bakhshī*, a *Mir-Ādal*, a *Sardār Kōtwāl*, a *Mir Bahr* and a *Waqia' Navīs*¹.

As the *Khwāja* excelled in astuteness, knowledge, effecting economies, and strict observance of rules and regulations, he in the 25th year issued full demands for the realization of arrears and resumptions. Inasmuch as the climate of Bengāl was very injurious to horses, the allowances of the cavalry there had been doubled, while those in Bihār had been granted a 50% increase. The *Khwāja* in spite of his astuteness and deep understanding did not realize the significance of the prevailing conditions, and out of presumption did not differentiate between peace conditions and seasons of stress and storm, nor did he understand that at the time—when the soldiers were jeopardising their lives in a distant land—it was most desirable and proper to behave in a considerate and very liberal manner by increasing the allowances rather than reducing them. He reduced the Bengāl allowances to 50% and Bihār ones to 20% and issued orders to Mužaffar Khān to recover the excess payments. This officer, who from a civilian appointment had risen to the rank of the Commander-in-Chief of the army, made up the accounts from the beginning of the year, and demanded repayment of the extra amounts. The Bihār and Bengāl officers chose the path of disloyalty on receiving these ill-timed demands, and raised the head of sedition². What rebellions did not take place, what blood was not shed? Rāja Tōdar Mal—who on account of rivalry and of his being in the same line—had been waiting for such an opportunity, represented that while the *Vazīr* should guard the finances honestly and jealously, it was also his duty to keep an eye on the interests of the servants, and not to ignore the prevailing conditions.

¹ Based on *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, pp. 282, 283, Beveridge's translation, III, pp. 412-414. For list of the 12 *Šūbahs* see Jarret's translation of *Ā'in*, II, p. 113; and for the Ten years' Settlement, p. 88.

² *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, pp. 292, 293, Beveridge's translation, pp. 432, 533, note 3.

In his administration he must follow a middle course between harshness and laxity. He should not behave merely like an accountant who because of his narrow vision can think only of demanding arrears and increasing the revenues.

It appears from the *Tahaqāt*¹ that Rāja Tōdar Mal had represented from the Eastern provinces that he had been able to keep Mā'sūm Khān Farrankhudi with him by various expedients and conciliatory measures, but that Khwāja Shāh Mansūr had written harsh letters to him, and had made him liable for payment of a large sum of arrears. He had treated Tarsūn Muhammad Khān—who was one of the chief officials and the Commander-in-Chief—similarly. At such a time, when it would be politic to inspire a hundred hopes, what was the necessity for using threats? Accordingly the Emperor removed the Khwāja from his office, and put him for some days under the charge of Shāh Quli Maḥram². But as his loyalty and zeal (*Dimāghsōzī*, literally brain-burning) had impressed themselves upon the Emperor, he was again granted a *kbil'at*, and appointed to the high office of the *Vazīr*³. By chance, in the same year Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm at the instigation of Mā'sūm Āasī—who was the head of the rebels of Bihār and Bengal—came from Kābul, and stirred up strife in the Panjab. ✓ Emperor Akbar resolved to proceed in that direction. Evil-minded persons produced some *parwānas* (orders) in the hand-writing of Mīrzā Munshī, addressed to the Khwāja, and made the Emperor suspicious of his siding with the enemy. As fate would have it, Mu'luk Thānī—who was an old servant of the Mīrzā and his *Dīvān* and had the title of Wazīr Khān—at this juncture left his master, and waited upon the Emperor at Sonēpat. On account of old connections he alighted at the Khwāja's quarters. As it was rumoured that he had come as a spy—and it was thought at the time that when the Mīrzā was intent

¹ *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, De's Text, II, pp. 354, 355. De's translation, II, pp. 539, 540.

² *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, pp. 315, 316, Beveridge's translation, III, pp. 461, 462.

³ *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 327, Beveridge's translation, III, p. 480.

on the conquest of India, separating Mulük Thānī from himself and sending him (to the Royal Court) could not but be the part of a plot—the earlier suspicions gained credit. And after some enquiries the Khwāja became the object of suspicion. At this stage forged letters of the Khwāja to Mīrzā Hakīm were placed before the Emperor. A letter from Sharaf Beg his collector, received about this time, on being opened was found to have the following statement in it: "I waited upon Farīdūn Khān, the maternal uncle of the Mīrzā, and he took me to pay my respects to him. Though collectors were appointed to all the (other) *Parganas*, our *Parganas* were left untouched". It is stated that the Emperor was still perplexed about the affair, but the officers and nobles exerted themselves, and so an order was passed that he should be imprisoned until he could give security. As no one dared to offer a bail for him, he was hanged from a tree near Sera'i Kōt Khājūh. Thānī Mansūr Hallāj—another Mansūr Hallāj (a famous martyr) was the chronogram (989 A.H.; 1581 A.D.)¹. A whole world of Turks and Tājiks made merry on being relieved from the severe infliction of his settling the dues. It is stated that after the flight of Mīrzā Hakīm, and when the Emperor reached Kābul, though further enquiries were made into the case of Shāh Mansūr, no trace of evidence against him was found. It has further been stated that Karam Ullāh, brother of Shahbāz Khān Kambū, had forged the letters at the instigation of certain officers particularly Rāja Tōdar Mal. Emperor Akbar was greatly grieved at the unmerited sentence of death and at the loss of such a capable officer, and used to remark: "From the day that the Khwāja has died, realizations have diminished and the Accountant's office has got out of hand." Such an accountant and so acute a financier is rarely to be found. He had attained the rank of 1,000. For four years he carried out the affairs of *Vazirship* with firmness and efficacy.

Reflections

It is an old rule that whenever a sovereign is engaged in business

¹ *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, pp. 342-344. Beveridge's translation, III, pp. 501-504, and his detailed note on pp. 504-505 about Shāh Mansūr's death.

there is less judgment and apprehension of affairs. Though the prominent officials may carry out their duties efficiently, they are not free from motives of self-interest. Out of envy they often misrepresented the loyal and truthful, and lie in wait for their very lives. Stranger still, he, who, is proud of his honesty, does not care for this man or that, and rests assured of a false sense of security and carelessness. Soon he experiences, what God forbid! anyone should experience. World's great projects cannot be carried on without laxity and forbearance. Rather, it often happens that noble deeds are ruined through the absence of tact and humility.

Hemistich

The world is severe to the severe.

Hence it has been said that worldly¹ men rest on two feet: Truth and Falsehood. It is not possible to stand on either foot. By one foot they proceed with minute calculations and enquiries into the essence of things, and with the other they as job-hunters and seekers after advancement are self seeking and deceivers, and in trying to attain profit and fame they have recourse to severe measures and are harsh to the general public—who are a wondrous trust committed to them by the Almighty—being solely solicitous of pleasing their master. Assuredly, the strong hands of Destiny will quickly prepare a restitution for their evil thoughts and deeds, and make them the object of anger with the very master and cause them to be punished by him.

Verses²

Be not severe in the world's affairs!

For every oppressor has a harsh overlord.

Beware of causing grief to the weak,

Remember the severity of Fate.

¹ The word لُجُود here presumably means worldly men, or perhaps men in general.

² See Beveridge in his translation of *Akbarnāma*, III, p. 503, for a different rendering of these verses.

SHĀH MUHAMMAD KHĀN QILĀTĪ

(Vol. II, pp. 542-553).

Qilāt¹ is a fort in the district of Qandahār in the Hazārajāt territory. According to correct etymology it should be written with K, but it has come to be pronounced with a Q. Shāh Muḥammad² was a servant of Bairām Khān, and was trusted by him on account of his good judgment and loyalty. When Emperor Humāyūn set forth to reconquer India, Bairām Khān, who held Qandahār in fief, left it in-charge of Shāh Muḥammad; and he carried on the government of the place with great care. When Bahādur Khān Shaibānī, the brother of Khān Zamān, who was Governor of Zamīn Dāwar, conceived the idea of capturing Qandahār, he by treachery collected a force of men and waited for a suitable opportunity. Shāh Muḥammad got news of this, and capitally punished this crowd³. Bahādur Khān, when this plan miscarried, hurriedly retired to Zamīn Dāwar, and collecting troops prepared for fighting. As Shāh Muḥammad considered arrival of reinforcements from India a remote possibility, he appealed to Shāh Ṭahmāsp Ṣafavī, the ruler of Irān. He wrote that Humāyūn had arranged with the Shāh that he would deliver up Qandahār to the Shāh's representatives after the conquest of India. It was now opportune for the Shāh to send a force so that Bahādur Khān might be checked and Qandahār taken possession of. The Shāh sent 3,000 Turkamān troopers from the fiefs of Sistān, Farāh and Garmśir

¹ This is apparently Khilāt, a fort some 85 miles east of Qandahār, and generally known as Khilat-i-Ghilzi, Kilat-i-Ghilgi in Erskine, *History of India*, I, p. 229, note. It is not the Kalat in Baluchistan.

² For Shāh Muḥammad see also *A'in*, I, Blochmann's translation (2nd edition), pp. 448, 449. The *Maāthir* account is based on *Akbarnāma*, II, Text, p. 53, Beveridge's translation, II, pp. 82, 83. Shāh Muḥammad's name in that work is Shāh Muḥammad Qandahāri.

³ This passage in the text is very involved, but for a detailed account of the plot and the punishment of the malcontents, see *Akbarnāma*, Beveridge's translation, II, pp. 82, 83.

under the command of 'Alī Yār Bēg Afshār. Bahādur Khān had no inkling of this force. He fell suddenly upon him, and a severe engagement took place in which at last Bahādur Khān was put to flight without having achieved anything. He also could not abide in Zamīn Dāwar and even in the neighbouring territory. Full of repentance he took the road to India. Shāh Muḥammad showed civilities to the auxiliary force but made excuses for not handing over the fortress and dismissed the (Irānian) troops empty handed.

When the Shāh of Irān heard that Shāh Muḥammad Qilātī had not stuck to his engagements, he sent his nephew Sultān Husain Mīrzā¹, son of Bahrām Mīrzā, Husain Bēg Ichak Ōghlī Istājlū Lōla (guardian), and Walī Khalīfa Shāmlū to capture Qandahār. Shāh Muḥammad took proper steps for defending the fort. When the siege was protracted, Sultān Husain Mīrzā became disgusted and raised the siege. The Shāh was displeased, and sent back the Mīrzā with 'Alī Sultān, the Governor of Shirāz, to take the fort by every means in their power. 'Alī Sultān, who had boasted about this enterprise, made great attempts for reducing the fort, but was sent to the other world by a bullet. Thereafter a discord developed amongst the Irānian troops, and as the Mīrzā could neither return nor carry on, he passed his time staying outside the fort. When the news reached Emperor Akbar from the reports of Shāh Muḥammad, he wrote² back in reply that Humāyūn used to say that when India had been reconquered, Qandahār would be handed back to the Shāh. It was not proper, therefore, that Shāh Muḥammad should have gone to war with the Irānians and brought the matter to such an extremity. It was now proper that he should make over the fort to the Shāh's servants, and come back to India after rendering apologies (to the Shāh).

¹ See *Akbarnāma*, Text II, pp. 78, 79; Beveridge's translation, II, pp. 120, 121. The account is materially different from the version in Iskandar Mirza's *Tarikh 'Ālam Ārā'i Abbāsi* (Lith. edn.), p. 70.

² *Akbarnāma*, Beveridge's translation, II, p. 121.

The account by the author of the 'Ālam Ārā'i¹ is totally different from this version. He writes that, in the first instance, the Shāh of Persia at the request of Shāh Muḥammad Qilātī sent Sultān Husain Mīrzā with Walī Khālifa Shāmlū to assist him. When Shāh Vardī, son of Khālifa Shāmlū, with a force fell unexpectedly on Bahādur Khān, and drove him off, Shāh Muḥammad fraudulently retained possession of the fort. The Irānian officials took possession of Zamīn Dāwar, and sent an account of the circumstances to the Shāh. In 965 A.H. (1558 A.D.) the Shāh appointed 'Alī Sultān II Ḏoghli Dhulqadar with a well equipped army to take Qandahār. He appointed to the chief command Sultān Husain Mīrzā. Shāh Muḥammad Qilātī defended the fort for six months, but when no reinforcements arrived from any source, he asked for quarter, and having arranged for terms and guarantees, handed over the fort and went away to India. It is probable that both the Irānians and Indian authors have been partial in their accounts.² A careful review alone would establish the veracity of the records.

In short, Shāh Muḥammad Qilātī came to the Court in the end of the 3rd year, and was received with princely favours; he was appointed to the rank of 2,000 and granted the title of Khān. In the 12th year, he was appointed to the government of the fort of Kōtah³, and this office was the source of ensuring for him a luxurious life. In the 17th year, when Khān Ā'zam Kōka fought a battle with Muḥammad Husain Mīrzā in the territory of Gujārāt, Shāh Muḥammad, who was in the left wing, was wounded⁴, and had to retire to Ahmādābād. His son 'Ādil Khān was at first appointed with Adham Khān Kōka to the Mälwa Expedition. Afterwards, he was deputed with Muḥammad Quli Khān Barlās against Iskandar Khān Uzbeg, who had raised his rebellious standards in Oudh. He

1. *Tarikh "Ālam Ārā'i Abbāsi* (1st edn.), p. 70 *et seq.*

2. The version in *Tarikh "Ālam Ārā'i Abbāsi* is more likely to be correct as Akbar would not voluntarily have agreed to surrender the fort.

3. *Akbarnāma*, Text, II, p. 303, Beveridge's translation, II, p. 444

4. *Akbarnāma*, Text, I, p. 25, Beveridge's translation, II, p. 34.

did good service in the siege of Chittor. In the beginning of the 13th year, one day Emperor Akbar went for a tiger hunt. He wounded it with an arrow, but the infuriated tiger started to advance. The Emperor was waiting for an opportunity to discharge another arrow at him, but the tiger would not move towards him. Dastam Khān was, therefore, ordered to advance and draw the tiger towards himself. 'Ādil Khān, who was under a cloud in those days, thought that general permission had been granted (to advance), and went forward with his bow and arrows. Unfortunately the arrow, which he shot, missed, but he attacked the tiger. He pushed his left hand into the tiger's mouth, and put his other hand on his dagger. The dagger stuck to the scabbard, and while he was trying to release it, the tiger gnawed his hand. At last, however, he drew the dagger, and inflicted two wounds on the tiger's mouth. The tiger seized his right hand with his mouth. Meanwhile other men arrived, and killed the tiger with their swords. In the melee 'Ādil Khān was wounded. He lay ill for four months on a bed of pain till he died.

It is stated that he had become enamoured of the wife of his father's *Divān*. She being a chaste lady would not yield to him. His father bade him desist from his nefarious purpose, and gave him good advice. On this account, one day becoming enraged with his father, he struck him with his sword¹. Good God! what stone-heartedness and what inhumanity! For a branch to quarrel with the trunk is to strike one's own foot with an axe! And to fail in respect of one's parents is to cast oneself into the well of baseness!

Verse

Be not heedless of retribution for your deeds!
Wheat is grown from wheat, barley from barley!

His second son was Qiyām Khān, who received the title of Khān

¹ The accounts of the tiger hunt and Adham Khān's conduct are taken almost verbatim from *Akbarnāma*, Text, II, pp. 328, 329, Beveridge's translation, II, p. 483.

during the reign of Emperor Jahāngīr, and was for long a *Qarāwal* (Scout and huntsman).

Let it not be forgotten that of old the Qandahār fort has been a subject of contention between the great Ṣafavī dynasty on the one hand and the sublime Tīmūrids on the other. Sometimes it was under the control of the former, while at others officers of the latter managed it. Inasmuch as Emperor Bābur conquered it from the Arghūns, there can be no doubt that it appertained to the Chaghtāī family. On the other hand as in earlier times, it was under the rulers of Khurāsān, and Emperor Humāyūn had promised the Shāh of Irān to present it to him, if the Ṣafavī rulers laid claims to it, their demand was valid. But the wise men of old have regarded Kābul and Qandahār as the two gateways of India—for one leads on to the route to Tūrān, and the other to Irān—and only by guarding these two can the extensive territory of India be protected against foreign aggression. Consequently, it is but right and proper that the gates should pertain to the master of the House. Especially if Kābul be in the hands of the kings of India, so also should Qandahār be. All this depends on the master of the House being strong and vigilant. Carelessness in this respect would result in neither the Home nor the appurtenances remaining under his control. Accordingly it came to pass that the Shāhinshāh of the Age, Nādir Shāh, converted these two into one and so came on to Delhī, and succeeded as he did.

Although the vicissitudes of Qandahār have been described in this work wherever it was appropriate to do so, yet we shall include here a summary. The territory of Qandahār was during the time of Sultān Husain Mīrzā, the ruler of Khurāsān, and his son, Badi'-uz-Zamān, in the possession of Amīr Dhū-un-Nūn Arghūn and of his father Shujā' Bēg. When the Mīrzā died, and his family was extirpated after Khurāsān passed into the hands of Shaibānī Khān Uzbeg, Shujā' Bēg submitted to the latter and was graciously received. In the same year, Bābur led an army against Qandahār, and taking it from the Arghūns made it over to his brother Nāṣir Mīrzā, and himself returned to Kābul. When Shaibānī Khān heard of it, he attacked Qanda-

hār, and after a siege of some days, Nāṣir Mīrzā abandoned it to him. Shaibānī Khān having restored it to the Arghūns returned. When, after him, Khurāsān came into the possession of Shāh Ismā'il Ṣafavī, Shujā' Bēg offered allegiance to him, and was on terms of cordiality with the Bēglar Bēgi of Herāt. Later Bābur again came and besieged Qandahār. Shujā' Bēg appealed for help to Durwesh Khān Shāmlū, the Bēglar Bēgi of Herāt. He represented to Bābur that Shujā' Bēg was a servant of the Shāh, and that the preservation of friendship between Bābur and the Shāh depended upon the former not interfering with Shujā' Bēg in any way. Thereupon Bābur withdrew to Kābul¹. Shujā' Bēg left a trusted agent by the name of Mullā Bāqī at Qandahār, and went off to Khurāsān. That trusted agent, however, was not worthy of the trust, and delivered the territory to Bābur; and the latter entrusted it to his son Mīrzā Kāmrān. Later in 941 A.H. (1534-35 A.D.) during the reign of Shāh Tahmāsp, Sām Mīrzā the brother of the Shāh without the permission or acquiescence of the Shāh, advanced to Qandahār in company with Aghuzīwar Khān Shāmlū, who was the Bēglar Bēgi of Khurāsān and the guardian of the Mīrzā. Khwāja Kalān Bēg, who was one of Bābur's officers and was holding Qandahār on behalf of Mīrzā Kāmrān, defended the fortress for eight months. Meanwhile Mīrzā Kāmrān hastened from Lāhōre with 20,000 cavalry, and fought a battle with Sām Mīrzā. Aghuzīwar Khān was taken a prisoner and put to death, and Sām Mīrzā went back defeated². Mīrzā Kāmrān left Khwāja Kalān Bēg in-charge and returned to Lāhōre. In 943 A.H. (1536-37 A.D.) when Shāh

¹ This and the account of Qandahār generally is based on *Tārikh 'Alam Ārā': 'Abbāsi*, edn. cited, p. 69, but the year in which Bābur was prevailed upon by Durwesh Khān to refrain from attacking Qandahār is not mentioned there. Presumably it was during Ismā'il's reign, but Ismā'il died in 930 A.H. (1524 A.D.) and it may be that Bābur's attack on Qandahār and its subsequent surrender by Mullā Bāqī took place early in Tahmāsp's reign. According to the account in Erskine's *History of India*, I, p. 355, which is based on *Tārikh-i-Sind*, Shujā' Bēg surrendered Qandahār to Bābur in 1522 A.D. in Ismā'il's reign.

² *Akbarnāma*, Text, I, p. 135, Beveridge's translation, I, p. 307. also see *Tārikh-i-Rashidi* (Ross & Elias's translation), p. 468.

Tahmāsp came for the sixth time to Khurāsān to put down the disturbance caused by Ubaid Khān Uzbeg. He, inasmuch as a high official of the Irānians had been slain along with a large number of his followers, out of indignation and ardour personally came to Qandahār. Khwāja Kalān Bēg put in order all the magazines of the wardrobe, pantry, etc., and sent the keys to the Shāh. He further sent word that he had not the means of defending the fort or of giving battle, nor could he consistently with loyalty wait upon the Shāh. He had, therefore, considered it right to put the magazines in order, and placing these at the disposal of the guest himself withdrew from the fort. The Shāh appointed Budāgh Khān Qājār as the Governor of the fort, and returned to Irān. When Khwāja Kalān returned to Lāhōre by way of Uchh, Mīrzā Kāmrān did not allow him for a month to present himself. He said, "Why could you not defend the place till I came". He again marched to Qandahār, and besieged it. As Budāgh Khān saw that no help could reach him from the Shāh, who had gone to Adharbāijān and was engaged in fighting with the Sultān of Turkey, he asked for quarter, and retired to Irān. The Mīrzā again strengthened Qandahār, and returned to Lāhōre. When the Chaghtāis were driven out of India by the Afghāns, Mīrzā Kāmrān hastened back to Kābul, and Mīrzā Hindāl separating from Humāyūn took possession of Qandahār. Mīrzā Kāmrān again collected an army, and besieged the fort for six months. Mīrzā Hindāl was forced, owing to the running short of provisions, to come to terms, and made over the fort to him. Mīrzā Kāmrān gave over Qandahār to Mīrzā 'Askarī, his second brother, and hastened back to Kābul¹. When in the year 951 A.H. (1544 A.D.) Humāyūn went over to Irān to ask help from the Shāh, he promised that whenever he took Qandahār, he would make it over to the Shāh's servants. Accordingly, when Qandahār was first conquered by him, he made it over to Budāgh Khān Qājār, who was the commander of the Irānian contingent, and guardian of Sultān Murād Mīrzā. But

¹ *Akbarnāma*, Text, I, p. 200; Beveridge's translation, I, p. 408.

Humāyūn's affairs had not yet been settled, and as there was no asylum for the families of the Chaghtāi officers, so Qandahār was taken back from the Irānians and Bairām Khān—who was a well-wisher of both parties—was given charge of it¹. For many years Humāyūn had no peace on account of contentions with Mīrzā Kāmrān in Kabul and Badakhshān, while after the reconquest of India he had no leisure to fulfil his promise to the Shāh. At last in Emperor Akbar's time, as has been narrated above, Shāh Muḥammad Khān Qilātī moved in the matter, and by the orders of the Shāh of Irān, Qandahār was made over to Sultān Husain Mīrzā. For more than thirty seven years it was in his and his children's possession. In 1003 A.H. (1595 A.D.), and in the 40th year of Emperor Akbar's reign, his eldest son Muẓaffar Husain made it over to the royal servants², and took up service under the Crown in India. In 1031 A.H. (1622 A.D.), the 17th year of Emperor Jahāngīr's reign, Shāh 'Abbās I besieged³ it for forty days, and took it from Khwāja 'Abdul 'Azīz Naqshbandī, who showed extreme lack of courage in defending it. Again in the 11th year of Emperor Shāh Jahān's reign, 1047 A.H. (1637-38 A.D.), 'Alī Mardān Khān Zig becoming alarmed, on account of the wrath and cruelty of Shāh Ṣafī Ṣafavī, and the insouciance of the Irānians, turned to the Emperor Shāh Jāhān, and made over⁴ the fort to his officers. Later, Shāh 'Abbās II in the 22nd year of Shāh Jāhān's reign, came with an army and besieged Qandahār for two months⁵. Accordingly Mīrzā 'Abdul Qādir of Tūn has written in connection with this expedition.

¹ For a detailed account of the conquest of Qandahār by Humāyūn see *Akbarnāma*, Text, I, pp. 229-241, Beveridge's translation, I, pp. 459-475.

² *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, pp. 668, 669; Beveridge's translation, III, p. 1026.

³ *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīr*, Rogers & Beveridge's translation, II, p. 233. For an account of the siege of Qandahār see Beni Prasad, *History of Jahangir*, pp. 342, 350. The duration of the siege is stated there as 45 and not 40 days.

⁴ For a detailed account see Banarsi Prasad Saksena's *History of Shabjahan*, pp. 215-217. The fort was made over on 28th February, 1638.

⁵ See *History of Shabjahan*, pp. 224, 225. The fort was occupied by the Persians on 11th February, 1649.

Verse

From above and below the fort it appeared
As if the Irānians were fire, and the Indians smoke.

At last Khwāṣ Khān the Qil'adār capitulated, and went back to India. From that time till the beginning of Emperor Bahādur Shāh's reign Qandahār was in the possession of Irānians. When the Irānian Kingdom became weaker, Mīr Awais 'Abdālī—who had charge of Qandahār under the Shāh—got possession of the fort, and sending the keys to Emperor Bahādur Shāh requested for appointment to a Mansab, as has been detailed in his biography. After that it came into the hands of the Shāhinshāh (Nādir Shāh). It is stated that at present Qandahār has assumed fresh splendour owing to the interest of that powerful monarch, and that in the neighbourhood of the fort a town has been founded and named Nādirābād.

Qandahār¹ is an extensive territory, and belongs to the third clime. Its length from Qilāt Banjārah to Ghōr and Gharjistān (in Khurāsān) is 300 *kos*, and its breadth from Sind to Fārah 260 *kos*. Its boundaries are in the East Sind, in the West Fārah, in the Northwest Ghōr and Gharjistān, to the North-east Kābul and Ghaznīn, in the South Sīwī (Sēhwan). The fort of Qandahār is famous throughout the world for its impregnability. Its longitude is $107^{\circ} 40''$ and its latitude 33° . Most of its inhabitants are Afghāns, Balūchīs and 'Abdālīs. It consists of 24 *Mahals* (*parganas*), and the revenue is computed at seven krors of *dāms*; this is equal to the revenues of Balkh and Badakhshān.

¹ Based on *A'in*, see Jarrett's translation, III, p. 68, where the longitude is given as $107^{\circ} 50'$ and the latitude as $38^{\circ} 2'$; 38 is apparently a printer's error for 33, as it is in the Text (II, p. 36). The correct latitude of Qandahār is $31^{\circ} 37' N.$ and the longitude from Greenwich $65^{\circ} 30' E.$

SHĀH NAWĀZ KHĀN BAHĀDUR MĪRZĀ ĪRAJ

(Vol. II, pp. 645-648).

He was a worthy heir of Khān Khānān Mīrzā 'Abdur Raḥīm¹. In his early youth he was called the young Khān Khānān. He was the distinguished of the age for his bravery, valour and military skill. In the 40th year of Emperor Akbar's reign, he was appointed to the rank of 400. In the 47th year corresponding to 1010 A.H. (1601 A.D.), he raised the standard of victory and greatness as a result of fighting with Malik 'Ambar Habshī near Nāndair, and was rewarded with the title of Bahādur². It is stated that in this battle when both sides disregarded personal safety in their brave attempts, the Mīrzā performed feats which caused the stories of Rustum and Isfandiyār to be forgotten. Malik 'Ambar, who was carried off wounded from the battlefield, from that day became so terrified that he had an interview with the Khān Khānān, and made peace. In Emperor Jahāngīr's time Shāh Nawāz Khān was appointed Governor of Berār, and the Balāghāt Ahmādnagar. His noble deeds in this capacity are more numerous than can be narrated in these pages. Especially the Khirkī masterpiece, which was a great battle in the 10th year of Jahāngīr's reign, 1024 A.H. (1615 A.D.). After Shāh Nawāz Khān had established himself in Bālapūr Berār, some of the Deccan leaders, such as Ādām Khān, Ya'qūt Khān and Malūjī Kāntih being annoyed with Malik 'Ambar, made a compact with Shāh Nawāz Khān, and urged him to give battle to Malik 'Ambar. Shāh Nawāz behaved politely and cordially, and having given them money and goods started them off, and himself marched out. Before the battle with Malik 'Ambar, Maḥaldār Khān, Ātish Khān, Dilāwar Khān and other leaders of the Nizām-ul-Mulk engaged Shāh Nawāz, and after defeat fled and

¹ *Mātbir-ul-Umarā*, Text, I, pp. 693-713, Beveridge's translation, I, pp. 50-65.

² *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 815, Beveridge's translation, III, p. 1223. He was granted the title of Shāh Nawāz Khān in the 6th year of Jahāngīr's reign, see *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīr*, Rogers and Beveridge's translation, I, p. 197.

joined Malik 'Ambar. He with a large force, abundant artillery and many warlike elephants, and the combined forces of 'Adil Shāh and Qutb Shāh came forward to seek battle. When he was within five or six *kos* of the army, Ya'qūb Khān Badakhshī—who was an old and experienced soldier, and whom the Khān Khānān had placed in-charge of the Mīrzā—in conjunction with Muḥammad Khān Niyyāzī fixed the battlefield at a place which had a stream in front. They strengthened it with expert marksmen. As soon as the enemy's cavalry, which consisted of young men trained by Malik 'Ambar, galloped to the river bank, the marksmen on the other side fired at them and killed many men and horses. After that Dārāb Khān with the heroes of the vanguard and other brave men crossed the stream and attacked the enemy. As Malik 'Ambar stood firm in the centre, the flame of fighting shone for a long time. There were heaps of dead bodies. It is stated that Shāh Nawāz Khān did wonderful deeds on that day. He fell like a raging tiger on the enemy, whichever side he turned he dispersed them like the stars of the Great Bear. Malik 'Ambar losing heart had to withdraw, and the Mīrzā, who pursued him for three *kos*, slew many of the fugitives. Owing to the darkness of the night and the fatigue of his men he returned. A large number of the enemy's officers, artillery, elephants, and goods fell into his hands. Next day he went to Khirkī—at a distance of five *kos* from Daulatābād and now known as Aurangābād—which was the residence of Malik 'Ambar. As no sign of the enemy was found there, he burned the houses and gardens, and levelled them to the ground. From there he went by the pass of Rōhinkhēra to Bālāpur¹. All the *Amirs*, who accompanied him, were promoted by the Emperor, and he was granted the high rank of 5000². Emperor Jahāngīr, who was in Ajmēr at the time, returned thanks for the victory by going on foot to the shrine of Mu'īn-ud-Dīn Chishtī, and offering money and food.

¹ The account is taken almost verbatim from *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngiri*, Rogers & Beveridge's translation, I, pp. 312-314.

² *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngiri*, Rogers & Beveridge's translation, II, p. 5.

When in the 12th year Malik 'Ambar, through the exertions of Prince Shāh Jahān, handed back the imperial territories, which he had taken possession of, and made over the keys of the forts, the Prince, after disposing off the affairs of the Deccan, appointed Shāh Nawāz Khān with 12,000 horse to the charge of the conquered territory of the Bālāghāt. As in the prime of youth and glory he had become addicted to wine, he took it in excess at the instance of evil companions. In the 14th year of the reign 1028 A.H. (1619 A.D.) he¹ died. Mīrzā Iraj was a young man of a lofty genius, and one who combined wisdom with courage. He was unequalled as a leader. But with these good qualities, he was stingy, and dressed poorly.

SHĀH NAWĀZ KHĀN² ṢAFAVI

(Vol. II, pp. 670-676).

His name was Mīrzā Bādī-uz-Zamān, but he was generally known as the Mīrzā Deccānī. He was the best of the sons of Mīrzā Rustam of Qandahār. During the reign of Emperor Jahāngīr he gained wealth and was raised to the rank of an *Amīr*, and was exalted with the title of Shāh Nawāz Khān. He rendered service in the provinces of Tatta (Sind) and Bihār. After the death of Emperor Jahāngīr he sided with Āṣaf Khān in the affair of the inexperienced Shariyār, and rendered good service³. In the 3rd year of Emperor Shāh Jahān's reign he was deputed⁴ with Khwāja Abūl Hasan Turbatī to liberate Nāsik and Trimbak. In the 9th year when four large armies under the commands of famous peers of the realm set off from Daulatābād to devastate the 'Ādil Shāhī country and to conquer the remaining forts of the Nizām-ul-Mulk's domain, Shāh Nawāz Khān was ordered⁵

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 87.² See Blochmann's translation of *A'māl* I (2nd edition), p. 527, note 1.³ He was rewarded with various gifts and appointments to the rank of 3,000 with 1,5000 horse, *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. i, p. 181.⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 317.⁵ *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. ii, p. 140.

to accompany Saiyid Khān Jahān Bārah, and was entrusted with the vanguard.

One day—when the enemy mustered in great force—as the brunt of a Deccani battle is in the rearguard, Shāh Nawāz Khān claimed the rearguard as his post. After the meeting of the two armies fighting went on for a watch (*pabr*). When the pressure of the enemy became excessive, Saiyid Khān Jahān joined Shāh Nawāz, and drove off the foe. On that day he performed great deeds¹. On account of his high lineage and noble descent, his noble daughter was married to Prince Muḥammad Aurangzib Bahādur on 23rd Dhul Hijja of the 10th year of accession (8th May, 1637 A.D.). Emperor Shāh Jahān at the end of the night of the feast came by boat to his house, and in his presence the dower was fixed at four lacs of rupees. Tālib Qalīm found the chronogram:

Time bound two pearls in a necklace.

(*Dō gaubar bā yak 'aqd daurān kashīda*—1047 A.H. (1643 A.D.).

As on that night the father of the bride, in accordance with the custom of Upper India—that the father of the bride should not appear in the assembly—was not present, he next day proffered suitable gifts. Articles to the value of a lac of rupees were accepted². In the 15th year another daughter was sought in marriage for Prince Muḥammad Murād Bakhsh, and as at that time Shāh Nawāz Khān was busy with settling the affairs of Orissa province, it was ordered that his wife Nauras Bānū Begum with her daughter should come to the Court, and conduct the ceremonies³. Later the governorship of

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 157.

² The marriage really took place in 1046 A.H.—in the last month of the year, 23rd Dhul Hijja or 8th May, 1637; for a detailed account see *op. cit.*, pp. 267-270. The bride's name was Dilras Bānū, and she was the mother of Prince Akbar.

Banarsi Prasad Saksena, *History of Shahjahan*, p. 370, has confused Shāh Nawāz Khān with Shāh Nawāz Khān son of 'Abdur Rahim Khān Khānān.

³ *Bādsbāhnāma*, II, pp. 304, 305.

Jaunpūr¹ was assigned to the said Khān, and in the 20th year he was honoured by being appointed² as the Governor of Mālwa.

When Islām Khān, the Governor of the Deccan died, he, on account of his being near the spot, was ordered to go there with all haste, and look after the defence of the country. In the same year, the 22nd, Prince Murād Bakhsh was sent off to govern the four provinces of the Deccan. As Shāh Nawāz showed signs of wisdom, prudence, greatness and leadership, he was appointed as the guardian and *Vakīl* of the Prince³. In the beginning Shāh Nawāz Khān made laudable efforts to bring order into the confused affairs of that territory. He led an army against Dēogarh, and returned after having settled that affair. But as the Prince, as a result of his youth and inexperience, was self-willed to the extreme, they could not get on smoothly. Consequent on their disagreement, affairs did not prosper and cases were not disposed of. On this account the Prince went to the Court in the 23rd year, and Shāh Nawāz Khān was sent back⁴ to the province of Mālwa. In the 26th year he was promoted to the rank of 5,000 foot with 5,000 horse—two-and three-horse, and honoured by being appointed as the Governor of Oudh, and the fief-holder of Gorakhpūr and Bahrāich⁵. When towards the end of Shāh Jahān's reign Prince Muḥammad Aurangzib Bahādur marched against Bijāpūr, Shāh Nawāz Khān and other officers were detailed from the Court to this expedition. The undertaking had not been completed, when the feline tricks of Dārā Shikoh caused confusion to spread all over. Muḥammad Aurangzib Bahādur prudently marched to Upper India with proper equipment. Shāh Nawāz Khān wisely delayed, and refusing to accompany him remained in Burhānpūr. The Prince got him out of his house, and placed him under surveillance⁶ in the citadel. At last, after the battle with Dārā

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 332.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 583.

³ 'Amal Sālib, III. p. 64.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 103.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, pp. 282, 283. Also see 'Alamgirnāma, pp. 52, 53.

⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 154.

Shikōh and the accession of Aurangzib, an order was sent appointing Shāh Nawāz Khān as Governor of Gujurāt and raising him to the rank of 6,000 with 6,000 horse¹. He had not as yet settled down in that office, when Dārā Shikōh as a result of pursuit by the forces of 'Ālamgīr, went from Multān to Sind, and from there to Gujurāt. When Dārā Shikōh arrived in the neighbourhood of Ahmadābād, Shāh Nawāz Khān, either on account of being offended at the Burhānpūr incident, or of his not having the means of resistance—though he could have escaped to the Deccan or to Aurangzib—with all his wisdom dropped the thread of resolution and hastened to welcome Dārā Shikōh. He brought him into the city and into the royal Hall of Audience. Dārā Shikōh, out of respect to his father, wanted to take a lower seat, but Shāh Nawāz Khān insisted on placing him in the royal window (*Jharōka*). Though that unfortunate wished to proceed by way of Sultānpūr and Nandarbār to the Deccan, and there to raise the standard of power, but on receiving the false news about the battle with Shāh Shujā' and the defeat and capture of Aurangzib, and accepting these unconfirmed rumours as correct, he resolved to march to Āgra and to release Shāh Jahān. He made Shāh Nawāz Khān his companion and adviser, and bade him collect troops; he gathered some 20,000 horse.

Meanwhile a succession of letters came from Rāja Jaswant Singh to the effect that the image of loyalty to Shāh Jahān was graven on his heart, and that Dārā Shikōh should come quickly to him, and that the Rāja and all other Rājpūts were ready to sacrifice their lives in his service. Dārā Shikōh thereupon gave up the idea of going to Āgra and taking with him Shāh Nawāz Khān and all his sons and relations hastened to Ajmēr². When that man, who was indifferent to the sanctity attached to the good name of a Mahārāja, did not join Dārā Shikōh, the latter was compelled to erect a circle of walls from the fort of Garh Pathlī to the low hills, and to prepare entrenchments to

¹ 'Ālamgīrnāma, pp. 209, 210.

² *Id.*, pp. 296-300.

oppose Emperor Aurangzib. After many fights on 29th Jammādā II, 1069 A.H. (14th March, 1659 A.D.) Dilēr Khān and Shaikh Mīr bravely advanced to a position opposite the defile near the Goklā Pahārī, which was held by Shāh Nawāz Khān, and bravely crossing it drove off his men by the showers of arrows (bullets). At this time Shāh Nawāz Khān was in attendance on Dārā Shikōh. On hearing the news of this reverse he hastened to the spot, and exerted himself to repel the attack. In the crisis of the battle, while he was maintaining himself on the top of the entrenchment, a bullet hit him in the navel and killed him¹. Dārā Shikōh after his death lost courage and took to flight. Aurangzib on account of old connections with that member of a noble family treated his body with respect, and had it buried in the courtyard of the tomb of Mu'in-ud-Dīn Chishtī. From the beginning of his career Shāh Nawāz Khān strove after orderliness, method, and a comfortable mode of life. He conducted himself with prudence and caution. He was skilled in the management of worldly affairs and himself used to look into both the general plans and details. He was very fond of fishing and hunting, and was also fond of music. No one else had so many singers and musicians in his entourage. After his death, Ma'ṣūm Khān, his eldest son, had the rank of 2,000. His second son Mīr Mu'azzam, who had the title of Siyādat Khān, attained the rank of 1,500. In the 26th year, 1094 A.H. (1683 A.D.) Prince Kām Bakhsh was married at Aurangābād to Azarm Bānū², daughter of Siyādat Khān. In the 27th year Siyādat Khān was granted the title of Mu'azzam Khān³, and appointed Qūshbēgī (Chief Falconer) in succession to Mughal Khān. He had a turbulent disposition.

¹ 'Ālamgīrnāma, pp. 323, 324. For remarks about Shāh Nawāz Khān, see also Irvine, *Storia do Mogor*, I, p. 325. On page 344 of the same work Manucci has a curious story about Shāh Nawāz Khān having been killed in cold blood after the battle. This is undoubtedly incorrect.

² *Maātbir-i-'Ālamgīri*, p. 225.

³ In the 28th and not the 27th year, as in the text, see *Maātbir-i-'Ālamgīri*, p. 246.

(MIRZĀ) SHĀH NAWĀZ KHĀN ṢAFAVĪ

(Vol. III, pp. 692-694).

His name was Ṣadr-ud-Dīn Muḥammad, and he was the son of Mīrzā Sultān Ṣafavī¹. He was a souvenir (*Yādgār*) of the Ṣafavī family. Through good fortune the high rank of an *Amīr* was inherited by him from his father and grandfather, but he was the last of the family, as after him even up to the present day, none of that family has attained any distinction. In short, he was well known after the death of his father, and was appointed to campaigns far and near. In the 26th year of Emperor Aurangzib's reign he was honoured by the grant of the title of Khān, and appointment as *Faujdār* of Rāmgīr². After that he was made *Faujdār* of Irij Bhāndēr in the province of Āgra, and thereafter of Punār in the province of Berār. In the 44th year, he was exalted by being appointed as the Governor of Khāndēsh in place of Mu'taqad Khān, and promoted by increase of 500 to the rank of 2,000³. Afterwards, he was appointed as the 3rd *Bakhshī*, and with the addition of the word Mīrzā⁴ his name became Ṣadr-ud-Dīn Muḥammad Khān Ṣafavī. When the imperial army proceeded from Bahādurgarh—which had been the seat of its encampment for a time—for taking the fort of Kōndhana; the heavy baggage was left at Bahādurgarh. And the *Bakhshī-ul-Mulk* Mīrzā Ṣadr-ud-Dīn Muḥammad Khān, who had the rank of 2,500 with 800 horse, was granted a further increase of 500 with 200 horse, thus raising his rank to 3,000 with 1,000 horse; he was given an elephant and left in-charge of the camp⁵. In the 48th year, on the death of Rūḥ Ullāh Khān, the 2nd *Bakhshī*, he in his

¹ For his account see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, III, pp. 581-583.

² *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīrī*, p. 234.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 433.

⁴ He was granted the title of Mīrzā in the 45th year, *op. cit.*, p. 439.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 472, where it is recorded that he was granted a horse, an elephant and a dress of honour on this occasion.

absence was promoted to the post¹ of 2nd *Bakhsbī*, and summoned from the Camp to the Presence. After the taking of Wāgingērā, he received a further increase of 500².

After Emperor Aurangzib's death, he accompanied³ Muḥammad Ā'ẓam Shāh. When in the battle with Bahādur Shāh, Ā'ẓam Shāh was killed, many of Aurangzib's officers and Wālāshāhīs joined Bahādur Shāh, and only a few withdrew. Shāh Nawāz Khān was wounded⁴ and remained in the field. When he waited on the new Emperor Bahādur Shāh, he was confirmed in his appointment, and received the rank of 5,000 and the title of Hisām-ud-Daulah Mīrzā⁵ Shāh Nawāz Khān Ṣafavī. He was greatly honoured, and when Bahādur Shāh died in Lāhore, and four claimants contended for the sovereignty, each officer joined the prince with whom he had been connected. The Khān joined 'Azīm-ush-Shāh. Two or three days before the battle, when strife was ripe all round, he was returning after visiting him, and was passing near the tents of Jahān Shāh. The latter's men mistook him, and cut him to pieces⁶. According to another account, on the day of the battle when 'Azīm-ush-Shāh was killed, he wanted to join Jahān Shāh. In the confusion men riddled him with bullets. Though he cried loudly that he had no hostile intentions, no one listened⁷. They attacked his elephant, and struck him. He was a man devoid of good or evil, and was very slimly built. He was wellknown for his frugal eating. It is stated that for him, they prepared out of one partridge some roast, some *pilāu* and some curry. When taking milk, he increased the quantity by *māshas*, and when it reached the *tola* stage he developed indigestion.

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 489.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 505.

³ Khāfi Khān, II, p. 572.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 596.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 601.

⁶ *Op. cit.*, pp. 685, 686.

⁷ For another version see Sir Jadunath Sarker's edition of *Later Mughals*, I, p. 173 and footnote. It is stated there that he was severely wounded in the battle, having 16 arrows sticking in his body, and withdrew. On the authority of *Tarikh-i-Muhammadi* it is added that he died later of these wounds.

SHĀH QULĪ KHĀN MAHRAM

(Vol. II, pp. 605-608).

He was Bahārlū¹, and was one of the chief servants of Bairām Khān. In the battle with Hēmū—which was the first battle, and which established Emperor Akbar's power—he rendered good service. When during the fight, an arrow from the quiver of the Divine wrath pierced Hēmū's eye, and came out at the back of his head, his men losing their courage took to flight. Shāh Qulī Khān² reached Hēmū in time, and not knowing who he was, aimed at the elephant driver so that, in accordance with the prevailing custom, he might be able to claim the elephant as his share of the booty. The elephant driver from fear of his life pointed out his master. Shāh Qulī Khān on this good news became convinced of his own good fortune, and drove the elephant out of the fray, and produced Hēmū bound hands and neck before the Emperor. He became an object of favour. But he had become enamoured of a boy by the name of Qabūl Khān, who was well versed in musical arts, and always kept him in his company. Emperor Akbar who considered such acts, which even with the purest of motives were not approved by many, highly disgusting, and did not approve of them at all, and especially in the case of an *Amīr*—in the 3rd year of the reign ordered that the boy be taken away from Shāh Qulī Khān. The Khān, who was a prey to his passions, set fire to his house and home, and donned the dress of a *jogi* (*Yogi*) and went into retirement. Bairām Khān laboured hard to straighten up the matter, and got him back into the Emperor's favour³. At the time of Bairām Khān's fall those whom he called sons and

¹ Bahārlū is the name of one of the principal clans of Qarāqilū Turks to which Bairām Khān also belonged, see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Beveridge's translation, I, p. 368. For a biography of Shāh Qulī see Blochmann *A'in*, I (2nd edn.), p. 329.

² *Akkarnāma*, Text, II, pp. 40, 41; Beveridge's translation, II, pp. 64, 65.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 79; *Ibid.*, II, p. 121.

brothers forsook him, but Shāh Qulī Khān remained faithfull and did not abandon¹ him.

It is stated that when Bairām Khān at Talwārā² in the Siwālis took refuge with Rājā Ganesh, and when the Emperor arrived near the hills, Mun'im Khān, at his own request, rushed forward to bring back Bairām Khān, Shāh Qulī Khān and Bābāi Zanbūr³ laid hold of Bairām Khān's skirt, and wept and lamented. Although Mun'im Khān spoke smoothly, it was of no avail. Consequently he told them to remain that night where they were and wait for news; after their minds were set at rest they could present themselves. From that time they were separated from Bairām Khān, and apparently their fears were on the Khān's account. After Bairām Khān's death, he received great promotions, and was elevated to the rank of an *Amīr*. In the 20th year, when Khān Jahān, the Govenor of Panjab was appointed Governor of Bengāl, Shāh Qulī Khān was sent as the Governor⁴ of the former province. He always rendered good service, and this met with royal appoval.

It is stated that the Emperor out of great benevolence and kindness took him inside the palace into the harem. When Shāh Qulī Khān went back to his house, he castrated himself. The Emperor hearing of this granted him the title of *Maḥram* (confidant). In the 34th year at the time of returning from Afghānistān, and after crossing the Jhēlūm river, the Emperor was one day encamped at Hilān. On the march, it was the turn of the elephant Malūl Rāī. As he was turbulent and wicked, the Emperor wished to mount him from the back of a female elephant. Before, however, he had put his foot in the

¹ *Akbarnāma*, Text, II, pp. 104, 111, 118; Beveridge's translation, II, pp. 157, 170, 180.

² See Jarrett's translation, of *A'mīn*, II, p. 318.

³ See *Akbarnāma*, Beveridge's translation, II, p. 180, note 2, where on Bāyazid's authority it is stated that he was the elder brother of Shāh Qulī Khān Maḥram.

⁴ *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 162; Beveridge's translation, III, p. 230.

rope girdle (*Kalāwa*), that rogue rushed at the female, and the Emperor fell down. Though the elephant rushed off in another direction, the fall rendered the Emperor unconscious for a time, and he suffered from severe pain. He himself determined that he should be bled and this cured him. Sedition mongers in the provinces invented wild canards, and many distant *parganas* were plundered.¹ The Shaikhāwat Rājpūts, though their leaders were in attendance at the Court, plundered Birāt² and from Mēwāt to Rēwārī devastated the country. Accordingly in the 35th year, Shāh Qulī Khān was deputed to put down the malcontents. In a short time he by his bravery and courage uprooted the plant of sedition, and restored tranquility. In the begining of the 41st year he was exalted by promotion to the rank of 4,000 and later he was given the rank of 5,000; he also received a flag and a drum. In the 46th year, 1010 A.H. (1601-02 A.D.), he died of dysentery³ at Āgra. In spite of his age, he had a young heart. He had an abundant share of courage and honesty. He adopted Nārnaul as his home, and erected magnificent buildings and built a large tank there. It is stated that during his illness he realized that he would not survive. He gave his soldiers two years' salary in advance, and gave away to the needy large sums in charity; he then passed away.

SHĀH QULI KHĀN NĀRANJI

(Vol. II, pp. 535-536).

He was one of Emperor Humāyūn's officers. He was in constant attendance during his journeys and at home, and rendered valuable service throughout. In the 1st year of Emperor Akbar's reign, he was appointed to the Panjab⁴ province under Khidr Khwāja Khān.

¹ *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, pp. 574, 575, 578; Beveridge's translation, III, pp. 869, 870, 874; see also the very excellent footnotes.

² In Alwar State, Birāt or Parāt of Jarrett, *A'in*, II, p. 191.

³ *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 799; Beveridge's translation, III, p. 1197.

⁴ *Ibid*, II, p. 47, *Ibid*, II, p. 73.

At the time of Bairām Khān's fall from power, he remained attached¹ to him, and considered it his duty to attend on him. When Mahdi Qāsim Khān from the Garh territory went off to the Hijāz without royal permission, Shāh Qulī Khān, with some others, was sent in the 11th year to settle that territory². His later history has not come to the notice of the author.

SHĀH QULI KHĀN WAQĀS HĀJĪ

(Vol. II, pp. 658-661).

He was an inhabitant of Balkh. In the beginning of the 5th year of Emperor Shāh Jahān's reign he came to India from his native country as an ambassador of Nadhar Muhammad Khān, the ruler of that country. When he reached near Āgra, Mu'taqad Khān Bakhsbi was sent to receive him and escort him to the Presence. He produced the ruler's letter and presents valued at fifteen thousand rupees. He was granted a dress of honour, a decorated dagger worth four thousand rupees, and Mōmin, his son, was also presented with a dress of honour. Two days later 35 horses and 10 camels were presented by him, and 18 horses and some camels by his son. Thirty thousand rupees were given to him and ten thousand to his son as gifts³. After sometime when the Solar weighing took place, he received as a gift twenty thousand rupees and his son five thousand⁴. In the 6th year, he was presented with a dress of honour, a horse with a gilded saddle, and an elephant, and his son a dress of honour; he was also granted leave to return with Tarbiyat Khān and an answer to the letter he had brought with him⁵.

As he had seen the grandeur of India, and had become acquainted with the mode of administration of justice there, his heart turned

1. *Akbarnāma*, Text, II, p. 107; Beveridge's translation, II, p. 163.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 272; *Ibid.*, pp. 405, 406.

3. *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. i, p. 431.

4. This was in the 6th year of the reign, *op. cit.*, p. 451.

5. *Op. cit.*, pp. 465, 466.

away from his native land, and in the 9th year he came back and had an audience. He received the rank of 1,000 with 800 horse, a dress of honour, a decorated dagger, an ornamented sword, a horse with a gilded saddle, an elephant and a present of twenty thousand rupees¹. When in the end of the same year, it was represented that Mīrzā Khān Manūchehr, the *Faujdār* of Kāngra, had, as a result of a disturbed brain, gone into retirement, he was appointed to take charge of the hill country, and his rank was raised to 2,000 with 2,000 horse. He received the title of Shāh Qulī Khān, and was given a flag, a dress of honour, a decorated dagger, a horse and an elephant². After reaching the hill country, he set about putting it into order. He sent for Bhūpat, son of Sangrām, the *Zamindār* of Jammu, who always helped the *Faujdārs* in the area, but who had gradually become slack in service. He came with a large force. Shāh Qulī Khān collected troops and prepared for battle. After fighting, Bhūpat hurriedly retired to his home. Emperor Shāh Jahān approved of Shāh Qulī Khān's conduct, and in the 10th year, presented him with a dress of honour, drums and an elephant³. In the 12th year, when the Emperor was proceeding to the capital, Shāh Qulī Khān waited on him on the way. He was removed from his existing appointment, and sent⁴ as Governor of Bhakkar on the death of Jān Nīthār Khān. In the 14th year, his rank was advanced to 3,000 with 2,000 horse; he received a dress of honour and was appointed Governor of Kashmīr⁵. He also received as presents a sword with ornamented accoutrements, and fifty thousand rupees in cash. After reaching Hasan Abdāl, he died⁶ in the year 1050 A.H. (1640 A.D.). Muḥammad Amīn, his son, who had the rank of 900 with 500 horse, died in the 25th year.

1 *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. ii, p. 166.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 217.

3 *Op. cit.*, pp. 250, 251.

4 *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p. 131.

5 *Op. cit.*, p. 223.

6 *Op. cit.*, p. 225.

(MĪRZĀ) SHĀHRUKH

(Vol. III, pp. 329-335).

He was the son of Mīrzā Ibrāhīm, son of Mīrzā Sulaimān¹, the ruler of Badakhshān. After his father was killed, he was brought up by his grandfather. When he attained the years of discretion, inasmuch as there had been enmity and disagreement from the start between his mother, Muhtarim Khānum, and his grandmother Khurram Begam—who had full control over Mīrzā Sulaimān—he, at the instigation of malevolent Badakhshīs, fell out with his grandfather and started to oppose him. This went so far that Mīrzā Sulaimān left his country and migrated to India, as has been narrated in his account. Later, when Mīrzā Sulaimān after reaching India took leave² to go to Mecca, Shāhrukh Mīrzā and his mother sent petitions and presents to Emperor Akbar, and strengthened their ties of fealty. Mīrzā Sulaimān returned from Mecca by way of Irān, and with the help of Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm led an army against Badakhshān. On the basis of conceding the lands which Mīrzā Ibrāhīm had held, a peace was arranged with Mīrzā Sulaimān, but soon disagreements broke out between them. So long, however, as Shāhrukh's mother was alive, these disagreements were settled peacefully. After her death, the Mīrzās took to headstrong measures, and the troops becoming demoralized, the officers also started fighting about their fiefs. ‘Abdullāh Khān, the ruler of Tūrān, who was watching his opportunity, hearing of this fell upon Badakhshān. The servants behaved unfaithfully, and the Mīrzās forced to bid adieu to their hereditary territory made their escape with great difficulty. When they reached the borders of Kābul, Mīrzā Sulaimān felt

¹ See *Ma'athir-ul-Umarā*, Text, III, pp. 264-277 for an account of Mīrzā Sulaimān.

² For a detailed account of the intrigues and quarrels between Mīrzā Sulaimān and Mīrzā Shāhrukh see *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, pp. 149-158; Beveridge's translation, III, pp. 211-212. Mīrzā Sulaimān's obtaining leave to go to Mecca is recorded on Text, p. 163, translation, p. 231.

ashamed in view of what had transpired earlier to proceed to India. Mīrzā Shāhrukh with his three sons, the twins Hasan and Husain, and Bādī'-uz-Zamān, started for India. In the country of the Hazārajāt he heard that 'Abdullāh Khān had been defeated by Kulābiāns, and the Mīrzā returned towards Badakhshān in the hope of recovering possession. Then it appeared that the ruler of Tūrān had taken possestion of Kūlāb, and the Mīrzā worse off than ever returned. On the way, he met Mīrzā Sulaimān, who on hearing the same report had started back from Kābul. Just then the Üzbeg army arrived and started to plunder. In this confusion Mīrzā Sulaimān's horse stumbled and he fell on the ground. Mīrzā Shāhrukh dismounted, and offered his horse; this too ran off into the wilds. A follower set Mīrzā Sulaimān on his own horse, and Mīrzā Shāhrukh dextrously got hold of the runaway, and they galloped away. In the confusion his son Hasan got separated, and this was a new grief for the father. When the Mīrzā took the road to India and got out of the defiles, the missing son rejoined him. Kanwar Mān Singh in the neighbourhood of the Indus river and Rāja Bhagwān Dās at Lāhōre showed him hospitality. In the 29th year, Prince Dāniyāl welcomed him outside the Capital, and introduced him to the Presence¹. He was honoured in the royal Court, and was given a present of a lakh of rupees in cash, goods of the *Farrāsh-Khāna*, five elephants, nine horses, some camels and several servants. In the 38th year, at the end of the year 1001 A.H. (1593 A.D.), Emperor Akbar gave him his daughter, Shakt-un-Nisā in marriage². He was appointed Governor of Mālwa, raised to the rank of 5,000, and sent off to his province with Shāhbāz Khān Kambū as his guardian³. In the 40th year, he was deputed with prince Murād to the Deccan.

When Shāhbāz Khān left Ahmādnagar and came to Mālwa, Ujjain and other choice places in that province were taken over from Shāhbāz

¹ *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 447, Beveridge's translation, III, pp. 670, 671.

² *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 644; Beveridge's translation, III, p. 990. The year of the marriage is wrongly given there as 1594 A.D.

³ *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 644; translation, III; p. 991.

Khān, and assigned to Mīrzā Shāhrukh as his fief¹. The prince took up his quarters at Bālāghātpūr—Berār, and the imperial forces under the leadership of Mīrzā Shāhrukh and Khān Khānān, the Commander-in-Chief, were, in the 41st year, opposed to armies of the three chiefs of the Deccan under the command of Khwāja Suhail Khān of Bijāpūr. There was severe fighting. Rāja Ālī Khān, the ruler of Khāndesh, who commanded the left wing of the imperial forces was killed with many men; others losing heart fled. The Rājpūt leaders rallied after going off some distance. Mīrzā Shāhrukh and Khān Khānān drove off the force that opposed them, and spent the dark night on horseback. At dawn, most of the leaders of the enemy were killed, and the rest took to flight². In the 43rd year, 1007 A.H. (1598-99 A.D.), on being summoned he reached the Presence. In the same year, Shaikh Abūl Faḍl was sent to the Deccan. The Mīrzā was presented a flag and a drum, and sent off to Mālwa to put the army there into order. On being called to the Deccan, he went there quickly. The Mīrzā never spared himself in royal service. When Prince Dāniyāl, after the conquest of Ahmādnagar, came to his august father at Burhānpūr, the Mīrzā was left in-charge of the territory. When Khān Khānān reached Ahmādnagar from the Court, the Mīrzā returned to the Presence³. Later from the banks of the Narbadā, he was again sent to the Deccan with the Prince. About the end of Emperor Akbar's reign he held the rank of 7,000. In the 2nd year of Emperor Jahāngir's reign, 1016 A.H. (1607 A.D.) he died at Ujjain⁴, and was buried outside the city. It is stated that Kābulī Bēgam, the daughter of Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm, who was also married to the Mīrzā, took his body with the intention of conveying it to Medina, and herself making the pilgrimage. On account of (the fear of) molestation by the Arabs of

1 *Op. cit.*, Text, III, p. 717, translation, III, p. 1069.

2 This account of the battle appears to be based mainly on *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, pp. 718, 719; translation, III, pp. 1070-1072. See also the very useful footnotes by Beveridge.

3 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 747, translation, p. 1116.

4 *Tuzuk-i-Jahāngīr* (Rogers & Beveridge's translation), p. 119.

the desert, she made over the body to some camel-drivers (*Makārē*) and went off to Başra. From there she went to Shīrāz. Allāhwardī Khān, the Governor of Fārs, treated her with respect, and sent her to Iṣfahān (Ispāhān). In the year 1022 A.H. (1613 A.D.) Shāh Abbās II, the ruler of Irān, married her to his blinded uncle Mīrzā Sultān Āli. But there was no love between him and the Bēgam¹. In short, Mīrzā Shâhrûkh was distinguished for courage and good qualities. Emperor Jahāngīr has written in his *Memoirs*² that although no one can be more faithless than a Badakhshī, but Shâhrûkh behaved as if he were not a Badakhshī. He was in India for twenty years, but did not at all know the Indian language. Of his sons, Mīrzā Muḥammad Zamān, who assumed power in Badakhshān, was killed by the Uzbegs. For a long time a fictitious Muḥammad Zamān raised a disturbance. Mīrzā Shāh Muḥammad was kept by Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm under his own eye. At the time of Mīrzā's death six sons were alive. Of Hasan and Husain, the twins, Hasan, who ran away with Khusrau, was caught on the second day and imprisoned. Mīrzā Sultān from his early years was educated and trained³ in the service of Emperor Jahāngīr. The Emperor proposed to give his own daughter to him in marriage. The ladies of the harem represented that he already had many wives in his house. When he was questioned, he swore by the Emperor's feet denying the report. Eunuchs were sent to his house, and they found women there in confinement; he consequently fell out of favour. He received Ghāzīpūr in fief, and died there. Mīrzā Badī'-uz-Zamān, known as Mīrzā Fathpūrī, was the *Bakhshī* of the Deccan in Emperor Jahāngīr's reign. Later, he received⁴ Pattan in Gujarāt as his fief. He was a bundle of wicked bones for contention and strife, so much

1. This account is apparently based on *Tārikh 'Ālam Ārāi Abbāsi*.

2. *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīri* (Rogers & Beveridge's translation), I, pp. 119, 120, where the death of Mīrzā Shâhrûkh is recorded, and an account of his family is included, but this statement about his character differing from that all Badakhshis is not included there.

3. *Op. cit.*, p. 24.

4. *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīri* (Rogers & Beveridge's translation), II, p. 10.

so that his brothers plagued by him killed him in Pattan. His mother coming to the Court appealed for justice. But as it should have been, she did not bring in a charge of murder¹. The brothers were imprisoned for a time. Mīrzā Mughal did not prosper. He was married to the daughter of Dārāb Khān², and lived on the fief of *pargana* Nīmkhār-Baiswāra. The last was Mīrzā Shujā' Najābat Khān³, a separate account of whose career has been included.

(RĀJA) SHĀHŪJĪ BHŌNSLE
(Vol. II, pp. 342-358).

It is stated⁴ that his lineage extends to the Rājas of the Chittor, who are Sisōdiahhs. One of his ancestors by the name of Sūr Sēn for some reason migrated from Chittor to the Deccan, and for a time resided in the village of Bhōnsa, *pargana* Karkanab, Sarkār Parēnda, in the province of Aurangābād, and took to himself the surname of Bhōnsle. Dādājī Bhōnsle, one of the Rāja's ancestors, who was the head of the villages of Haknī, Bürhī, Dēvalgāon and the lower area of the *Pargana* of Poona, had two sons, Mālōjī and Vithōjī (Pēthūjī of the text). They became alienated from the ryots there, and moving over to the town of Ellōra near Daulatābād took up agriculture there. Later, they moved over to the town of Sindkhēr (Shindkhēd) to Lakhōjī Jādhavrāo (Lakhī Jādū), the *Dēshmukh* of Sarkār Daulatābād, who held a high office in the Niżām Shāhī dominions, and had an extensive establishment; they took up service with him. Vithōjī had eight sons, Khēlōjī, Pānājī and others, while Mālōjī after long yearning for them had two sons. As he had great faith in Shāh

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 259.

² He is probably Dārāb Khān Mirzā Dārāb for whom see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, II, pp. 14-17. Beveridge's translation, I, pp. 450-453.

³ *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, III, pp. 821-828, translation *antea*, pp. 364-371.

⁴ See Khāfi Khān, II, pp. 111-112. There is also a more detailed account of the Marhattas in Khazāna-i-Āmira (Lucknow Lith. edn.), pp. 39 *et seq.*, which is copied in Siyar-i-Mut'ākhkhirin (Lucknow Lith. edn.), III, pp. 921-926.

Sharif—who is buried in Ahmadnagar—he called one Shāhjī and the other Sharafjī. Lakhōjī Jādhavrāo, who except for a daughter of the name Jijābāī (Jhajawa in text) had no other issues, was so greatly enamoured of Shāhjī—who was very handsome—that he took him up as a son, and gave him fine clothes, and golden jewelled ornaments.

On day Jādhavrāo said that he would give him the said daughter to Shāhjī in marriage. Mālōjī the father and Vithōjī, the uncle of Shāhjī, stood up saying that the betrothal had been arranged, and that he should not hereafter go back on his word. But Jādhavrāo's tribesmen blamed him, and made him change his views. At last Jādhavrāo became angry, and turned Mālōjī and Vithōjī out of Sindkhēr. They went to Anangpāl Nimbālkar, who was an influential landholder, and having got an army from him came to the neighbourhood of Daulatābād, and referred the matter to the Governor there. In this way was brought about the marriage of Shāhjī Bhōnslē with the daughter of Jādhavrāo, and Shāhjī Bhōnslē became a man of consequence.

When Nizām-ul-Mulk killed¹ Jādhavrāo by a clever ruse, Shāhjī quarrelled with him, and in the 3rd year of Emperor Shāh Jahān's reign went off to Ā'zam Khān the Governor of the Deccan. He was made a Panjhazārī with 5,000 horse, and received as gifts a jewelled dagger, a flag and a drum, a horse and an elephant and two lacs of rupees. As a result of his evil disposition he soon left him, and went back to Nizām-ul-Mulk. Gradually he gained great influence in the Nizām Shāhī kingdom, and on this account Jādhavrāo and other leaders had spite against him in their hearts. During the reign of Emperor Shāh Jahān they arranged for an imperial army being sent against Shāhjī. This force besieged him in the fort of Māhōlī. He addressed himself to Sikandar 'Ādil Shāh and suddenly coming out of the fort marched off to Bijapur. When Murārī, the manager of 'Ādil Shāh pursued Malik 'Ambar, and established stations at Chākna, Poona, etc., Shāhjī Bhōnslē, who had accompanied him, was granted

¹ *Gashbt* is apparently a mistake for *Kusbt*.

these areas as his assignment. Later, Shāhūjī Bhōnslē went off to Karnātik (Carnatic), and first took Pāla Kankgīrī by force from the landholders, and then married Tukābāī a girl of the Mōhite family. He had two sons by Jijābāī, one Sambā, who was killed by a bullet in the battle of Kanakgīrī, and the second Sīvā (Shivājī), who, on account of his young age was with his agent at Poona, etc., which *mahals* formed his assignment. By Tukābāī one son was born whose name was Vyankōjī (Ekōjī in the text).

When Shāhūjī¹ was living in the district of Kōlār and Bālāpūr, and as fortune was favourable to him, he, at the request of the Rāja of Trichopoly—who had been defeated by Panchī Rāghav, the landholder of Tānjōre—went to his assistance, and having defeated them took possession of both the territories. Leaving Vyankōjī, his son, there, he returned to Kōlār. Vyankōjī had three sons, first Shāhūjī, second Sharifjī—both these left no issues—and the third Tukōjī whose descendants inherited both these territories and remained in possession of them. Meanwhile Shivājī—who had reached the age of 16 years—removed his father's agents from the management of the *mahals* of the *Jāgīr*, and laid the foundations of his independence. In a short time his fortune was increased by the defection of the Bijāpūr officers, and he had collected nearly 15,000 troopers. When he saw that the neighbourhood—which was in the sief of Mullā Ahmād Nāitha—was left without the defending army which had been deputed there at the request of the *Jāgīrdār* of Bijāpūr, he exerted himself and took possession of most of its territory—when the power of the Bijāpūris suffered a serious set back through the death of Muhammād ‘Ādil Khān, and as ‘Alī ‘Ādil Khān was not securely established, Shivājī cutting off his connection with them assumed independence. Later, when ‘Alī ‘Ādil Khān had been able to make secure his position, Shivājī sent deceitful messages of submission, requested for pardon, and begged that

1. For Shāhūjī see also Kincaid & Parasnīs, *History of the Maratha People*, pp. 5-10, Grant Duff, *History of the Mahrattas*, I, pp. 57-126, Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *House of Shivaji*, pp. 35-54.

Afdal Khān the general of 'Ādil Khān might be sent to visit him. When Afdal Khān reached Kōnkan, Shivājī adopting an attitude of supplication in the name of peace invited the said Khān with a limited retinue to a conference near his abode. The latter put on the appearance of fear, and came tremblingly to the palanquin of the Khān. Then with a knife, which he was carrying concealed on his person, he killed the Khān, and shouted to his armed followers, who were lying in ambush in the neighbourhood. They came, and killed or made prisoners of the remaining forces of the Khān, and plundered his camp¹. By this kind of actions, Shivājī was able to collect large quantity of equipment, and become more turbulent. When he attacked the imperial territory, Emperor Aurangzib, in the 3rd year of his reign, directed Shāyista Khān Amīr-ul-Umarā, the Viceroy of the Deccan, to chastise him. In the 4th year Mahārāja Jaswant Singh, Governor of Gujarāt, was appointed to assist him and Chākna was taken out of Shivājī's possession.

It is stated that when Shāyista Khān was staying in Poona, Shivājī so detailed his men for a night-attack that they could gain admission into the inhabited area of the camp. One night they entered by opening a window at the back of the dwelling which had been closed up by bricks and clay. The women raised an out-cry and Shāyista Khān waking up hurried to the spot. One of the attackers threw a sword and this lopped off his index finger. Abūl Fātḥ his son was killed. Meanwhile the outside guards arrived, and Shivājī's men hurriedly departed². In the 7th year, when Mirzā Rāja Jai Singh was appointed to chastise him, he moved a large force against his forts and besieged Pūrandhar. Shivājī being reduced to extremity, sent a message to the effect that he was prepared to hand over to the imperialists 23 forts in the hope that the Emperor would in future favour him. After protracted negotia-

¹ For Afdal Khān's expedition see Sir Jadunath Sarkar's detailed account in *Shivaji and his Times*, pp. 59-73, also Kincaid & Parasnath, *loc. cit.*, pp. 37-41.

² See Sarkar, *loc. cit.*, pp. 88-93 for a detailed account of the night attack.

tions he sent in the keys of all the forts, and coming unarmed had an interview. Mīrzā Rāja treated him politely, and presented him a sword and dresses¹. He accompanied the Mīrzā in the expedition against Bijāpūr.

When Emperor Aurangzib heard about it, he sent an order demanding his presence at the Court. He hurried to the Court with his son Sambhājī. On the day of the presentation he was, in accordance with the orders, admitted to the rank of a *Panj-hazari* (5,000), but owing to his narrow-mindedness he retired to a corner, and stayed there for a long time. He stated that he had pain in his belly. Permission was granted that he could retire to the house which had been allotted for his residence. On reaching there he expressed his undisguised dissatisfaction. When this was reported to the Emperor, he was made over to the charge of Kanwar Rām Singh, son of Mīrzā Rāja for being kept under guard, and later a contingent of Fūlād Khān Kōtwāl's men was appointed to guard the house. He by his attention to every one of them put them off their guard. One night he and his son changed their dresses and escaped. On the way, they got on to horses, which had already been arranged, and went off to Mathurā. And having shaved his beard and eye-brows, he reached the province of Haidarābād by the route of Benāres, Bengāl and Orissa. He left Sambhājī with a Brahmin named Krishnājī Vishvānāth (Kabkalas in the text) at Mathurā, and having promised him a suitable reward arranged that he should send Sambhājī when he was asked to do so².

When in the 10th year, Sultān Muḥammad Mu'azzam—who had been appointed Viceroy of the Deccan—left with Mahārāja

¹ For details of the terms of peace see Kincaid & Parasnis *loc. cit.*, p. 72, and Sarkar, *loc. cit.*, pp. 128-132. This treaty of Pūrandhar was arranged in 1665.

² For Shivājī's visit to Āgrā, his imprisonment and escape, see Kincaid & Parasnis, *loc. cit.*, pp. 72-79 and Sarkar, pp. 139-161. See also 'Ālamgirnāma', pp. 967-971, 1021. Shivājī escaped from Āgrā and not Delhi as is incorrectly stated in Elphinstone, *History of India*, pp. 613, 614. The flight took place on 29th August, 1666, and he did not reach home till 30th November.

Jaswant Singh, Shivājī started creating a disturbance. He plundered many of the imperial estates, and looted the port of Sūrat. And after the arrival of the Prince sent a message to Mahārāja Jaswant Singh saying that he was sending his son Sambhājī with the request that he should be favoured with the grant of a *mansab* so that he might with a suitable force perform the duty assigned to him. After this was accepted, he sent the said son with Pratāp Rāo, his agent and a force of 1,000 horse. He received the rank of 5,000 with 5,000 horse, and was presented with an elephant with jewelled trappings, an assignment in Berār etc. After a time he recalled his son, but his agent and the force remained on duty. Later, some of the estates of Sambhājī's assignment were resumed in ordor to recover the advance of one lac of rupees which had been made when Shivājī had been called to the Court. Accordingly Shivājī recalled his agent, and began plundering the imperial territories. Dāūd Khān Quraishī pursued him, and Shivājī adopted guerilla (*bargigāri*) tactics. Afterwards he concluded a treaty with the ruler of Haidarābād, and arranged that they should together fight the imperial forces; and they should start by recovering Shivājī's forts. By this arrangement he obtained troops and gold from the ruler of Haidarābād, and started for Tānjöre. He sent for his brother Vyankōjī with a view to meeting him and to bring reinforcements. He came and had an interview with Shivājī at Gingee (Chinchī in text). Shivājī claimed a share of his patrimony. Vyankōjī returned a polite answer, and leaving at midnight departed for Tānjöre. Shivājī plundered his camp, and took possession of Gingee and his other forts; he made them over to the charge of his own men, and dismissed the Haidarābād forces¹. In the 17th year he again made peace overtures with Bahādur Khān Kōka, Governor of the Deccan. Bahādur Khān wrote to the Court, but while the reply came, Shivājī stored grain and other materials, etc., in his own forts, and took the fort of Parnāla (Panhāla) from the Bijāpūris. He properly entertained the emissary—who had gone on behalf of the

¹ See Sarkar, *loc. cit.*, pp. 304-315.

Governor of the Deccan for carrying out negotiations—and gave a clear answer about the peace terms. In the 20th year, Sambhājī becoming displeased with his father sought refuge with Dilēr Khan. In the 21st year, however, he fled and returned to his father. In the same year Shivājī invaded the imperial territories, and laid waste the *Pargana* of Jālna. After a few days' illness, however, he died¹. It is stated that Shāh Jān Ullāh—a darwesh who lived in those quarters, and was unique for his good qualities, and whose retreat (*Takiya*) was, in spite of his remonstrances, plundered by Shivājī and his followers—had imprecated a curse on him².

Shivājī was remarkable for his love of justice, attention to details and military skill. He had collected large numbers of horses in his stables, and had appointed skilled men to look after these animals. For every ten horses there was a custodian (*Tābzildār*), a waterman and a scullion (*Mash'alchī*), and a supervisor was appointed for every thousand horses. His servants were of the nature of grooms (*Bārgīrs*). When a force under a leader was detailed to any area, lists were made of the accoutrements of all the followers. After an attack on any territory he took over whatever was in excess (i.e., of what they had at the start of the expedition). He had his secret spies. On his death Sambhājī succeeded him, but his presumption brought about an estrangement with his father's comrades in arms, and he squandered

¹ He died in April, 1680. According to Beale *Oriental Biographical Dictionary* his date of death was 24 Rabi'I, 1091 A.H., corresponding to 14th April, 1680. Grant Duff, *loc. cit.*, I, p. 227 gives 5th April as the date; see also the note on pp. 227, 228 where the various discrepancies of the date of his death are discussed. Kincaid & Parasnis, p. 110, say that he died on 3rd April at Raygad. Sarkar, *op. cit.* p. 339, and note gives the date as 4th April, but in *Cambridge Hist. India*, IV, p. 278 has changed it to 2nd April, 1680 at Raigarh. Khāfi Khan, II, p. 271, incorrectly states that he died near Murtadā-bād which is another name for Miraj.

² This story is told in Khāfi Khan, II, p. 271. His chronogram of the year of death of Shivājī is too little unless either of the words *Kāfir* or *Jabannam* is made into *Kafiri* or *Jabannami*.

what his father had accumulated. He was a great believer in a Brahmin by the name of Kalasha (Kab Kalas in text) and was notorious for his debauchery. In the 24th year when Sultān Muḥammad Akbar rebelled against his father, Sambhājī gave him shelter. In the 30th year,¹ Khān Zamān Shaikh Nizām—who was the *Faujdār* of Kolāpūr near Panhālā—got information about him through capturing one of his spies, and marching rapidly over a long distance, and after an attack captured him and Kalasha. Hamīd-ud-Dīn Khān went and escorted him to the Court. On the day of his arrival at the camp wooden caps and collars were fixed on their heads. High and low were delighted. The chronogram was found as:—

“Bā Zan Farzand Sambbā shud asīr”

(With wife and child Sambhā was made prisoner,

1101 A.H., 1689 A.D.)

In the 31st year, in accordance with royal instructions, he was put to death. The fort of Rāygad (Rāhīrī in text)—which Dhūlfiqār Khān had previously been deputed to attack—was taken. Shāhū (Sāhū in text), the son of Sambhājī and Sambhājī's womenfolk were brought to the Court. The Emperor granted Shāhū the title of Rāja, and the *mansab* of 7,000 with 7,000² horse, and assigned him a place inside royal enclosure; he was brought up under royal supervision.

After the death of Emperor Aurangzib, Shāhū, on the recommendation of Dhūlfiqār Khān was granted leave by Muhammd Ā'zam Shāh, and returned to his native country. The Marathas flocked round him. He first paid a visit to the tomb of Aurangzib, but

¹ The date of capture and death of Sambūjī are incorrectly given in this account. These did not occur in the 30th and 31st year respectively of Aurangzib's reign, but in the 32nd year or 1100 A.H., as described in *Maātbir-i-'Ālamgiri*, pp. 319-325, from where the account is taken. See also Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, IV, pp. 398-404.

² *Maātbir-i-'Ālamgiri*, pp. 331, 332. This occurred in the 33rd year.

meanwhile his followers plundered Pūrjāt the outskirts of Aurangābād¹. Later he went and settled down in Satārā. He lived for a long time, and spent his life in ease and pleasure. His chief officials—called Pradhāns in the Hindi language—and according to Indian ideas eight Pradhāns are indispensable for a Rāja—led expeditions and laid waste various areas. At last in the time of Emperor Bahādur Shāh, on the recommendation of Dhūlfiqar Khān 10 per cent of the revenues of the provinces of Aurangābād, Khāndesh, Berār, Bīdar and Bijāpūr was assigned to him². But on account of the disputes between Rāja Shāhū, and Tārā Bāī, the wife of Rājātām (Rām Rāja in text) this arrangement was not given effect to. Later during the viceroyalty of Amīr-ul-Umarā Husain 'Alī Khān the amount was fixed at 25 per cent under the name of *Chauth*; and a grant with the seal of the Amīr-ul-Umarā was issued for it³. From then onwards, they abstained from plundering. The said Rāja died⁴ in 1163 A.H., 1749 A.D. without leaving any children. The descendants of his uncle Rājātām are still living in the fort of Panhāla.

The old leaders of this tribe were Dhānājī Jādav and Santājī Ghōrpāre⁵. They were constantly carrying out expeditions; and were attacking and plundering different parts of the country. The second (Santājī Ghōrpāre)—who was behaving presumptuously—was put to death⁶ by Dhānājī and others, after the death of Rānā son of Shivājī at the instigation of the latter's wife, who managed the affairs as guardian

1. Khāsi Khān, II, pp. 582,583.

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 626,627.

3. *Ibid.*, pp. 784,785. See also Kincaid & Parasnis, *op. cit.*, pp. 212, 213.

4. He died on 15th December, 1749, see Kincaid & Parasnis, *op. cit.*, p. 291, and *Cambridge Hist. India*, IV, p. 110.

5. For these two Marhatta generals see *Cambridge Hist. India*, IV, pp. 291-295.

6. This is incorrect; he was defeated by Dhāna, but he was murdered near the Mahādēo hill by the order of Rādhika Bāī Maul, whose brother he had slain (June, 1697).

of her young son, his son Rānājī Ghōrpāre for sometime followed his father's example in plundering, and became more famous than the father. The descendants of both and their tribesmen are still living in the Deccan. One of the Pradhāns, Bālājī Vishvānāth was a Brahmin. In the year 1130 A.H., 1718 A.D., when Husain 'Alī Khān arranged with Rāja Shāhū the payment of *Chauth* and *Sardesh-mukbī* and issued a grant with his seal on it, Bālājī Vishvānāth accompanied the said Khān to Shāhjahānābād with 15,000 horsemen. In 1139 A.H., 1727 A.D., Malhār Rāo (Malhār in text) Hōlkar, one of the companions of Bājīrāo—son of Bālājī Vishvānāth, and who had succeeded his father after his death—came to Mālwa, and fought a battle with Girdhar Bahādur, the Governor of the province, and killed him. In the time of the government of Muḥammad Khān Bangash he attacked and plundered his domain, and upset his administration. In the year 1145 A.H., 1732-33 A.D., when the government of Mālwa was assigned to Rāja Jai Singh, he because of his being a co-religionist, supported Bājīrāo.

In the year 1146 A.H. (1733-34 A.D.) Bājīrāo proceeded from the Deccan to Upper India. Mužaffar Khān, the brother of Khān Daurān on being appointed to oppose him proceeded to Sirōnj. Bājīrāo did not want to fight with him, and returned to the Deccan. In the year 1147 A.H. (1734-35 A.D.) he again marched to Upper India. From the Capital of the realm two forces, one under the leadership of I'timād-ud-Daulah Qamar-ud-Dīn Khān and the other under Khān Daurān, were sent to put him down. Bājīrāo sent one army under Pilājī Jādav against Qamar-ud-Dīn Khān, and the other under Malhārāo Hōlkar against Khān Daurān. Qamar-ud-Dīn Khān was victorious three or four times over the army opposed to him. Khān Daurān out of jealousy for his success made peace, and both forces turned back. Later at the request of Rāja Jai Singh, who wished that the government of Mālwa be given to Bājīrāo in his place, Khān Daurān made Emperor Muḥammad Shāh agree to this transfer, and in the year 1148 A.H., (1735-36 A.D.) the government of Mālwa was assigned to Bājīrāo. In the following year Bājīrāo went

to Mālwa with a large force, and after making a settlement of the province proceeded against the Rāja of Bhadāwar. The Rāja took up his quarters in a strongly fortified place, and Bājirāo reduced the village of Ābtar which was the Rāja's residence. He sent Pilājī Jādav across the Jumnā to attack the Antarbēd (the area between the Ganges and the Jumnā). He encountered Burhān-ul-Mulk, who had arrived near Āgra, and fled after losing many men, and joined Bājirāo on this (the Āgra) side of the Jumnā. Bājirāo rapidly marched towards Shāhjahānābād, when it was too late (literally: after Baṣra was taken), Khān Daurān came out of the city (of Delhi). Bājirāo saw no advantage in fighting and retired towards Āgra. In the year 1150 A.H. (1737-38 A.D.) Āṣaf Jāh at the summons of Emperor Muhammad Shāh came to the Capital from the Deccan, and was appointed Governor of Mālwa in supersession of Bājirāo. He started for that province, and a battle took place with Bājirāo near Bhōpāl. Āṣaf Jāh made peace and the government of Mālwa was left in the hands of Bājirāo, and Āṣaf Jāh returned to the Capital¹. In 1252 A.H. (1739 A.D.) there was a battle between Nāṣir Jang, the Martyr and Bājirāo near Aurangābād. At last Bājirāo made peace, and took the *Sarkārs* of Khargūn and Hāndia in Khāndesh. On reaching the bank of the Nerbudda he died² in 1153 A.H. (1740-41 A.D.).

He was succeeded by his son Bālājī, and Sadāshivrāo alias the Bhāo, son of Chīmnājī, the brother of Bājirāo was appointed his Chief Minister. The terms of peace with Rāja Shāhū were still in force. Upto the martyrdom of Nāṣir Jang and the death of the Rāja in 1163 A.H. (1750 A.D.) there were occasional outbreaks, but compromises were effected. After the Rāja's death, one of his relations was made the ostensible chief, but Bālājī assumed all power, and

¹ For a detailed account of the activities of Marathas during the reign of Muhammad Shāh, see Irvine, *Later Mughals*, II, pp. 277-306. The convention with Āṣaf Jāh was signed near Sirōnj on 17th January, 1738, *Cambridge Hist. India*, IV, p. 357.

² The date of his death was 17th April, 1740.

made all hereditary Maratha chiefs to submit to him. In the year 1164 A.H. (1751 A.D.) when Hōlkar and Jayāppā Sindhia hurried towards Allāhābād and Oudh to help Abūl Mānsūr, and Ahmād Khān Bangash was defeated, Abūl Mānsūr handed over to them Kōl ('Aligarh), Jālesar and Qannauj up to Karrā Jahānābād in recognition of their services. Gradually they got possession of the area up to Allāhābād. For nearly ten years the Marathas governed there. In the year noted above, Bālājī led a force against Aurangābād, and obtained a large sum out of the revenue deposited in the treasury of the Nāzim there. In the year 1165 A.H. (1752 A.D.), in accordance with the grant of Amīr-ul-Umarā Firūz Jang most of the *Sūba* of Khāndesh and several estates in the province of Aurangābād came into their possession. In 1171 A.H. (1758 A.D.) a battle took place in the Deccan with Nizām-ud-Daulah Āṣaf Jah (the 2nd), and after the peace country with revenues of 27 lacs of rupees was entirely made over to the Marathas. In the same year Dattājī Sindhia, brother, and Jankōjī, son of Jayāppā Sindhia, besieged Najib-ud-Daulah in Shukartāl, and in the same year Raghūnāthrāo, Shamshēr Bahādur and Hōlkar advanced as far as the neighbourhood of Shāhjahānābād. At the request of Ādīna Bēg Khān they hastened to the Panjab, and drove off Taimur Shāh son of Shāh Durrānī and Jahān Khān from Lāhōrē, and their deputy remained at Lāhōrē. In the year 1173 A.H. (1759-60 A.D.) Dattājī Sindhia on hearing of the approach of Shāh Durrānī advanced as far as Sirhind and died. The fort of Ahmādnagar in the Deccan came into the possession of the Marathas. Bālājī and Sadāshivrāo fell out with Amīr-ul-Mumālik Nizām-ud-Daulah Āṣaf Jāh, and came forward to give battle. The leaders of the rearguard of the Muslim army were in accordance with the dictates of Fate, killed, and a country yielding a revenue of 60 lacs and the three forts of Daulatābād, Asīr and Bijāpūr fell into the hands of Marathas.

When in the above mentioned year Shāh Durrānī turned Marathas out of the Panjab, killed Dattājī Sindhia, and dispersed Hōlkar's forces, thereupon Sadāshivrāo and Visvāsrāo son of Bālājī set out

towards Upper India to retrieve the situation. At first they went to the Capital (Delhī) and after capturing the fort they removed Muhiy-ul-Millat (Shāh Jahān III) son of Muhiy-us-Sunnat son of Kām Baksh—whom ‘Imād-ul-Mulk, after he had killed ‘Ālamgīr II, had placed on the throne—and in his place made Jawān Bakht son of Shāh ‘Ālam a puppet sovereign. In 1174 A.H. (1760 A.D.) they moved forward to encounter Shāh Durrānī. As the army was reduced to terrible straits owing to the stoppage of supplies, they were forced to fight. Sadāshivrāo, Viswāsrāo and a large number of leaders were killed, and some, who fled, were killed by the villagers¹. Bālājī on hearing of the catastrophe died of grief in the same year². His second son Mādhūrāo succeeded him. For a time there was a quarrel between him and his real uncle Raghūnāthrāo. At last the latter was seized and imprisoned, and Mādhūrāo after ruling successfully for some years died of illness. He had appointed Nārāinrāo, his younger brother as his successor. Raghūnāthrāo intrigued with some people, and killed Nārāinrāo. As the officials of his clan were not satisfied with him, it resulted in a quarrel. Raghūnāthrāo was defeated, and took shelter with the hat-wearing Europeans (the English). About the time of the writing of this account, he with their assistance made war on his opponents, and fell into their hands. He was granted a Jāgīr in Mālwa for his essential expenses, and started for that province. On the way, however, he quarrelled with his guides, and went off to Sūrat to the Europeans. On this account a quarrel arose between the Marathas and the hat-wearers. Mādhūrāo³ the young son of Nārāinrāo is in occupation of the place of his ancestors.

Others of the leaders of Rāja Shāhū are the Dabhade (Dihāriya in text), who in the time of the government of Sarbuland Khān went

¹ For a detailed account of this period see *Cambridge Hist. India*, IV, pp. 410-426.

² 23rd June, 1761.

³ He committed suicide by throwing himself from the terrace of his palace on 25th October, 1795; he died two days later; Grant-Duff, *op. cit.*, II, p. 254.

to Gujerāt, and took possession of much of the province. Another is Raghūjī Bhōnslē, who was of the same caste as Rāja Shāhū; the province of Berā formed his domain. He also took possession of the country of Dēogarh and Chānda, and marched to Bengāl by way of Kuttak (Cuttack), and in lieu of the *Chauth* for that territory took possession of the province of Orīssa. On his death his eldest son Jānōjī succeeded him. After the latter's death there was dissension among the brothers for a time. At the time of writing, Mādhōjī son of Raghūjī was in power. He took a grant of the *Chauth* in the name of his son Raghūjī from the Maratha Rāj. Another of his companions is Murārirāo Ghōrpade, who is the *Ta'lugdār* of the estates of Sira etc. in the province of Bijāpur. He was well known for his qualities of leadership and obtained possession of the fort of Gooty (Gooti) and various other estates. In the year 1190 A.H. (1776 A.D.) Haidar 'Alī Khān captured him after besieging the said fort; he died as his prisoner. Their petty sardārs are too numerous to be included in this note.

SHAIKH MĪR KHAWĀFĪ

(Vol. II, pp. 668-670).

He was a Saiyid of good family, and a favourite officer of Aurangzib, while the latter was a prince. He was distinguished for his courage and good judgment. In the 30th year of Emperor Shāh Jahān's reign, when the prince, in accordance with his father's orders, proceeded against the ruler of Haidarābād, Shaikh Mīr was in the vanguard with Prince Muhammad Sultān. He rendered good service against the enemy and was wounded by a bullet¹. In the year when the prince went to Upper India for enquiring after his father's health, Shaikh Mir was one of his confidants, and in the battle² against Mahārāja Jaswant Singh, was Commandant of the reserves. In the

¹ 'Amal Sālib, III, p. 227.² 'Ālamgirnāma, p. 68,

first battle against Dārā Shikōh, he commanded the advance-guard of the Centre, and distinguished himself¹. As a reward, he received a special dress of honour. Later, when the news was received that Sulaimān Shikōh wanted to cross the Ganges and Jumnā to join forces with his father, who was marching towards Lāhōre, Shaikh Mīr and other officers were² appointed to obstruct his route. When he fled towards Srīnagar (Garhwāl), Shaikh Mīr came to the Court³, and after Aurangzib reached Multān, he was deputed⁴ to pursue Dārā Shikōh. He followed⁵ him as far as Tatta (Sindh). When Dārā Shikōh left Tatta, and went to Gujarāt, Shaikh Mīr was recalled; he quickly rejoined Aurangzib⁶. In the second battle with Dārā Shikōh, he had the command of the advance-guard of the Centre, and on the day of the battle, he advanced before all others and gallantly attacked the entrenchments of Shāh Nawāz Khān Ṣafavī. At this time, he was struck with a bullet in his chest, and laid down his life in the service of his master in 1068 A.H. (1657 A.D.). Mīr Hāshim, one of his fellow countrymen, who was seated behind in the howdah, did not lose his presence of mind, but took Shaikh Mīr in his arms and watched over him⁷. Aurangzib was greatly grieved by the sad news of the death of this old and faithful officer, and ordered that he be buried in the cemetery of Shāh Mu'īn-ud-Dīn. May his grave be hallowed! Two of his sons were Muhtasham Khān Mīr Ibrāhīm⁸ and Mukarram Khān Mīr Muḥammad Ishāq⁹—whose separate accounts have been included in their respective places. His third son was Mīr Muḥammad Ya'qūb, who later became known as Shāfišer Khān. He was distinguished above his brothers for courage. He was deputed with his brother Mukarram Khān to

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 98.

² *Op. cit.*, pp. 159, 160.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 167.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 207.

⁵ For detail see *op. cit.*, pp. 271-284.

⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 324.

⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 295.

⁸ *Mātbir-ul-Umarā*, Text, III, pp. 646-650, translation *antea*, pp. 233-235.

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 695-701, translation *antea*, pp. 243-246.

chastise the Afghāns, and sent to the pass of Jānūs. In the 18th year, in the last battle when Afghāns were successful, he stood firm, and was killed in the prime of his youth.

(MIR) SHAMS

(Vol. III, p. 492).

He was one of the Husainī Saiyids. It is stated that for a long time he had forsaken the world, and was travelling about. Later, he attached himself to Shāh Jahān. On the death of Jahāngīr when Shāh Jahān's forces arrived near Sūrat, he was appointed Governor of the fort there. In the 7th year his rank was increased to 2,500 with 2,000 horse, and in the 10th year he had an increase of 500 horse, and was appointed *Faujdār* and the fiefholder of the *Pargana* of Barōda¹ in the province of Gujarāt. In the 18th year he received drums, and in the 19th his rank was increased to 3,000 with 3,000 horse, and he was appointed *Faujdār* and fiefholder of Bīr. In the 25th year he was made *Faujdār* and fiefholder of Pattan in Gujarāt. In the 28th year he reverted to the post of *Thānadar* and fiefholder of Barōda in the dependancy of Almadābād. In the 31st year on 19th Ramadān 1067 A.H. (21st June, 1657 A.D.) he died.

SHAMSHER KHĀN ARSLĀN BE ÜZBEG

(Vol. II, p. 633).

He was one of Emperor Jahāngīr's officers. Formerly, he was the Governor of Kāhmard, and he was one of the middle class officials of Wālī Muhammād Khān, the ruler of Tūrān. After handing over Kāhmard to the imperial government, Shamshēr Khān came to the Presence in the 3rd year and paid his respects; he was exalted by the

¹ Pazōda in the Text is apparently incorrect. It is Barōda in *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. 2, p. 242, and his rank is stated to have been increased to 2,500 with 2,500 horse. The fief was probably the Barōda State of the present times.

grant of a suitable rank and a dress of honour. Later, on being granted a *Jāgīr* in Sīwistān in Sind, he was nominated as the Governor of that area. In the 5th year, he was promoted to the rank of an *Amīr*, and granted a flag. In the 9th year, when Muẓaffar Khān Ma'mūrī was appointed Governor of Sind, he was removed from that office and returned to the Court. He was appointed to accompany Prince Sultān Khurram in the campaign against the Rānā. He died at his appointed time. It is stated that he was a simple-minded man, and one who regularly carried out his daily devotions and recited the Qūr'ān. He was well known for his courage, and attained the rank of 3,000.

SHAMSHĒR KHĀN HAYAT TARĪN

(Vol. II, pp. 677-679).

He was the son of 'Alī Khān, a well known officer of Shāh Jahān, who lost his¹ life in the battle of Tatta. When Shāh Jahān ascended the throne, Shamshēr Khān in the 1st year of the reign received a dress of honour, the rank of 1,000 foot with 500 horse, and a present of seven thousand rupees². In the 3rd year, when the Emperor went to the Deccan, he went with Shāyista Khān to devastate Nizām-ul-Mulk's territory. In the 11th year, he went with Sa'id Khān Bahādur to Qandahār, and rendered good service in the taking of the fort of Bust³. In the 15th year, he received an increase of 300 horse⁴, and in the 19th year a further increase of 200 horse, so that the number of his troopers equalled his personal rank. Later he was appointed with Sultān Murād Bakhsh to conquer Balkh and Badakhshān, and after his arrival there he, with Bahādur Khān Rōhila, engaged with Nadhar Muḥammad Khān, the ruler of Balkh. In the 20th year, he was exalted by promotion to the rank of 1,500 with 1,000 horse.

¹ *Bādshahnāma*, I, pt. i, p. 124.² *Op. cit.*, p. 119.³ *Bādshahnāma*, II, p. 54.⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 280.

When the prince adhered to his determination of giving up the governorship of that *Ṣūba*, and started for the Court, Sa'd Ullāh Khān arrived there for settling up affairs in that territory¹. The *Thānādārī* of *Khānābād* was entrusted to the said Khān, and at Sa'd Ullāh Khān's recommendation his rank was increased by 500 foot with 500 horse.² Later he was granted the title of Shamshēr³ Khān. After the arrival of Sultān Aurangzib Bahādur in that territory, he was entrusted with the government of the city of Balkh. In the 22nd year, he received a flag, and went in attendance on the prince to Qandahār. On reaching Qilāt, he, at the prince's suggestion, was appointed Governor of that fort. In the 23rd year, his rank was increased to 2,500 with 2,200 horse, and the office of *Thānādār* of Ghaznīn was entrusted to him in succession to Sa'ādat Khān. As he had done good work in keeping down the Hazāras and the Afghāns in that territory, in the 25th year he was promoted to the rank of 2,500 with 2,500 horse. When Aurangzib ascended the throne, he, in the 1st year of the reign, after Sa'ādat Khān the Governor of Kābul was killed by his own son Shērzād, was appointed Governor of the province⁴. In the 4th year on the death of Rāja Rājrūp he was reappointed *Thānādār* of Ghaznīn, and in the 10th year was deputed to chastise the Afghāns of the Rōh (Hill) country; he rendered exceptional service both in killing the enemy and taking many prisoners. In consequence he was promoted to the rank of 3,000 with 2,500 horse, of which 2,000 were 2-horse 3-horse. After Muḥammad Amīn Khān Bakhshi's arrival in that territory he again rendered good service in the battles against those tribesmen, and by the Emperor's order was appointed *Thānādār* of Ōhend.

¹ See *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, II, p. 245.

² *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p. 594.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 612.

⁴ *'Alamgīrnāma*, p. 442. His rank was also raised to 2,500 with 800 horse. Also see *Maāthir-i-'Alamgīri*, p. 27.

SHAMSHĒR KHĀN TARIN

(Vol. II, pp. 683-686).

He was an A'zam Shāhī officer, and his name was Husain Khān. At first he was a retainer of Dilēr Khān Dāūdzai¹, but later joined Dāūd Khān Qurēshī². When the government of Burhānpūr was entrusted to the latter, Husain Khān was appointed to carry on the administration there; he thus became a man of means. After Dāūd Khān's death, he entered the service of Prince Muhammād A'zam Shāh, who was then Governor of Multān. Afterwards, he was appointed *Faujdār* of Jammū which was the prince's fief. As he did good service in the turbulent territories in the Bijāpūr campaign, he, after the victory, was awarded the title of Shamshēr Khān by the Emperor's orders, and rose from the rank of a *Jam'adār* to that of an *Amīr*. The prince had explicit trust in him. He died a natural death at his appointed time. His sons were Muhammād 'Umar and Muhammād Uthmān. They were cherished by the prince, and were proud of being called Khānazāds (house-born ones). Owing to youth and inexperience of military matters, they became dissatisfied with the prince's instructions, and displaying undue resentment left for their home, which was three *kos* from Sirhind and known as the settlement of Malik Haidar. After spending sometime there without employment and in poverty they returned to the Court which was then at Ahmādnagar. For a time they remained in the Guard House, which forms the entrance to the Camp, and entrance and exit from where was prohibited without a permit. Out of regard for the prince who had just arrived from Gujārat, no one represented their case. They were reduced to extreme distress, that is to say the knife reached the bone. Fortunately a Maratha army created a disturbance near the camp, and a number of royal officers went out to chastise them.

¹ *Ma'athir-ul-Umarā*, Text, II, pp. 42-56, Beveridge's translation, I, pp. 495-505.

² *Ibid.*, Text, II, pp. 32-37, *Ibid.*, I, pp. 462-464.

These opportunists, who were waiting for the sword round their necks, distinguished themselves on this occasion; and drove off the scattered enemy forces. When their exploits were reported to the Emperor, he looked favourably upon them and they were taken into service. But as the prince was displeased with them, they saw no advantage in remaining in attendance (on the Emperor), and went off with the prince who had been deputed to Aurangābād and Burhānpūr. In spite of this devotion the prince took no notice. They had not covered two or three stages, when news of Emperor Aurangzib's death was received. After this they were in favour and regard, and on the day of the battle with Bahādur Shāh, the younger brother displayed exceptional devotion in front of the prince's elephant, and freed the shoulder of courage from the burden of service (was killed). Afterwards, Prince 'Azīm-ush-Shāh greatly favoured 'Umar Khān. In the beginning of Emperor Farrukh Siyar's reign, he accompanied Nawāb Nizām-ul-Mulk Fath Jang to the Deccan, and was appointed *Faujdār* of the exchequer estate of Sangamnīr. But on account of disagreement with Haidar Qulī Khān, the *Divān* of the Deccan, he went off to the Court. He was appointed *Faujdār* of Kālābāgh, which was a turbulent territory in the Mālwa Śūba; many of the sedition mongers were forced by him to accept allegiance, while some who deflecting from the path of rectitude persisted in opposition and disobedience, were killed. In the time of Emperor Muḥammad Shāh, he was appointed *Qil'adār* and *Faujdār* of Dhār. After his death, his *Ta'lūq* was transferred to his sons. When the province of Mālwa fell into the hands of the Marathas, the latter were not agreeable to any of the imperial officers remaining in that territory. Malhār Rāo Hōlkar addressed himself to the taking of the Dhār fort, which was one of the memorials of Rāja Bhōj. He besieged it for some days, and drove mines to the wall of the fort. They defended it as far as they could, but when they saw that no help from outside could reach them, they perforce surrendered the fort, and joined Rāja Jai Singh Siwāī. This companionship did not work, and so they left for the Court, but no one there took any notice of them.

SHAMS-UD-DIN KHĀN KHWĒSHGĪ

(Vol. II, pp. 676, 677).

He was the eldest son of Nazr Bahādur¹. In the 20th year of emperor Shāh Jahān's reign and during his father's lifetime, he was appointed *Faujdār* of the *Dāman-i-Kōb* (valley) of Kāngra in succession to Murshid Qulī. In the 25th year, when his father died, the Emperor promoted² him to the rank of 1,500 foot with 1,500 horse, and appointed him to accompany Muḥammad Aurangzib Bahādur—who had been nominated to proceed on the second expedition to Qandahār. In the 27th year, he was appointed *Faujdār* of Junāgarh and fiefholder of some *Parganas* in that territory in succession to Muḥammad Sālih, son of Muḥammad 'Isā Tarkhān. In the 30th year, when he had a dispute with his brother Qutb-ud-Dīn about the fief of Junāgarh, the *Faujdāri* and the *Tiyāldāri* of Pattan in Gujarāt was given to Qutb-ud-Dīn, and Shams-ud-Dīn was ordered to proceed to the Deccan to join Muḥammad Aurangzib Bahādur, who would appoint him to a suitable office. Accordingly, he went to the Deccan, and in the 31st year distinguished himself in the battle with the Deccan forces. After a while when the horizon changed its colour, and the said prince marched to Upper India, he was exalted³ by promotion to the rank of 3,000 foot with 2,000 horse. He was enrolled among the Deccan auxiliaries, and rendered good service in company with Amīr-ul-Umarā Shāyista Khān in the taking⁴ of the Chākna fort. On the day of the assault he ran forward and took the fort. He died at his appointed time. None of his sons distinguished himself. His great grandson was Muthawar Khān Bahādur, whose separate account⁵ has been included in this work.

¹ For his account see *Ma'āthir-ul-Umarā*, III, pp. 818-821; translation *antea*, pp. 390-392.

² *'Amal Sālih*, III, p. 138.

³ *Alamgirnāma*, p. 45.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 587.

⁵ *Ma'āthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, III, pp. 776-793, translation *antea*, pp. 333-344.

(KHWĀJA) SHAMS-UD-DIN KHAWĀFI

(Vol. I, pp. 664-669).

His father Khwāja 'Alā'-ud-Dīn was one of the leaders and great men of that territory (Khawāfī). Shams-ud-Dīn¹ rose to high office and position of trust in the reign of Emperor Akbar as a result of his trustworthiness and ability. His word was fully relied upon, and he was a good official. The account of his deeds of bravery and courage while he was with Muẓaffar Khān in the province of Bihār and Bengāl constitutes a fine record in the history of Emperor Akbar's reign. In reference to the Khwāja the learned Shaikh Abūl Faḍl has written that in difficult times when Turks were irresolute and leaders were bewildered, he with high courage and magnanimity undertook difficult tasks and carried them out successfully². When the discontented officers of Bihār joined the sedition-mongers of Bengāl, Muẓaffar Khān lost heart, and though he was urged to engage in battle, it was of no avail. After much expostulation, some soldiers were sent off by him under the command of Shams-ud-Dīn. When the Commander-in-Chief loses heart, what can be expected of the ranks. The Khwāja had traversed only a short distance, when troops after troops of his force deserted and joined the enemy. The Khwāja fought a battle and was taken a prisoner. When Muẓaffar Khān, the Governor of Bengāl died during this period of rebellion, Ma'sūm Khān Kabukī took the Khwāja into his own keeping under the impression that he was possessed of much cash. When he did not succeed by gentle means, he resorted to violence, and the Khwāja was nearly dying of torture. 'Arab Bahādur, in consideration of his earlier friendship, and also because he hoped to get possession of his property by persuasion, took him under his charge, and freed him from his shackles. One day the Khwāja finding opportunity, fled with some others. He

¹ For his account see Blochmann's translation of *A'in*, I (2nd edn.), pp. 493-495. See also his account of Khawāfī on pp. 493, 494 and the footnotes.

² *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 140; Beveridge's translation, III, p. 197. Abūl Faḍl was related to Shams-ud-Dīn Khwāfi.

joined Rāja Sangrām at Kharakpūr. As the roads were closed he could not join the imperial army. He collected a body of men and harassed the enemy; he also carried away their cattle from their pastures¹. Later, when differences arose among the enemy party, he managed to come to the Presence, and received royal favours and was promoted. About the same time, in the 26th year of the Ilāhī era, the royal camp was pitched on the bank of the Indus river for the chastisement of Mīrzā Muhammad Hakīm. It was imperative that a fort should be built there, and through the exertions of the Khwāja this was completed in a short space of time. As the fort in the Eastern Districts was called Katak Benārēs², the new fort was named Atak (Attock) Benārēs. It was as if by this name a reference was intended to the fact that according to the Hindu religion, it was not allowed to cross the river, because it made void many of their religious observances.

In short, the Khwāja was for sometime *Dīvān* of Kābul. In the 39th year when Qulīj Khān was appointed Governor of Kābul on the death of Qāsim Khān³, the Khwāja was appointed⁴ *Dīvān-i-Kull* (*Dīvān-general*) in his vacancy. In the 40th year, 1003 A.H. (1594-95 A.D.), twelve *Dīvāns* were appointed. There was one *Dīvān* for each province, who had to report⁵ on every matter to the Emperor with the opinion of the Khwāja who was the Grand *Vazīr* (*Vazīr-i-Kull*). When in the 43rd year, the royal standards after fourteen years' stay in the Panjab moved to Āgra for an expedition to the Deccan, the Begams together with Sultān Khurram were left at Lāhore. Their care and the charge of the exchequer and affairs of the province was entrusted to the Khwāja. When, in the 44th year, Miriam Makānī and the ladies of the harem were summoned to Āgra,

¹ *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 315, Beveridge's translation, III, pp. 460, 461.

² *Ibid.*, p. 355, *Ibid.*, p. 521.

³ He was assassinated, see *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 653, translation, III, p. 1003; also *Māz̄ibir-ul-Umarā*, Text, III, p. 66.

⁴ *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 654; translation, III, p. 1004.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 670; *Ibid.*, p. 1029.

all the administration of the Panjāb was entrusted to the Khwāja¹. In the 45th year, 1008 A.H. (1599-1600 A.D.) he died² at Lāhōre.

The Khwāja was the unique of the age for uprightness, efficiency and courage. His understanding of affairs was the secret of his success. He was never discouraged by difficulties and boldly set himself to work. He was unequalled as a writer, and honesty was always his motto. More wonderful still, in spite of his being trusted so highly, he never took advantage of it, and did not show any signs of over-subtlety. He was very peace-loving. Accordingly from the beginning to the end of his career, he was honoured and respected. After his death the charge of the exchequer of the Panjāb was transferred³ to his younger brother, Khwāja Mümin, who was well known for his discretion. Though he had many relations, he did not have any children. His brother's son Khwāja 'Abdul Khāliq⁴ was, in the time of Emperor Jahāngīr, very intimate with Āṣaf Jāh. On the day when Mahābat Khān brought Āṣaf Khān out of the Attock fort, and imprisoned him, he on account of this connection sent the unfortunate Khwāja to the other world with the sword of violence. Khwāfīpūra at Lāhōre was built by the Khwāja, and he was buried there. On account of his trustworthiness, skill and good name, the men of Khawāf obtained power and influence with the Timurid family. And, in fact, most of this clan are innately honest and upright. The hand of power has implanted honesty and truth in them. During the reign of Emperor Aurangzīb, which was a time of appreciation, and when there was a ready market for honesty, many of this clan were distinguished by appointments to high positions of trust, office and dignity.

Khawāf is a district of Khurāsān. Amīn Rādī⁵ in "Haft Iqlīm"

¹ *Akbar-nāma*, Text, III, p. 746; translation, III, pp. 1114, 1115.

² *Ibid.*, III, p. 772, *Ibid.*, p. 1154.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 1154.

⁴ *Iqbālnāma-i-Jahāngīr*, p. 268.

⁵ For his account see 'Abdul Muqtadir's preface to *Haft Iqlīm*, p. 1 (1915). The account of Khawāf is given in 4th Climate.

has said that Khawāfī was always the mother-soil of just and pious princes, of historians, Shaikhs, 'Ulemās and beneficent Viziers. Wherever the inhabitants of that country have gone, they have by their lofty genius and high sense of dignity obtained advancement, and become favourites. The princes of the Āl Muẓaffar were from among them; seven of them were rulers in Fārs and Shīrāz for 59 years. Among the Shaikhs was Shāh Subhān, who received instruction from Khwāja Maudūd Chishtī. His poems about Sūfism are well known. Another was Shaikh Zain-al-Millat-ud-Dīn, and who was known as Khwāfī. His grandson was Shaikh Zain Ṣadr, who was one of the learned men of his age, and was distinguished by his long companionship with Emperor Bābur. In the time of Emperor Humāyūn, he was raised to the rank of an *Amīr*. Among the Viziers, was Khwāja Ghayath-ud-Dīn, who for forty years was the Vizier of Shāhrukh Mīrzā, and whose son Khwāja Majd-ud-Dīn became Vizier in the the time of Sultān Husain Mīrzā, and who rose to such dignity that he sat and did his work in front of the throne.

Verse

One of his distinctions was that before the Shāh
All stood on their feet, while he remained seated.

The men of Khawāfī have always been distinguished for their skill and sagacity. It is related in the *Tarīkh-i-Hirāt* that when Hasan Ṣabāh reached near Khawāfī, he saw few trees in a village, and by way of enquiry asked a girl if there was a limited number of trees in that country. She replied, "Our men are our trees". In *Dhakhirat-ul-Khwānīn* it is written that formerly the people of Khawāfī were Sunnis, and were very bigoted. It is stated that when Shāh 'Abbās Ṣafavī in the beginning of his reign came to Khawāfī, he bade them revile his companions, but they refused. He had seventy of their principal men flung down from the mosque, so that each one had his neck broken, still no one taking warning from this punishment agreed to carry out his order. At the present day, they are just as staunch Shi'ahs.

(MIRZĀ) SHARAF-UD-DIN ḤUSAIN AHRĀRĪ

(Vol. III, pp. 232-238).

He was the son of Khwāja Mu'in, son of Khwāja Khāwand Mahmūd, son of Khwāja Kalān—commonly known as the Khwājagān-i-Khwāja—eldest son of Khwāja Nāṣir-ud-Dīn Ubaid Ullāh Ahrārī—May his grave be holy! Khwāja Kalān was adorned with outward and inward knowledge and in pursuance of his father's orders took up his residence in the village of Darsīn—which is one of the quarters of Samarkand. In the time of the predominance of Shāhī Bēg Khān, he migrated to Andjān (Badakhshān), and died in 905 A.H. (1499-1500 A.D.). His body was removed to Tāshkend, and buried beside his mother's. He had three sons by the daughter of Saiyid Naqī-ud-Dīn Muḥammad Kirmānī, *viz.*, Khwājas Niẓām-ud-Dīn 'Abdul Hādī, Khāwand Mahmūd, and 'Abdul Khāliq. After his wife's death, he married the daughter of Khwāja Muḥammad Niẓām, brother of Shaikh-ul-Islām Khwāja 'Aṣām-ud-Dīn, who was descended, in the fourth generation, from Maulānā Burhān-ud-Dīn 'Alī, the author of the *Hedāya*. By her also he had three sons, *viz.* Khwājas 'Abdul 'Alīm, 'Abdul Shahīd, Abūl Faid. Also by a Turkish lady, he had a son called Khwāja Muḥammad Yūsuf. Khwāja Khāwand Mahmūd after living as a dervish went on pilgrimage, and proceeded to 'Irāq and Fārs. For a while he studied with Maulānā Jalāl-ud-Dīn Muḥammad, and from Maulānā 'Imād-ud-Dīn Mahmūd he learnt the science of medicine. As a result of his accomplishments he became a Qādī, and returned to Samarkand, where he occupied himself in teaching. When he came to India, he was greatly honoured by Emperor Humāyūn, who became his disciple. Afterwards for some reason he went to Kābul, and died there. Khwāja Mu'in during his father's lifetime went to Kashghar¹ and acquired great influence with 'Abdullāh Khān, the ruler of that country, and obtained the grant of the produce of the Jade river. As the

¹ *Akbarnāma*, Text II, p. 194; Beveridge's translation, II, pp. 301, 302.
See also the valuable notes in reference to the Jade river.

Khwājazāda was a shrewd man, he so arranged that no one could see any jade even in a dream, and so had to buy it (from him) at a high price. In this way he acquired much wealth, but he was a great miser. Mīrzā Sharf-ud-Dīn lived on bad terms with his father. When Hūmāyūn at the time of the expedition to India sent Khwāja 'Abdul Bārī, grandson of Khwāja 'Abdul Hādī to 'Abdur Rāshīd the ruler of Kāshghar—who had always been trying to establish friendly relationship—the latter sent with him Mīrzā Sharf-ud-Dīn to India for the dual purpose of offering condolence on the death of Emperor Hūmāyūn and to congratulate Emperor Akbar on his accession to the throne. In the 1st year of Emperor Akbar's reign Sharf-ud-Dīn paid his respects,¹ and through the influence of Māham Anaga and Adham Khān he soon became an *Amīr*, and was appointed to the rank of 5,000, he was also granted the fief of Ajmēr and Nāgōre. He distinguished himself by his ability and courage, and put down the recalcitrants in those districts.

As his mother Kūchak Bēgam² was the daughter of Mīr 'Ālā'-ul-Mulk Tirmudhī and of Fakhr Jahān Bēgam, the daughter of Sultān Abū Sa'īd, Emperor Akbar, in the 5th year, gave his own (half) sister Bakshī Bāhū Bēgam in marriage to Mīrzā Sharf-ud-Dīn, and thereby greatly exalted his position.³ In the 7th year, 969 A.H. (1561-62 A.D.) when the imperial cortege moved to Ajmēr, Mīrzā Sharf-ud-Dīn waited upon the Emperor. He was deputed to capture the fort of Mairtha, which belonged to Rāī Maldēo, who was one of the leading Rāīs and Rājas of India in regard to his influence and power. Jagmāl and Dēo Dās, who looked after the fort on behalf of Rāja, made preparations to defend it. After a long siege an armistice was arranged on the condition that the evacuating soldiers should take nothing with them from the fort except their horses. Jagmāl kept to the terms, and came out of the fort. Dēo Dās, on the other hand,

1 *Akbarnāma*, Text, II, p. 21; Beveridge's translation, II, p. 37.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 21; *Ibid.*, p. 37.

3 *Ibid.*, p. 128; *Ibid.*, p. 197.

burnt all his goods, and moved out with 500 men. The Mīrzā coming to know of it went to fight with him. A great battle ensued, and Dēo Dās was killed. According to other statements, however, he escaped after he was wounded. Accordingly, sometime afterwards a person called himself Dēo Dās; some accepted him, but other disbelieved him¹. At last, he was killed in a battle. In the 8th year, Khwāja Mu'īn hearing of his son's exaltation and grandeur took leave from Abūl Khair Khān on the pretext of going on pilgrimage, and came to India from Kāshg̃ar. The Mīrzā went from Nāgōre to welcome his father, and brought him to the Presence. Emperor Akbar himself welcomed him, and brought the Khwāja with all honours to Āgra. It is an age-established canon that when a person's fortune is on the wane, and the times are out to exact vengeance, the light of his intelligence becomes darkened. He regards loss as again, and the unworthy as deserving of favour.

Verse

When a person's destiny deserts him,
Do what he may, nothing succeeds.

The Mīrzā's case illustrates this precept, for disregarding all the favours shown to him by the Emperor, he, in the same year, for some reason, through baseless suspicion or because of his evil nature fled from Āgra towards Ajm̃er. The chthonogram was *Shash Safr* (6th Safr = 970 A.H.; 5th October, 156 A.D.). The Emperor entirely disregarding his lack of sense and having developed a suspicion sent Husain Quli Khān with a force of officers in his pursuit. The Mīrzā unable to find refuge anywhere fled from the imperial territories.² Khwāja Mu'īn felt greatly ashamed of his son's unworthy conduct, and though he suffered no diminution in respect and regard, he left after a short time for pilgrimage. He, however, died at the port of

¹ *Akbarnāma*, Text, II, pp. 161, 162; translation, II, pp. 248-250.

² For a fuller account see *Akbarnāma*, Text, II, pp. 195, 196, translation, II, pp. 303-305.

Cambay. They sealed his body in a coffin, and placed it on board the ship Fathī, but the vessel was lost at sea.

Mīrzā Sharf-ud-Dīn wandered as a vagabond for sometime, and then took refuge with Chingīz Khān Gujarātī. Later he joined with the rebellious Mīrzās, and afterwards went over to the ruler of Khāndesh. From there after losing his prestige, he rejoined Muḥammad Husain Mīrzā. As Fates were against him, he could not find rest anywhere. Later, when the Gujarāt territories were added to the conquered domains, he fled to the Deccan and passed through Baglāna. Baharjī, the zamīndār of the territory imprisoned him, and bringing him along presented him before the Emperor at the time when fort of Sūrat was taken. The Emperor had him thrown before an elephant who was not a man-killer, and then put him into prison¹. After sometime, he was sent to Muẓaffar Khān, Governor of Bengāl. He was directed to give him a Jāgīr there if he showed signs of repentance, otherwise he was to be sent off to Mecca. As he did not show any sign of repentance, Muẓaffar Khān kept him in confinement till the season of sailing. Meanwhlie Ma'sūm Khān Kābulī rebelled in the Bihār province, and joined Bābā Khān Qāqshāl and others who had stirred up strife in Bengāl. They besieged Muẓaffar Khān in Tānda. The Mīrzā escaping from the fort joined them. When they were victorious over Muẓaffar Khān, Mīrzā Sharf-ud-Dīn, who had come to know of some of the former's treasures, took possession of them and used them as the means of gaining influence². Though Ma'sūm Khān did not work, Sharf-ud-Dīn was the nominal leader. When disagreements became ripe amongst the ungrateful Bengāl Amīrs, Ma'sūm Khān retired to Bihār, but on the approach of Mīrzā 'Azīz Kōka and Shahbāz Khān Kambū with a large contingent of the imperial army, he returned to Bengāl. Differences arose between the Mīrzā and Ma'sūm Khān, and each was lying in wait to circumvent the other.

¹ For a detailed account see Akbarnāma, Text, III, pp. 29, 30, Beveridge's translation, III, pp. 41, 42.

² Op. cit., Text, pp. 303, 304; translation, pp. 448, 449.

At last Ma'sūm Khān won over with gold a boy named Mahmūd, who was the favourite of the Mīrzā, and he at the instigation of Ma'sūm Khān made the Mīrzā drink poisoned opium¹ water. He died in the 25th year 988 A.H. (1580 A.D.).

(MĪR) SHARIF² ĀMULĪ

(Vol. III, pp. 285-290).

His home was in Āmul³, and he had received all his regular education in Irān. He gained an intimate knowledge of Sūfism and the truth of religion, but this was mixed up with a lot of details about impieties and heresies. He preached "He is All in All", and All in All (*Hamā rā*) he called God (Allāh). When he came to India during the reign of Emperor Akbar, he found that universal toleration and breadth of view were the orders of the day (literally: the *daily bazar*). The reigning Prince's view was that Sovereignty was the shadow of Divinity. It was wrong to hold that special grace (*Faid*) was the perquisite of any one sect, rather the correct principle to be adopted should be that all different people with their varying dispositions should share in the Divine Grace. Difference of religion was no reason for destroying a people. The Mir eagerly kissed the threshhold, feeling that he had gained his desire; and receiving a rank and fief became a recipient of royal favours. It is stated in the Dabistān Mūbāidi (*i.e.* of Mubāid) that the Mir waited upon Emperor Akbar at the station of Dipalpur, and publicity supported the views of Mahmūd of Basākhīwān in his discussions with the 'Ulemās. After contending with the philosophers (*Hukāmā*), he came into notice⁴.

¹ *Op. cit.*, Text, pp. 325, 326; translation, pp. 477, 478.

² For his life also see Blochmann's translation of *A'in* (2nd edn.), pp. 502-504, which is based mainly on the *Maāthir* account.

³ Āmul also spelt as Amal and Amol in maps is an old city south of the Caspian and west of Astrābād.

⁴ Apparently *pēshpā khurd* is the opposite of *pushtpā mizad*, as on p. 706 of *Maāthir*, III, which means ran away. It is also used in this sense on p. 795 of the same work, and there means putting oneself forward.

The general benevolence of Emperor Akbar did not forsake him, rather he was taken notice of and patronized. It appears that Dīpālpūr is in Mālwa, and that in the 22nd year, 984 A.H. (1576-77 A.D.) the Emperor was encamped there for some days in connection with some state affairs.

The author of these pages has not been able to find in the *Akbar-nāma* the date on which Sharif Amuli waited upon Emperor Akbar, but the date of his appointment¹ is recorded. There is also a contradiction between it and Sikandar Bēg Munshi's account. In the 'Ālam Ārā'i 'Abbāsī³ the latter author has stated that in 1002 A.H. (1593-94 A.D.), in the 7th year in the reign of Shāh 'Abbās II, the astrologers agreed that the conjunction of superior and inferior planets betokened that one of the princes of the time would die, and that it appeared probable that this would happen in Irān. When the horoscope of the Shāh was prepared, it was found that the first quadrature had found a place in the house of birth, and accordingly Maulānā Jalāl-ud-Dīn Muhammad, astrologer of Jabrīz, who was pre-eminent in the science of astrology, devised a plan for averting the evil influence. This was that for two or three days while the indign influence was at its height, the Shāh should withdraw himself from governing, and raise to sovereignty someone who was worthy of death. During this period, all high and low should submit themselves to his orders, so that the real functions of royalty might be performed by him. After three days, he should be put to death. All approved of this suggestion, and the lot fell upon Yūsuf the quiver-maker, who was a heretic and a follower of Dervish Khusrāu of Qazwīn, and was more pronounced in his beliefs than his companions. The Shāh

¹ This place is in Indore, *vide Imperial Gazetteer* (Old edn.), IV, p. 304. The reference appears to be taken from Badāyūni, Text, II, pp. 245-247. Lowe's translation, II, pp. 252-255. The *Māathir* quotation is not quite correct. The *Dabistān* reference is to be found on p. 407 of the Calcutta edition.

² The date of his appointment as *Amīn* and *Sadr* is recorded in *Akbar-nāma*, Text, III, p. 477. Beveridge's translation, III, p. 718.

³ *Tārikh 'Ālam Ārā'i 'Abbāsī*, Tehran edn. p. 324.

retired from the government, and placed the crown on Yūsuf's head. When Yūsuf mounted and when he alighted from the throne, the officers and attendants waited upon him in accordance with the regulations, and testified obedience. That heretic, in accordance with the saying :

Hemistich

Sovereignty is priceless even if it is for a day.

Spent three days in luxury, and then dropped the borrowed robe of life. After this in the same year every one who was suspected of heresy was put to death. Dervish Khusrau—whose ancestors had been well-diggers, and who had turned a *qalandar*, and joining the Naqṭawīs had become their leader—though he was very cautious and no one heard any improper utterances from him—was hanged on the mere report that he was a Naqṭawī. Mir Saiyid Ahmad Kāshī, who was followed by many of the ignorant, was split into two by the Shāh with his own sword¹. Among his books were found pamphlets dealing with Naqṭawī tenets, and a tescrīt which Shaikh Abūl Faḍl had written to him on behalf of Emperor Akbar. Mir Sharif Amuli, who was an agreeable poet, and one of the chief men of the sect, on witnessing these occurrences fled from Astrābād, and started for India. So ends this account.

It would be clear to the learned researchers that the historical anachronism in the account, as repeated above, cannot be reconciled on any grounds, and that the narrative of the 'Ālam 'Ārā'ī is based on error. The coming of the Mīr to India was before the slaying of the heretics in Irān, and there is no mention in any book of his being a poet, nor have any of his verses been heard by any one.

In short, the Mīr was lucky in his service at Emperor Akbar's court, and his influence increased daily. When in the 30th year, 993 A.H. (1586 A.D.) Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm, Akbar's half brother and the ruler of Kābul, died a natural death, and that territory was

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 325.

annexed to the imperial domains, the Mīr was appointed *Amin* and *Sadr* of that province. In the 36th year he was transferred to Bengal and Bihār, and was honoured by receiving four appointments¹ there: *Khalifa* (Apostleship), *Amin* (Head of the Revenue Department), *Sadr* (Head of the Judiciary), and *Qādi* (Head of the Ecclesiastic Department). In the 43rd year he was granted Ajmēr as his fief, and Mōhān—which was a *pargana* near Lucknow—was also added to his fief. In the siege of Asir in Khāndesh he hastened from his fief to join the Emperor, and was graciously received. It is stated that he finally attained the rank of 3,000² when he died. He was buried in the village of Mōhān³. It is stated that no books or papers were maintained in his establishment. He kept a list of his troopers and infantry, and every six months put the pay of each in a bag, and sent it to his respective house.

Let it not be concealed that the Naqṭawīs⁴—who are also called Umānī and Maḥmūdīya—are followers of Maḥmud of Basākhīwān which is a village in Gilān. He appeared in the year 800 A.H. (1398 A.D.). He was learned and austere, and has left a number of works. It is stated that when the bodies became more perfect, Maḥmūd arose. They refer to the verse: “Peradventure thy Lord will raise thee to an honourable (Maḥmūdīan) station.” He held the view of the point of earth (*Nuqta-i-Khāk*), and considered it to be the first element, and from which all other elements arose. He did not reckon heavens as outside the elements. He did not believe in the isolation of the reasonable soul. He believed in the return after death and of transmigration. This sect regards the celibate *Wāhid* (One), and the married *Amin* (Superintendent). Their salutation is Allāh

¹ *Akbarnāma*, Text, p. 601, translation, III, p. 916.

² But see *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 601 where it is stated that he was promoted to the rank of 4000. In this connection also see Beveridge's note 3 on p. 916 of the translation.

³ Mōhān in the Unaо district in the United Provinces.

⁴ For a short account of Naqṭawīs see Hughes' *Dictionary of Islam*, p. 307 under the title Maḥmūdīyah.

Allāh, and they designated their Maḥmūd as the *Shahs-i-Wāhid* (The only One), and regarded him as the promised *Mahdī*; and they say that the religion of Muhammad, which had become obsolete, had been replaced by the religion of Maḥmūd. The following of this sect had increased vastly in the Irānian countries. When Shāh ‘Abbās Ṣafavī, II, put most of these ignorant crew to death, and in every city whoever was suspected of belonging to this sect was killed; many went into exile and migrated to various countries. A few, however, who were attached to their homes, secretly followed their beliefs.

SHARIF KHĀN AMIR-UL-UMARĀ

(Vol. II, pp. 625-629).

He was *Khwāja* ‘Abd-us-Ṣamad Shīrīn Qalam Shīrāzī, whose grandfather *Khwāja* Nizām-ul-Mulk was the *Vazīr* of Shāh Shujā‘ of Shīrāz. When Humāyūn took leave of the Shāh of the Irān to go to Qandahār, he went on a visit to Tabrīz, and the *Khwāja*—who was remarkable for his skill as a painter—waited on him there; he was very graciously received. On account of various circumstances¹, he was, however, unable to accompany Humāyūn. But in 956 A.H. (1549 A.D.) he waited on him in Kābul, and was received with favour². During the reign of Emperor Akbar although he had only a rank of 400, his influence and intimacy were great, and he was honoured and trusted. It is stated that the *Khwāja* transcribed the Sūra *Ikhlas* on a single grain of poppy. Muḥammad Sharīf was appointed to the rank of 200. In the 34th year, when Emperor Akbar was returning from Kābul, and had halted at Safed Sang, a base fellow dishonoured a peasant’s daughter and was capitally punished. It appeared that Muḥammad Sharīf was his confidant, and had

¹ *Akbarnāma*, Text, I, p. 220; Beveridge’s translation, I, pp. 444, 445, footnote 4 where other references are given.

² *Op. cit.*, Text, 292, translation, p. 552.

played a part in this episode; he was consequently censured¹ and punished. As Prince Sultān Salim, owing to being his school fellow was greatly attached to him, so Emperor Akbar sent Muḥammad Sharīf from Burhānpūr for guiding the prince to the path of loyalty, when the latter abandoning the campaign against the Rānā went off to Allāhbād, and showed signs of disobedience. He, however, encouraged the prince to greater excesses, and became his *Vakīl*. He acquired such influence over the prince, that the latter unthinkingly promised that when he came to the throne he would give half his kingdom to Muḥammad Sharīf. Later, when the prince had the grace to go to his father, Muḥammad Sharīf, on account of his vile conduct, kept away, and retire into the hills. Each day he went into another defile, and spent his time in misery. The unhealthiness of the climate half killed him. Suddenly the world was filled with the news of Jahāngīr's accession. This gave him a new life, and in fifteen days from the accession he appeared at the Court. He was granted the title of Amīr-ul-Umarā, and appointed² *Vakīt*. The *Uzuk* seal was entrusted to him, and an order was issued that whatever fief he selected should be given to him from the estates of Haidarābād.

Emperor Jahāngīr has written in his Memoirs—which were written by his own pen—“My connections with Sharīf Khān had developed to such a level that he had become a brother, a son, a friend and a companion. On the day of his return, I felt as if I had a new lease of life, and really become a King. I had no title really worthy of his ability, and so I could only give him the title of Amīr-ul-Umarā, and give him the rank of a *Panj-bazarī* (5,000). What could I do? My father's rule was that no higher rank than this could be given. Although whatever is mine, is his³.” In the beginning of the reign,

¹ *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 569; Beveridge's translation, III, p. 861.

² *Iqbālnāma-i-Jahāngiri*, p. 3. See also *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngiri* (Rogers & Beveridge's translation), II, pp. 14, 15, note 2 where the date of his arrival according to various authorities is discussed.

³ This is apparently taken from the spurious edition of *Tūzuk*, see Price's

the Amīr-ul-Umarā represented that the Afghāns were the enemies of the Mughals, and that they should be expelled. Orders to this effect were sent throughout the dominions, but Ā'zam Khān protested and they were withdrawn on the ground that there were large numbers of them, and there was no tract without them, and that to expel them would lead to a great disturbance. The Amīr-ul-Umarā was at the head of all officers, but Ā'zam Khān, out of innate pride and haughtiness, paid no regard to his high office. One day Amīr-ul-Umarā took occasion to speak harshly to him in the open *Dīvān* about his being a partisan of Sultān Khusrau. And he said boldly to the Emperor that this man was a well-wisher of Khusrau, and it was politic that he should be put to death. Afterwards, when the Emperor pardoned the offences of Mīrzā Kōka, he ordered that the latter should invite Amīr-ul-Umarā as his guest (*Mahmān*), and should spend a lakh of rupees in cash and goods (in entertaining him).

It is stated that when all the high officers were assembled for the feast, Mīrzā Kōka by way of raillery said to the Amīr-ul-Umarā, "Nawāb, you are not kind to me, but what love did your late father Mullā 'Abd-us-Šamad show to me! Why all the pictures and adornments in this parlour were made by him with his own hands." As Khān Jahān and Mahābat Khān were young, they could not control their feelings, and went away. When the matter was reported to the Emperor, he said to the Amīr-ul-Umarā, "He has no control over his tongue. You should not pay heed to what he says." In the second year, he fell ill, and remained behind¹ at Lāhōre when the Emperor went to Kābul, and Vakilship was entrusted to Āṣaf Khān Ja'far. Later he was appointed² to the Deccan, but he did not get on with Khān Khānān, and so was recalled to the Court. He had collected a large force, and had given advances to many. He recovered

translation (Calcutta edn. 1917), pp. 25, 26. His name in all the works is Sharif Khān instead of Muhammad Sharif.

¹ *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngiri* (Rogers & Beveridge's translation), I, p. 82.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 156.

these advances, but kept 3,000 horses. It is stated that the disease of forgetfulness took possession of him. Whatever he said, passed out of his mind. Khān Jahān was deputed to visit him. He found him out of his senses, and reported accordingly. Emperor Jahāngīr wanted to place him in retirement. Khān Jahān submitted that he had a good number of men and was a protege of His Majesty. He should not be dismissed. He was reappointed to the Deccan, and he spent a long time there till he died a natural death.¹ He was a good composer of verses, and was the author of a *Dīvān*. His *nom-de-plume* was Fārisī: These are his verses—

Verse

By the might of Love we made peace with the two worlds,
Be my adversary and see the spectacle of my friendship.

Verse

I sift the sparks of lament with the sieve of respect,
Lest a harsh sound reach your ears.

Of Amīr-ul-Umarā's sons, Shahbāz Khān having attained a high office died during his father's life-time. He built a *serāi* at a distance of a *kos* from Lucknow, which bears his name. Mīrzā Gul and Mīrzā Jār Ullāh used to play dice and chess with Emperor Jahāngīr, and were his constant companions and attendants, but this state of affairs did not last after their father's death. Accordingly after the death of Āṣaf Khān, Jahāngīr ordered Jār Ullāh—who had enjoyed luxury such as no prince had—to divorce his wife Misrī Bēgam the daughter of Āṣaf Jāh. Out of incongruity the marriage between her and Jār Ullāh had never been consummated, and she was thereafter married to Mīrzā Lashkari, son of Yūsuf Khān. The two brothers went with Mahābat Khān to Kābul, and died in the prime of their youth.

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 231.

SHARIF KHĀN ATGA¹

(Vol. II, pp. 601-603).

He was a younger brother of Shams-ud-Din Muḥammad Khān Atga², and was an officer of the rank of 3,000. After the fall of Bairām Khān, when the best areas of the Panjāb were assigned in fief to the Atga Khail, Sharīf Khān also received a suitable *jāgīr* in that province, and with his elder brother, Mīr Muḥammad Khān, rendered good service. In the 13th year, when the leaders of the Atga Khail were removed from the Panjāb, Sharīf Khān was granted a fief³ in the Sarkār of Qannauj. In the 21st year, he was deputed with a force to Mōhīr⁴ in order that he might keep watch for the Rānā coming out of the defiles of the hills—whither that rebel had retired on the approach of the Emperor—and chastise him. Afterwards he rendered good service in the conquest of Kōmbalmīr, and received favours. In the 25th year he was honoured by appointment as the guardian⁵ of Prince Sultān Murād. He arranged a feast on this occasion and was honoured by a visit of the Emperor to his house. In the same year on the death of Shujā'at Khān, Governor of Mālwā, he was appointed to succeed him, and he proceeded to that province. An order was also issued for his son Bāz Bahādur to leave Gujarāt, and assist his father. The fief-holders of the province were also bidden to obey his instructions⁶. In the 28th year, he was appointed with Qulī Khān and others to assist Mīrzā Khān Khānān. When he joined the latter, the command of the right wing was assigned to him, and on the day of the battle with Muzaffar, he did good service in discharging canons and muskets. When, after the chastisement of

¹ For his account see also Blochmann's translation of *A'in* (2nd edn.), pp. 415, 416.

² *Ma'āthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, II, pp. 531-555, translation *antea*, pp.

³ *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 333, Beveridge's translation, III, p. 487.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 194, *Ibid.*, p. 274.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, Text, III, p. 312.

⁶ *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 314, translation, p. 459.

Sultān Muṣṭaffār of Gujārāt, the Mālwa officers were deputed for the conquest of the sort of Sirōnj, he also went there and erected batteries. On the day of the assault Naṣīrā the Governor¹ of the fort contrived to escape close to his battery, and the fort was captured. In the 30th year, he and Shihāb-ud-Dīn Ahmād Khān went to assist Khān Ā'zam, who had been appointed to the Deccan campaign. In the 35th year, he came to the Presence from Mālwa, and offered his obeisance. In the 39th year, he was appointed to the charge² of Ghaznīn—which was his home, and which he had long desired to have as his fief. Upto the 47th year he was there, after which Ghaznīn was assigned to Shāh Bēg Khān in his place. Nothing further is known about him³. His son Bāz Bahādūr had received a fief in Gujārāt, and was enrolled as an auxiliary of the province. In the 25th year, he was attached to his father's contingent, and granted a fief in Mālwa. In the 44th year, when Emperor Akbar personally went for the conquest of Āśir, he and other officers went ahead to invest it. Later he was appointed to Ahmādnagar, and was one of the Deccan auxiliaries. In the 46th year, he was taken prisoner⁴ in the battle with the men of Telengāna. When 'Allāmī Shaikh Abūl Faḍl, due to the exigencies of the time, arranged an armistice, the prisoners on both the sides were released; he also on release joined the royal forces.

(SAIF-UD-DAULAH SAIYID) SHARIF KHĀN
BAHĀDŪR

(Vol. II., pp. 517-520).

He was Shujā'at Jang Mīr 'Abdur Rahīm, son of Saiyid Sharīf Khān Mīr 'Abdul Karīm, son of Mīr Saiyid Muhammad Qannaujī. Mīr Saiyid Muhammad was known among the Saiyids of the place by

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 438; translation, p. 657.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 654; translation, p. 1004.

³ In the 47th year Shāh Bēg Khān was appointed to succeed him in Ghaznīn, *vide Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 815; translation, III, p. 1223.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 796; translation, p. 1194.

the title of Rasūldār; he had through diligent studies at home acquired a position for himself. When Shāh Jahān was living in retirement in the fort of Āgra, he—as he was always fond of the society of learned men, and of history—requested Aurangzib to send the said Mīr to him. For nearly eight¹ years, which Shāh Jahān spent in this fort, the Mīr was in constant attendance. It is stated that Shāh Jahān was specially pleased with his discourse one day, and expressed his appreciation of it. The Mīr said that he had a boon to beg which, he hoped, would be granted. On being asked to explain, the Mīr said, what he wanted was the pardon of Aurangzib. Shāh Jahān granted this, and wrote a letter to Aurangzib conveying his pardon. On this account Aurangzib always regarded Mīr's rights as deserving of his personal consideration. Saiyid Amjad Khān and Saiyid Sharif Khān, his sons received suitable ranks and were promoted. The first had the title of Khān, and in the 13th year of the reign was appointed² Censor of the camp after the death of Qādī Muḥammad Husain. In time, he rose to the high office of *Sadr Kull*. The second was exalted with the title of Saiyid Sharif Khān, and in the 30th year, when during the siege of Gōlconda there was extreme commotion, was appointed *Krōrī* of the market for the imperial forces, and earned a good name by bringing down the prices. Later he was appointed to collect poll-tax in the four *Subahs* of the Deccan,³ which had been under his jurisdiction from earlier days, but Shujāt Jang was in-charge of the collection of poll-tax in the Berār *Suba* at the end of Emperor Aurangzib's reign. In the time of Jahandār Shāh—when unknown persons were given charge of various cities—he was appointed as deputy of one of them for the government of Āgra. About the end of Muḥammad Shāh's reign, he was in straightened circumstances, and therefore migrated to the Deccan with Asaf Jāh. He received a fief in Berar, and was appoint-

¹ 'Amal Sālib, III, p. 348; also p. 379 where a short account of Mir Saiyid Muḥammad is given. See also Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, III, p. 138.

² *Maāthir-i-Ālamgiri*, p. 98.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 298.

ed *Bakshī* of the troopers. In 1159 A.H. (1746 A.D.) he was promoted to the post of the Deputy Governor of Berār. He besieged two or three forts of some malcontents, and having reduced them was able to establish his authority firmly in the *Şuba*. After the death of Āṣaf Jāh, Nāsir Jang added the title of Shujā'at Jang to his other titles. In the time of Muẓaffar Jang he was granted the title of Saif-ud-Daulah. He died in 1164 A.H. (1751 A.D.). He was a good and amiable person, with a very agreeable mode of address, and used to spend his time in the study of laws and the precepts (of Prophet Muhammad). In his assemblies singing and dancing were prohibited. He was distinguished for his courage, but was not well versed in business matters. His son, Ṣadr-ud-Din Muḥammad Khān, who succeeded to his father's titles, was for a time the Governor of Daulatābād. He died in 1177 A.H. (1763-64 A.D.). He was a simple minded man. He left two sons, the elder had the hereditary titles, and the second was known as Saiyid Muḥammad. They jointly held in fief the *pargana* of Kōthal in the *Şuba* of Berār, but as it yields little, they were in straightened circumstances.

SHARĪF-UL-MULK HAIDARĀBĀDĪ

(Vol. II, pp. 688-690).

He was the brother-in-law of Abūl Ḥasan Qutb Shāh, the ruler of Haidarābād. Prince Bahādur Shāh 'Ālam was appointed with Khān Jahān and a large army to punish Abūl Ḥasan—who, in Emperor Aurangazib's opinion for various reasons¹ had to be exterminated, and when later, in the 29th year, there were repeated fights with the forces of Abūl Ḥasan, and all the strongholds of those ignorant people were destroyed and taken, and he was pursued to Haidarābād, Muḥammad Ibrāhīm, his general, joined the imperial² forces as they reached

¹ See Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, IV, pp. 338-341 for a detailed account of the position.

² *Khāfi Khān*, II, p. 306.

the outskirts of the city. In the early part of the night Abūl Hasan losing heart left Chatar Mahal—which had been skilfully and elegantly completed by expert architects—and taking with him his ladies, and what jewels, Asharfis and būns they could carry, withdrew into the fort of Gōlconda. A great tumult ensued. High officers took their wives and children by the hand, and went off on foot to the fort. Early in the morning plunderers in the city and camp fell upon the houses of the people, and carried off krores upon krores worth of goods and cash from Abūl Hasan's magazines, the effects of the traders and the property of the gentry¹. The honour of great and small was besmirched, and most of Abūl Hasan's servants willingly or unwillingly left him, and became the King's servants. At this time, or according to some authority, at the beginning of this affair, Sharif-ul-Mulk joined royal service, and with his two sons, Hidāyat Ullāh and 'Ināyat Ullāh did homage in Shōlāpūr.

In accordance with the recommendation of the prince, he was given the rank of 3,000, ten thousand rupees in cash and other gifts. During the last days of the siege of Gōlconda, in the close of the 30th year, on 24th Sha'bān, 1098 A.H. (25th June, 1687 A.D.) he died. His sons were consoled by the grant of mourning dresses. About the same time Iftikhār Khān, his son who was the sister's son of Abūl Hasan, did homage, and received² the rank of 3,000 with 1,000 horse. Hidāyat Ullāh was granted the title of Hidāyat Khān. He was not without perfections and eloquence, and had a poetical vein. He was appointed *Khānsāmān* of Muhammad Ā'zam Shāh. It is said that Ni'mat Khān Mīrzā Muhammad Hājī—who had lashed many officers with his tongue, and never withheld his hand from satire; he did not spare even Emperor Aurangzib—thus repaid for what he had received.

¹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 306, 307 for a detailed account on which apparently the *Maathir* version is based.

² *Maathir-i-'Alamgiri*, p. 297.

Verse¹

He is so strong at sitting that to move him,
No other man can manage it, only God can!

When he wrote this satire on Hidāyat Khān, the said Khān, in accordance with the maxim:

"A stone is the reply to the clod thrower" composed a quatrain of which the following is the second couplet:

Verse

The son, the wife and the family of that wittol²,
Are a dish of varied dainties.

After receiving this quatrain he did not retaliate.

SHĀYISTA KHĀN AMĪR-UL-UMARĀ

(Vol. II, pp. 690-706).

He was the worthy son and heir of Yamīn-ud-Daula Āṣaf Khān³. His name was Mīrzā Abū Ṭālib. In the time of the usurpation of authority by Mahābat Khān, he and his father were under restraint by him. When the juggling heavens drove that audacious one from the Presence, he sent Āṣaf Khān to the Court to ask pardon for his actions. He, however, kept Abū Ṭālib for somedays in captivity lest a force might be sent against him, and then let him depart. He came and kissed the threshold⁴. In the 21st year of Emperor Jahāngīr's reign, he received the title of Shāyista Khān. In the beginning of the reign of Emperor Shāh Jahān, he and his father came from

1 The point of the verse appears to be that Hidāyat Khān was proud, and would not get up to greet people.

2 The word which I have translated as wittol is كش and for dainties نعمت the latter involving a play on Ni'mat Khān's name. بُرخان may also mean to summon, but this would not serve in the context.

3 For his account see *Māthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, I, pp. 151-160, Beveridge's translation, I, pp. 287,295.

4 *Iqbālnāma-i-Jahāngīr*, pp. 267,277,278.

Lāhore, and paid their respects; and he was raised¹ to the rank of 5,000 with 4,000 horse. The generally held view, that Shāyista Khān was appointed to the rank of 5,000 from the day of his birth, is not authentic. It appears, however, that out of regard for his father and grandfather, he was in his early childhood granted the rank of 500. On the same score he received further promotions one after the other, until in his early youth he attained a high rank. In the reign of Emperor Shāh Jahān he was appointed as leader and commander and in the 3rd year, when three large armies were despatched from Burhānpūr for the elimination of Khān Jahān and the chastisement of the Nizām Shāhīs, he was appointed as the leader² of one of these forces. As the command of all the armies was entrusted to Ā'zam Khān, Governor of the Deccan, and Shāyista Khān could not work in unison with him, he was recalled to the Presence³.

When, in the 9th year, Emperor Shāh Jahān took up his quarters at the Daulatābād fort, Shāyista⁴ Khān, Ilāhwardī Khān and other officers were sent off to free the country of Sangamnīr and other ports in that territory, which were in the possession of Shāhū Bhōnsle. Shāyista Khān went to Sangamnīr, and delivered the *parganas* of the area from the possession of Shāhu's son Shivājī and other sedition mongers and stationed a force in each fort. After capturing many famous and important forts and making proper arrangements for the government of the territory he hastened to Junair. As Shivājī had after leaving his father suitably strengthened the fort, it could not be taken easily, Shāyista Khān thereupon taking possession of the city and the adjacent district, returned. In a short time he had added two fine *Sarkārs* with a revenue of two krots and 60 lacs of *dāms*, and consisting of 17 *mahals*, to the imperial domain. In the 10th year Khān Zamān, who, as deputy of Prince Muhammād Aurangzib Bahādur, had charge of the Bālāghāt, Deccan, died. As it was

¹ *Bādshāhnāma*, I. pt. i, p. 180.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 294.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 302.

⁴ *Bādshāhnāma*, I. pt. ii, p. 132.

essential to send in place of Khān Zamān a high official, who, during the absence of the prince, should as his deputy be at Daulatābād, and carry on the administration, Shāyista Khān was sent¹ in advance of the prince who had proceeded to the Court for a marriage ceremony. In the 12th year he was appointed Governor of the province of Behār and Patna² in succession to 'Abdullāh Khān. In the 15th year, he led a force against Pratāp, the land-owner of Palāun (Palāmau) and a notable person of that territory, and having devastated his domains made him submit. In the 18th year, when the province of Allāhābād was taken from him, and assigned in fief to Dārā Shikōh, he was appointed⁴ Governor of Mālwa. When in the 20th year, Prince Muhammād Aurangzib Bahādur was summoned from Ahmādābād, Gujarāt, for the management of the countries of Balkh and Badakhshān, Shāyista Khān was given charge of Gujarāt. As in spite of Shāyista Khān having a rank of 5,000 with 5,000 horse, 2-horse, 3-horse, and also having an annual allowance of 5 lacs of rupees from the general treasury of the province for 3,000 *Sibbandī* (local militia) horsemen, he could not properly control the sedition mongers in the province, and this had become apparent repeatedly from his own reports, he, in the beginning of the 22nd year, was re-appointed Governor of Mālwa⁵, and the province of Ahmādābād was assigned to Prince Dārā Shikōh as his fief. In the 23rd year he was appointed⁶ in succession to Prince Murād Bakhsh, to the four provinces of the Deccan, and later was re-appointed⁷ to Gujarāt. In the 27th year, when that province was assigned⁸ to Murād Bakhsh, he returned to the Court. In the 28th year, he was again sent⁹ to Mālwa as the Governor. In the 29th year, when Prince Muhammād Aurangzib Bahādur, Governor of the Deccan, at the request of Mīr Jumla, proceeded to Haidarābād to deliver his son and belongings, and to chastise Qutb Shāh, Shāyista

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 271.

² *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p. 136.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 248.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 425.

⁵ *'Amal Ṣālib*, III, p. 64.

⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 102.

⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 149, this appointment was made in the 26th year.

⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 182.

⁹ *Op. cit.*, p. 201.

Khān, in compliance with the orders of the Emperor, went to assist him with a large contingent¹ of the Mālwa troops. He was unable to develop close association with the prince while serving under him in the time of the siege. After the termination of this expedition in the 30th year, he returned to his post and as a reward for his service, on the recommendation of the prince, was promoted to the rank of 6,000 with 6,000 horse—2-horse, 3-horse, and granted the high title of Khān Jahān². When, in the same year, Muhammād Aurangzib Bahādur with the Deccan armies was deputed to chastise the 'Ādil Shāhīs, Khān Jahān was directed to proceed immediately to Daulatābād, and to remain³ there till the prince's return. When in the 31st year, 1067 A.H. (1657 A.D.), Emperor Shāh Jahān fell ill of strangury, and the administration of the country devolved on the heir apparent, Prince Dārā Shikoh, he, out of evil design and intentions, recalled the Deccan auxiliaries to the Presence even before the Bijāpūr campaign had been completed. Shāyista Khān also returned to Mālwa. As that province is adjacent to the Deccan, and Dārā Shikoh had other plans, he did not deem it proper to leave Khān Jahān—whose attachment and association with Prince Aurangzib were well known—in charge of that area; he was consequently recalled to the Court⁴ and Mahārāja Jasvant Singh appointed as the Governor of Ujjain. After the defeat of the Mahārāja by Aurangzib, when Emperor Shāh Jahān heard that the latter was advancing towards the Capital, he thought that if he were to march out in person, there was the possibility that there would be no actual fighting—as in the opposing forces (of Aurangzib) also most of the men were imperial servants, and probably they would not draw their swords against their master. But Dārā Shikoh, who regarded the enterprise as an easy one, and believed himself capable of managing it alone, by persistent representation prevented the Emperor from marching out. In this connection, he had a

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 222

² *Op. cit.*, p. 230, but the number of his 2-horse, 3-horse troopers is given there as 5,000 and not 6,000 as in the text.

³ *Op. cit.*, pp. 235, 236.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, pp. 284, 295.

consultation with Khān Jahān; and the latter either to keep on good terms with Dārā Shikōh, or because he was a partisan of Muḥammad Aurangzīb, and felt that he would be successful, also dissuaded (Shāh from marching out. After the defeat of Dārā Shikōh, it became clear that this would have been the best course, and that what took place was in accordance with a plan. Emperor Shāh Jahān was angry, struck Shāyista Khān on the breast with the head of his staff, and reproached him for his treacherous advice¹. In accordance with the letters of Dārā Shikōh, and at the instance of the interested parties, he ordered him to be placed under restraint. After two days he was released, and his advice was again asked; he repeated what he had said before. It is evident too that at this stage movement would have been ineffectual. Emperor Shāh Jāhān had his advance camp made ready, but as the affair had got out of hand, even his marching (against Aurangzīb) would have been of no avail.

In short, Khān Jāhān was honoured by paying his respects to 'Ālamgīr in the Nūr Manzil Garden. After repeated messages through Fādil Khān Khānsāmān on behalf of Emperor Shāh Jahān to the Prince of the lucky star, Muḥammad Aurangzīb Bahādur, the Bēgam Šāhibā came to her brother, and conveyed her father's message to the effect that the Panjab with the areas appertaining to it might be given to Dārā Shikōh, Gujārāt as hitherto should remain under Murād Bakhsh, the Deccan be assigned to Sultān Muḥammad, the eldest son of Aurangzīb, and the high office of the heir apparent, the title of Buland Iqbāl and the complete control of the rest of the imperial territories be transferred to Aurangzīb; and that he should wait on the Emperor Shāh Jahān and endeavour to please him. Aurangzīb refused to consider the proposals and said, "I cannot wait on the Emperor till the affair of Dārā Shikōh is liquidated." The Bēgam Šāhibā returned sorrowfully, and reported the result to the Emperor; this added to the vexation and concern of the latter. At last, on the third

¹ Khāfi Khān, II, p. 21,

day after much discussions, Aurangzib resolved to wait on his honoured father; and with this noble intention he rode from the Bāgh Dahra. As the Divine decree was contrary to this action, Khān Jahān and Shaikh Mīr came after him and represented that the proposed plan was far from politic, and there was no necessity for Aurangzib putting himself into a dangerous situation when he had got under his control the servants of the fort, and the thread of authority had dropped out of the hands of the Emperor Shāh Jahān.

Meanwhile, when Aurangzib returned after listening to the words of his well wishers, Nāhar Dil Chēla arrived, and produced the letter, which Emperor Shāh Jahān had written with his own hand to Dārā Shikōh, and had entrusted it to Nahār Dil in order that he might quickly convey it to Dārā Shikōh at Shāhjahānābād, and bring back an answer. The purport of the letter was that Dārā Shikōh should collect troops, and consolidate his position at Delhī, and that meanwhile Shāh Jahān would himself dispose off the matter here (at Āgra). Accordingly the advice of Khān Jahān was approved¹ of, and the proposed visit put off, and as appeared imperative Aurangzib set off in pursuit of Dārā Shikōh from Āgra towards Delhī. At the stage of Mathurā, Khān Jahān—who, in consequence of the offence referred to earlier, had been deprived of his rank and fief—was appointed to the rank of 7,000 with 7,000 2-horse, 3-horse troopers. He was further honoured with the grant of the title of Amīr-ul-Umarā and a *pargana* yielding a revenue of two krors of *dāms* was assigned to him in recognition² (of his services). When Sulaimān Shikōh, the eldest son of Dārā Shikōh, returned from the Eastern districts, and on hearing of his father's defeat hastened on the other side of the Ganges towards Hardwār, and planned to proceed by way of Sahāranpūr to the Panjab

¹ For a detailed account see Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, I, II, pp. 422-425. The name of the slave courier is Nāhir Dil and not Bāhit Dil as in the text.

² *Ālamgīrnāma*, p. 130.

to join his father, the Amīr-ul-Umarā¹ was deputed to check him. That fortunate one went off as a vagabond to the hill country of Srinagar (Garhwāl) and took refuge with the Zamīndār of the territory. In compliance with the orders the Amīr-ul-Umarā returned from the banks of the Ganges to Akbarābād (Agra), and in the service of Prince Muḥammad Sultān remained in-charge of the government of that province². When Muḥammad Sultān went off in advance to encounter Shāh Shujā³, the Amīr-ul-Umarā remained in sole charge of that area. When, in the battle³ with Shujā Rāja Jasvant Singh wickedly and with the perverse intention of upsetting affairs in the end of the night immediately preceding the day on which the battle took place, decamped from Aurangzib's camp with other Rājpūts, and took the road to Āgra, this sudden affliction resulted in so great confusion and discord in the forces that even the loyalties of tried soldiers, who had rendered valuable services in many campaigns, were shaken, and several of them selecting the path of disloyalty deserted. The distressing news that Shāh Shujā having made Emperor 'Alamgīr prisoner was advancing towards Āgra gained so wide a currency, that the Amīr-ul-Umarā accepted this false report as true, and becoming confused thought of retiring towards the Deccan. In his bewilderment he represented to Fādil Khān the Khānsāmān, who was still in the service of Shāh Jahān, the claims of the Āṣaf Jāh family, and begged that the Emperor might forgive his offences. That prudent and experienced official endeavoured to comfort Amīr-ul-Umarā and added that he should remain quiet till the morning, as perhaps trustworthy news would be received by that time. Later, it turned out that the brave and steadfast 'Alamgīr had with a limited force defeated Shujā, and gained the victory. After this God-given victory, when Aurangzib reached Āgra, and then started for Ajmēr to fight Dārā Shikoh, the Amīr-ul-Umarā went in

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 159, also see *Khāfi Khān*, II, p. 41.

² *Khāfi Khān*, II, p. 42.

³ Battle of Khajūbā, 14th January, 1659.

attendance¹. After the second coronation, in 1069 A.H. (July, 1659 A.D.), in the 2nd year of Emperor Aurangzib's reign, he was exalted by being allowed to beat² his drums in the Presence—a great favour, which in the times of Shāh Jahān and Jahāngīr was enjoyed only by his father and grandfather respectively. About this time, he was appointed Governor³ of the Deccan in succession to Prince Muḥammad Mu'azzam. The Amīr-ul-Umarā after his arrival in the Deccan proceeded on 25th Jummādā I, 1070 A.H. (28th January, 1660 A.D.) to put down Shivājī and to capture his forts. Shivājī, on account of the confusion in the government of Bijāpūr, and following the assassination of Afḍal Khān, the chief officer of the 'Ādil Shāhīs, had taken possession of many forts and posts, and had placed obstacles in the way of pilgrims proceeding by sea to Mecca. He had also not abstained from devastating the imperial territories. The Amīr-ul-Umarā marched out from Aurangābād, and suitably punished his men wherever they offered battle, and established *thānas* in suitable localities in Shivājī's territories. This was the beginning of the Maratha affair. As the rainy season had arrived, he spent somedays in the city of Poona, and took the fort of Chākan, which was one of the strong forts of the Kōnkan and belonged to the Nizām Shāhī territory. On account of the confusion in the 'Ādil Shāhī affairs, Shivājī had taken possession of it. As it was near the imperial territory, the Amīr-ul-Umarā regarding its capture as an essential part of the campaign, and assigned this task due priority. When he reached the foot of the fort, he carefully inspected the neighbourhood with a view to placing his batteries and strenuously carried on operations in connection with the erection of bastions and laying of mines. For fifty six days in spite of constant rain and heavy storms he carried on the siege with cannon and muskets. At last the mine which extended to the bastion opposite the Amīr-ul-Umarā's battery was filled with gun-powder, and set fire to. The bastion was blown up,

1. 'Ālamgīrnāma, p. 294.

2. *Op. cit.*, pp. 394, 395.

3. *Op. cit.*, p. 416.

and portions of it flew into the air like startled pigeons. The victorious troops were in readiness, and believing in Divine protection altogether fell on the fort. The day closed during the fight, but the heroes would not think of retiring, and bravely spent the night at the foot of the fort. In the morning they renewed their attack, and entering the city wall captured the fort on 18th Dhul Hijja of the 3rd year of the reign (15th August, 1660 A.D.). Those, who escaped the sword took refuge in the citadel. As they saw that it was beyond their resources to defend it, they asked for quarter and came out. By the Emperor's orders the fort was renamed Islāmābād¹.

After this conquest the territory of Shivājī was overrun by the victorious troops, but that subtle strategist retreated into the inaccessible defiles. The Amir-ul-Umarā took up his quarters in Poona in a house which had been built by Shivājī. Meanwhile that resourceful schemer arranged for a night attack, and sent a party of men to the place. An order of the day at the time had been issued that without a signed permit, no one was to be allowed to enter the camp or the city, and an ordinance had also laid down that Marathas on horseback should not be allowed entry. A number of footmen of their tribe in the beginning of the 6th year on the pretext of the marriage of their party obtained from the *Kōtwāl* a permit for the admission of 200 Marathas. At night they entered the city on the pretext of marriage beating drums, and next day, they brought a number of men with their hands tied and beating them saying that they were enemy partisans whom they had made prisoners near the post (*tbāna*). Next night at midnight these miscreants came to the kitchen behind the female appartments, and put to the sword whosoever they encountered. They opened up a window which had been blocked with mud and bricks. Some pages (*khawwāṣān*) of the *Zenāna*, who were awakened by the noise of the spades and pick-axes, went and reported to the

¹ 'Ālamgīrnāma, pp. 585-587; *Maṭbir-i-Ālamgiri*, p. 33. The orders in regard to the change of name of the fort are not mentioned in any of the two works. Also see Jadunath Sarkar, *Shivaji and His Times*, pp. 79-81 (1929).

Amīr-ul-Umarā. He said that it was the month of fasting (Ramadān), the cooks and other servants of the kitchen had probably got up to prepare the early morning meal. When, however, the report was repeated, the Amīr-ul-Umarā got bewildered, and rose up taking his bow and arrow and lance in his hands. One of the assailants struck him with a sword and this cut off his index-finger. His young son Abūl Fath Khān, who exerted himself in the fight, was killed. The women dragged the Amīr-ul-Umarā to one side. These noises resulted in the men outside rushing in, and they finished the business of those who had not completed their¹ work (*i.e.* killed the inmates of the house). As this night affair was a proof of the carelessness on the part of that high official, and was also indicative of lack of vigilance, which could not be condoned by the administration, he was censured by the Emperor, and the governorship of the Deccan was transferred to Prince Muḥammad Mu‘azzam. He was appointed to administer² Bengal where Mīr Jumla had just died. As the turbulent men of Arrācān—who are generally designated as the Magh tribe—had meanwhile seizing the opportunity invaded the borders of Bengal, and had taken away as prisoners the inhabitants of some villages, the Amīr-ul-Umarā decided that the only way of checking their activities was to capture the fort of Chittāgong—which is on the border of Arrācān—and so addressed himself to this task. He despatched his son Buzurg Umēd Khān with a force, and he after much fighting captured the strong fort of Chittāgong in the end of the 8th year, and renamed³ it Islāmābād.

The Amīr-ul-Umarā was long engaged in administering⁴ Bengal province, and when in the 20th year Ā‘zam Khān Kōka was appointed to this charge⁵, he put on the pilgrim’s robe, and in the 21st year waited upon the Emperor, and presented a tribute of 30 lakhs of

¹ For a critical account see Jadunath Sarkar, *op. cit.*, pp. 88-93.

² ‘Ālamgīrnāma, p. 848; *Maāthir-i-‘Ālamgīri*, p. 45.

³ *Maāthir-i-‘Ālamgīri*, p. 54.

⁴ *Riyād-us-Salātin*, Text, pp. 222, 223.

⁵ *Maāthir-i-‘Ālamgīri*, p. 159.

rupees, 4 lakhs of jewels and other goods. One of the rarities was a mirror to which a water-melon was attached; when it dried, water trickled from it. There was also a box to one end of which an elephant was attached, and to the other end a goat. The elephant could not draw it, but the goat drew both the box and the elephant. The Amīr-ul-Umarā was awarded the staff made of jade, which the Emperor had in his hand, and other presents. An order was issued that this leader of the officials should bring his palanquin into the *Ghusulkhāna*, and that he should beat his drum after that of the Emperor¹. In the same year he was appointed Governor of Akbarābād². In the end of the 22nd year he was again appointed to Bengāl in succession to Prince Muhammad Ā'zam, who in compliance with orders had hurriedly started for the Court. After a few years, he was reappointed Governor of the Capital, Āgra. He lived with a good reputation upto the day of his death, and died³ in the beginning of the 38th year in 1105 A.H. (1694 A.D.).

Few Amīrs in any of the reigns equalled him in good qualities and virtues. With all his grandeur and greatness which he had acquired and even a much smaller degree of which would have raised the pride of others to the highest heavens—he was extremely gentle, amiable, courteous and humane. His liberality and charities were famed throughout the world. The marks of his beneficence in building *serāts*, mosques and bridges—on which he spent lakhs—are patent in all parts of India. The poor and needy in distant quarters benefitted from his charities. The property, which after his death, was escheated to the Crown, was beyond conception. Though, repeatedly, articles, such as gold and silver vessels, have been taken for royal use, there are still numerous locked rooms in the Āgra fort full of his goods. Strange stories are current about

¹ Based on *Māthir-i-Alamgiri*, p. 161.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 168.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 368.

the abundance of his goods and stores. From a reliable source, it has been heard that once when Emperor Aurangzib was hunting, some wax was called for. The collectors of the Exchequer and of the *parganas* in the neighbourhood, who had been ordered to procure it, reported that as it was the rainy season, not a grain could be procured. The *Khānsāmān* represented that wax was not to be had anywhere, but it was reported that there was some wax available in the stores of the Amīr-ul-Umarā at Delhī. An order was issued that they should borrow some to meet the urgent requirements. When the order was transmitted to the agent of the Amīr-ul-Umarā, and as it would have taken a long time to have the permission of his master who was in Bengāl and it was impossible to wait, the agent offered 200 maunds of wax, and one or two thousand articles of wax, each weighing 2-3 maunds, on his own account, and excused himself by saying that in the absence of his master, he could not venture to give more. It became known that wells had been dug for storing wax, and that during the hot weather water was filled in them to keep the wax from melting. From this an idea may be formed of the extent of his possessions. By Emperor Jahāngīr's orders, the daughter of Shāh Nawāz Khān, son of Ābdur Rāhīm Khān Khānān, was married to him. But all his children were born of concubines. The name of 'Āqīdat Khān his son was Abū Ṭālib. In the 2nd year of Emperor Aurangzib's reign, when his father was the Governor of the Deccan, he had charge of Daulatābād¹. He died early. Another son was Abūl Fath Khān who was killed during the night-attack of Shivājī Bhōnsle. Whoever of them distinguished himself has been noticed in this work. One of his daughters was married to Rūh Ullāh Khān I², and another to Dhūlfiqār Khān Nuṣrat Jang³.

1 *Maāthir-i-'Alamgiri*, p. 26.

2 *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, p. 309.

3 *Op. cit.*, p. 93.

SHER AFGAN KHĀN 'ALI QULI BEG

(Vol. II, pp. 622-625).

He was an Istāljū,¹ and was the table-servant of Shāh Ismā'il, II, the ruler of Irān. After the latter's death he migrated to India by way of Qandahār. At Multān, he joined Khān Khānān, the Commander-in-chief who was marching against Tatta (Sindh), and at the recommendation of the Commander-in-chief, he in his absence was enlisted in imperial service; he performed good deeds, and showed great courage. When Khān Khānān returned victorious after this expedition, Shēr Afgan, at his request, was appointed to a suitable post. At the same time, Emperor Akbar gave him in marriage Mihr-un-Nisā, the daughter of Ghiyāth Bēg of Tehrān, who was serving as the *Dīwān-i-Biutāt* (Master of the Household).

It is stated that Mīrzā Ghiyāth's wife always used to go to the feasts and entertainments in the palace, and that Mihr-un-Nisā, whose name became Nūr Jahān later on—often used to accompany her mother. By a strange chance, Prince Salim—who had reached the age of adolescence—fell in love with her, and when this feeling became known in the harem, the Emperor also secretly became aware of it. He immediately gave her in marriage to 'Alī Qulī Bēg. When the Prince was sent to the expedition against the Rānā, 'Alī Qulī Bēg was appointed to accompany him. The prince greatly favoured him, and gave him the title of Shēr Afgan Khān. After his accession, he made him the fief-holder of Burdwān—which is a tract between Bengāl and Orīssa—and as he was an able man, he distinguished himself in this office, and proved to be a good Governor. When Emperor Jahāngīr sent off Quṭb-ud-Dīn Kōkaltāsh to be the Governor of Bengāl, he said one or two words to him about Shēr Afgan, who learnt about this from the letter of his agent, and became apprehensive. He knew that there was something behind it (*lit.* “there was a saucer below the

¹ Istāljū or Ustāljū, a Turkish tribe of Transcaucasia, see Blochmann's translation of *A'm* (2nd edn.), p. 687.

cup"—a well known proverb). From that day he left off his accoutrements (*yarāq*), and said to the Recorder and the Emperor's officers that he now was no longer a servant of the Emperor. When Qutb-ud-Dīn rapidly marched to Burdwān in the 2nd year, Shér Afgan Khān, who was encamped outside, went off to welcome him.

It is said that at the time of leave-taking his mother fixed the helmet on his head and said, "Ere your mother weeps make his mother weep"; and having kissed his head and eyes gave him leave to go. Though he was not at ease about the guile and trickery of Kōkaltāsh, but for the present the latter's messages had given him confidence. Being a doomed man he left his troops outside the camp, and went off for the interview, attended by only two troopers one of whom was an eunuch. When from the attitude and talk of the Kōkaltāsh, it became clear that treachery was intended, he anticipated matters and killed Qutb-ud-Dīn Khān. As the Kōkaltāsh's men had surrounded him, they did not let him depart. The chronogram of his death is "*Mazlum*" (Victim—1016 A.H., 1607 A.D.).¹

What they say about Shér Afgan is that in spite of his numerous wounds every one of which was fatal, he by extraordinary exertion and to safeguard his honour reached his home, and wanted to kill his wife; his (or her) mother indicated by weeping and lamenting and saying that his wife had thrown herself into a well, and that thereupon he gave up the ghost, is contrary to *Iqbālnāma-i-Jahāngīr*². After this occurrence, Shaikh Ghīyāth, the sister's son of Qutb-ud-Dīn Khān, brought Mihr-un-Nisā with the daughter and son of Shér Afgan, and his property to the Court. For a time, she was in disgrace owing to her husband having killed the Emperor's foster-brother. When Emperor Jahāngīr married her, the daughter³ she had borne to Shér

1 For a critical study of the Shér Afgan story see Beni Prasad, *History of Jahāngīr*, pp. 170-182. For an account of Qutb-ud-Dīn's tomb etc. see Blochmann, *Journ. As. Soc. Bengal*, XL, pt. i (1871), p. 252.

2 *Iqbālnāma-i-Jahāngīr*, pp. 54-56.

3 Her name was Ladili Bēgam; for account of her marriage see Beni Prasad, *op. cit.*, p. 320 where other references are given.

Afgan was given in marriage to Sultān Shahariyār, the youngest son of the Emperor. On this account, she had enmity with the heir-apparent, Shāh Jahān, and there was great commotion, as has been related in detail on various pages of this work.

SHER KHĀN

(Vol. II, pp. 651-654).

He was also known as Nāhir Khān Tōnwar. His ancestors were hereditary servants of the Fārūqī family of Khāndesh. His father was killed while he was yet a child. Rāja 'Ali Khān Fārūqī cherished the orphan in his early days. Later, through his innate capacity and good luck coming into play he joined Khān Jahān Lōdī. The latter extended him his patronage and trained him; in a short time he got a *mansab* in the imperial service and was appointed to Gujarāt. When a rupture took place between Emperor Jahāngīr and the Prince heir-apparent, the Deputy Governorship of Gujarāt was assigned to 'Abdullāh Khān. The latter on his behalf appointed an indifferent eunuch to defend the city of Ahmādābād. Nāhir Khān at the instigation and written requests of Mīrzā Šafī Saif Khān—who at the time was the *Dīvān* of Gujarāt—came suddenly from his fief to Ahmādābād, and with Saif Khān took possession of the city. 'Abdullāh Khān heard of it at Māndū, and hurriedly marched for giving battle. Nāhir Khān, who commanded Saif Khān's vanguard, engaged him, and through Divine aid was successful. As a reward for this signal service the Emperor granted him the rank of 3,000 with 2,500 horse and the title of Shēr Khān¹.

After Emperor Jahāngīr's death, when the royal cortege of Shāh Jahān reached the borders of Gujarāt, a petition was received from Shēr Khān expressing his loyalty and devotion, and a warning about the misguided directions of Saif Khān, the Governor of the province.

¹ *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngiri* (Rogers & Beveridge's translation), II, pp. 267, 268. His rank there is, however, given as 3,000 with 2,000 horse.

As the disloyalty of Saif Khān was already patent to all, the sincerity of the petition of Shēr Khān was accepted. Emperor Shāh Jahān granted him royal favours, and by sending him the welcome news of his appointment as the Governor¹ of Gujarāt made him a zealous servant. He was ordered to take possession of Ahmādābād, and place Saif Khān under surveillance. When the Emperor halted at Maḥmūdābād, which is some 12 *kos* distant from Ahmādābād, Shēr Khān presented himself with a force. When on the 17th Rabī' II, 1037 A.H. (16th December, 1627 A.D.) Emperor Shāh Jahān encamped at the Kākariya tank in the vicinity of the city, Shēr Khān was raised to the rank of 5,000 with 5,000 horse, and appointed Governor of Gujarāt. In the year when Shāh Jahān went to Burhānpūr to extirpate Khān Jahān Lōdī, and Khwāja Abūl Ḥasan Tarbatī was deputed to take Nāsik and Sangamnīr, it was arranged that till the arrival of Shēr Khān from Gujarāt, the Khwāja should spend the rainy season at Fort Lalang. The Khwāja halted at Dhūliya until Shēr Khān could join him. As soon as Shēr Khān arrived, he was appointed to attack Chāndaur. He plundered that territory right and left and returned with abundant booty. Thereafter, he helped the Khwāja in annexing and administering the area. In the 4th year,² 1040 A.H. (1630-31 A.D.) he died. He was a great military leader, and had a very gentle personality. He was not very liberal, but he was very indulgent to his soldiers. He paid their wages month by month. In his contingent there were no fines for absences. He was a heavy drinker, but he indulged in drinking only with the members of his household. Strange as it may seem, with all his wealth and grandeur he personally attended to the animal feeds; he used to say, "I know it is shameful, but I cannot help my nature". Of his sons, Yāsīn Khān and Shamshēr Khān rose high during their father's lifetime, but they did not survive for any length of time. The first, who had the rank of 1,500 with 1,000 horse, died in the 8th year. The name of the third son was Dilāwar Khān.

¹ *Bāds̄hāhnāma*, I, pt. i, p. 126.

² *Op. cit.*, pp. 368, 369.

SHĒR KHĀN SAIYID SHIHĀB BĀRAH

(Vol. II, pp. 667, 668).

He was the son of Saiyid 'Izzat Khān of Jahāngīr's time. In the 10th year of the reign of Emperor Shāh Jahān, he had attained the rank of 800 foot with 600 horse, and in the 13th year was granted an increase of 200. In the 19th year, he was deputed with Sultān Murād Bakhsh for the conquest of Balkh and Badakhshān, and at the time of departure was granted a dress of honour and a horse. In the 22nd year, he accompanied Sultān Muḥammad Aurangzib Bahādur on the Qandahār Campaign, and after reaching there he was sent towards Bust with Rustam Khān to assist Qulīj Khān. In the battle against the Irānians he distinguished himself by his valiant deeds. In the 23rd year, he was exalted by promotion to the rank of 1,500 foot with 600 horse. In the 25th year he was honoured by the grant of a dress of honour and a horse with a silver saddle, and again accompanied the said Prince to the same area. In the 26th year, he went on the same expedition in attendance on Sultān Dārā Shikoh. In the 27th year through promotion he was raised to the rank of 2,000 foot with 700 horse. In the 28th year he accompanied Jumlat-ul-Mulk Sa'd Ullāh Khān to destroy the fortifications of Chittor, and in the 30th year, he started with Mu'azzam Khān for the Deccan where he was sent to serve under Sultān Aurangzib Bahādur; there he rendered valuable services. In the 31st year on being summoned to the Presence, he did homage. His rank was increased to 2,500 foot with 1,200 horse, and he was granted the title of Shēr Khān¹; his heart's desire was fulfilled by his appointment as the *Faujdār* of Mandesūr. In the battle of Samūgarh he was with Dārā Shikoh, but when the latter was defeated and fled, he took service with Aurangzib². In the battle³ with Sultān Shujā⁴, he and Dhūlfiqār Khān Muḥammad Bēg were with the artillery in front of the vanguard.

¹ *Āmal Sālib*. III, p. 272.² *Ālamgīrnāma*, p. 115.³ In the battle of Khajūhā, *Ālamgīrnāma*, p. 245.

SHĒR KHĀN TARĪN

(Vol. II, pp. 654-658).

He was the *Zamīndār* of Fūshanj¹ which in Arabic is known as Pūshang; it is a village between Qandahār and Bhakkar. The ancestors of Shēr Khān were imperial servants. When his father did not get on with Shāh Bēg Khān Kābulī, who had been appointed Governor of Qandahār by Emperor Akbar, he in Emperor Jahāngīr's time went to Irān and entered the service of Shāh 'Abbas Ṣafavī. Shēr Khān was brought up in that country. When the Shāh came to Qandahār in 1031 A.H. (1622 A.D.), and conquered it, Shēr Khān was appointed Governor of Fūshanj and of the Afghān tribes. As in addition to external greatness and advantages, he was possessed of good judgement and keen knowledge, he became the head of his hereditary country and exercised supreme authority. From the Irānian and Indian travellers he levied whatever toll he chose, and also plundered them whenever he had an opportunity. After the Shāh's death he, out of presumption and turbulence, contended with 'Alī Mardān Khān Zēg, the Governor of Qandahār, and refused to acknowledge his authority. When it was repeatedly reported to Shāh Ṣafavī, the ruler of Irān, that traffic of caravans and traders was being impeded owing to Shēr Khān's molestation and oppression, he summoned him. Shēr Khān passed sometime by subterfuges and prevarications, but later thinking of a way out applied for protection to Emperor Shāh Jahān. Kashmīrī Khān—a Kashmīrī Brahman, who had embraced Islām during the time when the Emperor was a prince, and had rendered good service during the time of confusion, and had also made a good study of the people of Irān, was sent off with a gracious royal patent and a dress of honour. Shēr Khān making the season of ice and rain a pretext detained Kashmīrī Khān at Bhakkar till the Shāh (of Irān) heard of the developments; and sent Shēr Khān a second missive full

¹ Pashang in Jarrett's translation of *A'īn*, II, p. 397; it is Pishin, a town north of Quetta and S.S.E. of Qandahār.

of graciousness. In secret, he instructed 'Alī Mardān Khān to seek an opportunity for destroying Shēr Khān. The latter thought that the gentle language of the second communication from the Shāh had given him what he wanted, and so he sent back Kashmīrī Khān without gaining his object.

When in the 4th year Shēr Khān collected a force of the Afghāns of the hills, and proceeded to attack Sibī and Ganjāba in Bhakkar, 'Alī Mardān Khān found his opportunity. He made a rapid march with 4,000 horse, and in the morning came to the fort of Fūshanj. He made prisoners of Shēr Khān's family, and sent them off to Qandahār with much property which Shēr Khān had amassed through robbery. 'Alī Mardān Khān himself remained in Fūshanj. On receiving this terrible news, Shēr Khān collected the booty and the prisoners he had taken at Ganjāba, and made a rapid retreat. On the way 'Alī Mardān Khān gave him battle. Though the Irānian van-guard gave way, 'Alī Mardān Khān charged the centre. A bullet struck him on the heel. He concealed the wound and continued to charge. He heartened his men, and drove so vigorously that he defeated the enemy, and returned to Qandahār safe and laden with plunder. Shēr Khān went off to Dūki, but in spite of all his efforts he did not succeed. Becoming helpless he turned his heart from his native country, and sought an alliance with Ahmad Bēg who was the Deputy of Yamīn-ud-Daulah, the Governor of Multān. In the 5th year, 1041 A.H. (1631-32) he waited upon the Emperor and received the rank of 2,000; a fertile fief was assigned to him in the Panjab province, and a cash grant of twenty thousand rupees was also given¹. But he was always sad and restless on account of the imprisonment of his children, and separation from his family, and used to weep day and night though the Shāh treated his people with respect. As he was distinguished amongst the hillmen by his appearance, manners and understanding, his intimacy (with Emperor Shāh Jahān)

¹ The above account is based mainly on *Bādsbābnāma*, I, pt. i, pp. 419-421. On being appointed he was given a rank of 2,000 with 1,000 horse.

rose higher day by day. He also exerted himself to be loyal and faithful, and accompanied Prince Muḥammad Shujā' on the expedition to Parēnda. In the 9th year he rendered distinguished service under Saiyid Khān Jahān in the chastisement of the 'Ādil Shāhīs and the devastation of their territory. But as retribution for his evil deeds had not yet been exacted by Fate, Time put him into another trouble. It was reported to Shāh Ṣafī Ṣafavī that Shēr Khān had been appointed to conquer Qandahār, and that he was preparing to undertake this task. As he knew the country, and was the head of a tribe, and besides the Tarīn clan, the clans of the neighbourhood, such as Kākars and the Pannīs, were in accord with him, the Shāh felt anxious lest he might succeed. Out of circumspection, he sent him a letter referring to his loyalty, and suggesting his returning to serve under him and leaving India by any means possible. He sent this letter with a representation to Emperor Shāh Jahān. When the latter became aware of the letter, he deprived Shēr Khān of his rank, confiscated his fief, and forbade his departure. In the 12th year when the Emperor went to the Panjab, Shēr Khān was not allowed to accompany him, but was left under surveillance at Āgra; he was allowed one thousand rupees a month. Though he protested his innocence, and tried to clear himself, he did not succeed. For two or three years he remained shut up at Āgra, and then being attacked by a hectic fever (*madqūq*) he died in the prime of his life¹. Alas! The treacherous heavens enable many false persons to wear the dress of honesty before high and low, and destroy many true-hearted people so that they become a source of joy to their enemies. Alas! Alas! If we look back with the eye of discernment, we see that some mistakes do occur, for reward and retribution take an identical form!

Hemistich

We receive what is the reward for our deeds.

¹ According to *Bādsbāhnāma*, II, p. 332, he was restored to his earlier rank of 2,000 with 1,000 horse in 1052 A.H. He died in the 17th year of Shāh Jahān's reign, *op. cit.*, p. 728; this would be in 1054 A.H. (1644 A.D.).

SHĒRŌYA KHĀN

(Vol. II, pp. 572-573).

He was the son of Shēr Afgan son of Qūch Bēg who was an old servant of Humāyūn. When the Afghāns defeated the imperial forces, and the time was pressing, the Emperor appointed Qūch Bēg and others to look after Miriam Makānī. He¹ sacrificed his life at the door of the female quarters. When Emperor Humāyūn went to Irān, Shēr Afgan remained with Mīrzā Kāmrān at Kābul, but when Humāyūn returned, Shēr Afgan, as he could not trust Mīrzā Kāmrān, came to Humāyūn, and was appointed² Governor of Qilāt. Later Kāhmurd, Duhāk and Bāmiān were made his fief. But when Mīrzā Kāmrān became predominant in Kābul, he behaved deceitfully and joined him³. On the day of the battle with Kāmrān, he was taken prisoner and executed⁴. His son Shērōya entered Emperor Akbar's service, and at first as an auxiliary of Muntīm Khān was employed in Bengāl. In the battle with Dāūd Afghān, which took place on the border of Orīssa, he distinguished himself. Later in the 26th year he accompanied Prince Sūltān Murād to Kābul. Later he was deputed to Gujārāt with Mīrzā Khān Khānān, and in the 30th year he accompanied Khān Ā'zam Kōka on the Deccan campaign. In the 32nd year he was deputed with Matlab Khān to chastise the Tārikīs, and in the 39th year he was granted the title of Khān, and appointed Governor of Ajmēr. He held the rank of 1,000⁵.

¹ Qūch Bēg was killed at Chausa, see *Akbarnāma*, Text, I, p. 159; Beveridge's translation, I, p. 343.

² *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 241; translation, p. 475.

³ *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 259; translation, p. 502.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 261; translation, p. 506.

⁵ For Shērōya Khān's account see also Blochmann's translation of *Ā'in*, I (2nd edn.), pp. 505, 506. The grant of the title of Khān to him is recorded in *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 650; Beveridge's translation, III, p. 1000.

SHIHĀB-UD-DĪN AHMAD KHĀN¹

(Vol. II, pp. 567-570).

He was a Saiyid of Nīshāpūr, and was distinguished by the valuable services he rendered and the great influence he wielded in the state affairs. In the 1st year of Emperor Akbar's reign he was the Governor of Delhī. On 20th Jummādā², II, 967 A.H. (18th March, 1560 A.D.) in the 5th year of the reign of Emperor Akbar he left Bairām Khān at Āgra for the management of affairs, and himself went off for hunting. After he had reached Sikandarābād, Māham Anaga taking advantage of the illness of Miryam Makānī—who was in Delhī—induced the Emperor to come to Delhī to enquire after her health. The Emperor's mind was disturbed. When Shihāb-ud-Dīn Ahmad Khān—who was the son-in-law³ and confederate of Māham Anaga—came out to meet him, he represented that as this visit of the Emperor would be without the approval of the Khān Khānān, its only result for the men in attendance would be danger to life and loss of honour. They, therefore, prayed that these humble servants might be permitted to go to the holy places (Mecca) and pray (for the Emperor). The Emperor sent a messenger to the Khān Khānān to say that he had gone to Delhī of his own accord, no other person had anything to do with it and that the Khān Khānān should send the people (the supposed instigators) a letter of assurance. When the

¹ See also Blochmann's translation of *A'in*, I (2nd edn.), pp. 352, 353 for an account of his life. There it is also noted that during his period of governorship of Delhī he repaired the old canal of Fūz Shāh and called it *Nahr-i-Shihāb*, for a detailed history see *Āthār-us-Sanādīd*, pt. iii, pp. 3, 4 (Lucknow edn. 1900).

² *Akbarnāma*, Text, II, p. 94, Beveridge's translation, II, p. 141; see also V. Smith, *Akbar The Great Mogul*, pp. 44, 450 (2nd edn. 1919).

³ See *Tārikh-Firishta*, I, p. 248 (Newal Kishore edn. 1874), and *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, Text, II, pp. 145, 146 (De's edition) and De's translation, II, pp. 237, 238 and footnotes 2, 3 in which the translator directs attention to the variation in these accounts from the narrative in *Akbarnāma*, Text, II, pp. 94-97, Beveridge's translation, II, pp. 141-146.

conspirators found the opportunity of speaking to the Emperor, and the field became clear for Māham Anaga and Shihāb-ud-Dīn Ahmad Khān, they made open declarations to all that the Emperor had become alienated from Bairām Khān.

Verse¹

Whenever rivals are regarded with favour,
We will speak to him, for words then have weight.

Bairām Khān was bewildered at receiving the Emperor's message, and sent Hājī Muhammad Khān Sīstānī and Khwāja Jahān to tender his apologies. By that time, however, things had gone so far that no one listened to their excuses. The Chaghātāi officers had been waiting for such a day and from all sides they flocked around the Emperor. Shihāb-ud-Dīn Ahmad Khān was placed in-charge of administrative and financial affairs subject to the control of Māham Anaga; and for somedays he carried on the work of the administration.

In the 12th year² when the Emperor went to Chittōr, Shihāb-ud-Dīn Ahmad Khān was sent from the fort of Gāgrūn to govern Mālwa, and to chastise the rebellious Mīrzās who had laid hold of that territory. These ungrateful persons losing heart without fighting retired to Gujarāt. In the 13th year he was summoned to the Court, and as Muzaffar Khān, the Chief Dīwān, could not, owing to the multifarious nature of the administrative and financial affairs, look after the *Khālsā* property, the latter was assigned to Shihāb-ud-Dīn Ahmad Khān. He as a result of a careful study and experience fixed

¹ The verse is quoted in *Firishta op. cit.*, and in *Maāthir*, Text, I, p. 377 (in Bairām Khān's biography); see also Beveridge's translation, I, p. 373 and footnote. The word here is *badinsān* in place of *badishān*. I have translated the verse differently from Beveridge.

² In *Akbarnāma*, Text, II, p. 271, translation, II, p. 403 this is recorded in the 11th year; but apparently the author of *Maāthir* has based his account on *Tabaqāt*, Text, II, p. 215, De's translation, II, p. 342.

a suitable rate and made a proper settlement¹. In the 21st year he was promoted to the rank of 5,000, and appointed Commander-in-Chief (*Sipāh sālār*) of Mālwa². In the 22nd year when it was found that Wazīr Khān had mismanaged the affairs of Gujārāt, the governorship³ of that province was transferred to his charge. In the 28th year when I'timād Khān reached Gujārāt to relieve him, Shihāb-ud-Dīn Ahmad Khān started from Ahmadābād to return to the Court. His disloyal servants created a disturbance, and inviting Sultān Muṣaffar—who was living under the protection of the Kāthiās—made him the head and leader of the rebellion. Shihāb-ud-Dīn Ahmad Khān exerted himself to put down the disturbance, and marched against them. Before any battle took place, the remainder of his servants deserted and joined the enemy, and in the resulting confusion one of his servants wounded him. Some of his faithful followers, however, put him on a horse and carried him to Pattan from that disturbed area⁴. He was disgracefully defeated, and the honour of the people was ruined. The enemy took possession of the entire country, and he was about to run away from Pattan and go to Jālaur. Men, however, collected and at the recommendation of I'timād Khān an army was sent against Shēr Khān Fūlādī—who was the cause of disturbance in that area—and he was defeated. Meanwhile 'Abdur Raḥīm Mīrzā Khān arrived from the Court, and drove off Sultān Muṣaffar. He made the assignment of *Sarkār* Broach to Shihāb-ud-Dīn Ahmad Khān, and appointed him to assist Qulij Khān, who had been deputed with the Mālwa army to retake the fort of Broach from the officers of Sultān Muṣaffar. In the 29th year he got them into his power, and set about settling the country. In the 34th year he was reappointed⁵ Governor of Mālwa in place of Ā'zam Khān Khōka.

¹ *Akkarnāma*, Text, II, p. 333, translation, II, p. 488.

² *Op. cit.*, Text, III, p. 170, Beveridge's translation, III, p. 242.

³ *Op. cit.*, Text, III, p. 217, translation, III, p. 306.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, Text, III, pp. 409-412, translation, III, pp. 607-611.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, Text, III, pp. 571, 572, translation, III, p. 865. Some of his appointments during the intervening period are not mentioned in *Maāthir*.

There he died in 999 A.H. (1591 A.D.). He¹ was unique of the age for developing agriculture and cherishing the peasantry¹. His wife was Bābā Āghā, who was related to Miryam Makānī. Having lived nobly she died² in the 42nd year 1005 A.H. (1596-97 A.D.).

SHIR KHWAJA

(Vol. II, pp. 648-650).

He was one of the Saiyids of Itāwa (Etāwah). On his mother's side he was a Naqshbandī³, and had the name of Bādshāh Khwāja. As a reward for his brave⁴ deeds Emperor Akbar gave him the name of Shīr Khwāja. In the 30th year he was deputed with Sa'īd Khān Chaghṭā for the uprooting of the Yūsufzais⁵. Later he was sent with Prince Sultān Murād to the Deccan campaign. In the 40th year he was sent⁶ with some other officers towards Pattan by the prince and rendered good service in the battle with Ikhlaṣ Khān. In the 41st year when the imperial armies fought a battle with the Deccanīs, and in which Rājā 'Ali Khān, the ruler of Khāndesh was killed, he commanded the flank of the right wing, and performed great deeds⁷. Later with Shaikh Abūl Faḍl he rendered good and valuable services in the Deccan. In the battle which took place near Bīr, he attacked the enemy and defeated them, and himself being wounded retired to the

¹ *Op. cit.*, Text, III, p. 594, translation, III, p. 885.

² *Op. cit.*, Text, III, p. 716, translation, III, p. 1066, and note 2 where it is suggested that her correct name probably was Mainā Aghā.

³ According to Blochmann "Naqshband was the epithet of the renowned Saint Khwāja Bahā-ud-Dīn of Bukhārā," translation of *A'in*, I (2nd edn.), p. 466, note 2 also see Jarrett's translation of *A'in*, III, pp. 358-360.

⁴ Apparently the reference is to his good work in the Campaign against Mīrzā Hakim in the Panjab, see *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 346; Beveridge's translation, III, p. 508.

⁵ *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 476; translation, III, p. 718.

⁶ *Op. cit.*, Text, III, p. 700; translation, III, p. 1047.

⁷ *Op. cit.*, Text, pp. 718, 719; translation, p. 1070.

village of Bīr. When the Deccanīs came in great force and besieged the town, he and his men, for want of food, were in a difficult situation; for a time they subsisted on horse flesh. As owing to the river Gōdāvarī being in flood there was no hope of a relieving army reaching the area, he determined to sally forth and be killed. Meanwhile Shaikh Abūl Faḍl hearing of it, arrived with a large force. The besiegers gave up the siege and withdrew. After an interview the Shaikh wanted to leave his son 'Abdur Rahmān in the *thāna* of Bīr, but the Khwāja did not agree, and himself remained in charge¹. In the 46th year, he was honoured with the grant of a flag and a drum². After the death of Emperor Akbar he was sent a dress of honour by Emperor Jahāngīr. The date of his coming to the Presence is not known. In the disturbance on the bank of the Jhelum river when Mahābat Khān behaved with great presumption, he was in attendance on Emperor Jahāngīr. After the death of the said Emperor he took part with Āṣaf Jāh in the battle with Shahariyār. In the 1st year of the reign of Emperor Shāh Jahān he waited on him, and his rank of 4,000 with 1,000 horse was confirmed. He was granted the title of Khwāja Bāqī Khān, and on being appointed Governor of Tatta (Sind) was allowed to depart to that province⁴. He, however, died on the way⁵ in the year 1037 A.H. (1628 A.D.). His son Khwāja Hāshim attained the rank of 500 with 100 horse.

SHUJĀ'AT KHĀN

(Vol. II, pp. 557-560).

His *alias* was Muqīm Khān 'Arab. He was the sister's son and son-in-law of Tardī Bēg Khān⁶. Through Emperor Humāyūn's favour he was granted the title of Muqīm Khān, and became a man of posi-

¹ *Op. cit.*, Text, pp. 759-761; translation, pp. 1135-1138.

² *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 786; translation, p. 1177.

³ *Bādsbābnāma*, I, pt. i, p. 73.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 181.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 200.

⁶ *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, I, pp. 466-471.

tion. During the times of confusion, he joined Mīrzā 'Askarī, and when Humāyūn returned from Irān, he was shut up with the Mīrzā in the Qandahār fort, and was responsible for defending and guarding the fort. When the Mīrzā obtained quarter and came out of the fort, many of the faithless officers were brought before Humāyūn with their swords and quivers thrown round their necks. Out of the Muqīm Khān and Shāh Sistān had fetters put on their feet and boards round their necks, and for sometime they were kept in confinement¹. When Humāyūn started to conquer India, Muqīm Khān was left at Kābul with Mun'im Khān. When during Emperor Akbar's reign, after the downfall of Bairām Khān, Mun'im Khān was summoned to the Presence, Muqīm Khān also accompanied him² to India, and was favoured by the grant of an increase in his rank. In the 9th year during the Mālwā campaign, when 'Abdullah Khān Üzbeg, the Governor of Māndū became insubordinate and wished to create a disturbance, he rendered good service, and was rewarded with the title of Shujā'at³ Khān. In the beginning of the 15th year he invited the Emperor to a banquet⁴. Emperor Akbar accepted the invitation and spent a day and night in enjoyment at his house. He arranged a pleasant feast, and gave a successful entertainment. In the 18th year, when Ahmadābād was glorified by Emperor Akbar's nine days' expedition, Shujā'at Khān at the royal feast made some satirical remarks about Mun'im Khān Khānān, the Commander-in-Chief, who had been deputed for the settlement of the Eastern Provinces. Emperor Akbar in view of the dual offence, firstly that he did not respect the Presence, and secondly that he had neglected the rules (*Tōrah-i-Saltanat*) by behaving improperly towards the Commander-in-Chief, rebuked him—which noble minds regard as more wounding than a sword blow—and sent him to Khān Khānān so that he might deal

¹ *Akbarnāma*, Text, I, p. 236; Beveridge's translation, I, p. 467.

² *Akbarnāma*, Text, II, p. 114; Beveridge's translation, II, p. 174.

³ *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 229; translation, pp. 350, 351.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 352; translation, p. 513.

with him as he might think right; either pardon or punish him¹. Khān Khānān offered his thanks for this gracious act, and treated Shujā'at Khān with honour and regard, and requested that he might be pardoned. This request was granted, and Shujā'at Khān was sent² for. In the 22nd year, he was raised to the rank of 3,000, and appointed Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Mālwa. In the 25th year, 988 A.H. (1580 A.D.) when some wicked officers in Bengāl and Bihār created a commotion, he, in compliance of royal summons proceeded one stage from Sārangpūr. Iwād Bēg Barlās with a number of his retainers was annoyed at his severity and his ungracious conduct, in that he without cause withheld the pay of the soldiers, and when reprimanding used abusive language—and disregarding loyalty and faithfulness lay in wait with evil intentions. At the time of marching, when most men had left with the leader's family and goods, and others were hurrying for the march, one Hājī Shihāb was made their leader, and a tumult was started. Qawīm Khān, his son, was killed while he was enquiring into the matter, and Shujā'at Khān coming out of the tent began to investigate. When he saw that he himself was the target, he hurriedly tried to retreat into the tent. At this moment a number of the ingrates inflicted several wounds on him. A little life remained in him, and so his faithful followers placed him in a haudah and took him to Sārangpūr. They used such tact and adroitness in journeying to the place that many thought he was alive, and several on this account accompanied him. In a short time they reached the fort, and after reaching the fort in that city gave out that he had been saved, and so beat the drum of rejoicing. By this clever manoeuvre the dust of turbulence which had risen high, was laid low, and all the evil minded retired. Strange to say, many thinking the business finished had gone off quickly. When they heard that he was alive, they took courage and applied themselves to the

¹ Akbarnāma, Text, III, pp. 63, 64; Beveridge's translation, III, p. 89. The words in Akbarnāma are تورہ این دراس سلطانیہ in place of سلطانیہ تورہ.

² Op. cit., Text, p. 85; translation, p. 120.

protection of his family and goods, and conveyed them to a place of safety from that dangerous spot. The Emperor in consideration of the long service of the deceased begged forgiveness of his sins from Heaven, and had the evil-doers arrested¹. They received various punishments, and became a warning for mortals. His second son was Muqīm Khān whose account² is recorded in the notice of the Tarbiyat Khān 'Abdur Rahīm.

SHUJĀ'AT KHĀN BAHĀDŪR

(Vol. II, pp. 708-711).

His name was Muḥammad Shāh, and he was one of the Fārūqī Shaikhzādas. His lineage could be traced to Shaikh Farīd-ud-Dīn Shakarganj³. His home was at Jaunpūr in the Allāhābād province. His grandfather's name was Ghulām Muḥammad Khān, who during the reign of Emperor Shāh Jahān was appointed to a rank, granted the title of Khān, and served as the *Faujdār* of Hājipūr in the province of Bihār. In the battle against Shujā', he was killed in attendance on Emperor Aurangzīb. His father Shaikh 'Abdul Karīm Khān was granted a *mansab*, and first was *Faujdār* of Mathurā and later of Gwālior. After that he was *Faujdār* of Karrā Mānikpūr in Allāhābād, and was killed in a battle with the Rājpūt of that area. During the time while the Emperor was residing at Galgōlda in the Deccan, Muhammād Shah, was honoured by appointment to the rank of 400, the post of the *Bakhshī* and Superintendent of the Court of the port of Sūrat and a fief in that territory. He was at one time *Faujdār* of Niyāpūra, Datia, in the *Sarkār* of Sūrat, and for a time *Ta'lūqdār* of Bairāmgāon, and also for a time *Faujdār* of Sūrat,

¹ The account is taken almost verbatim from *Akbarnāma*, *op.cit.*, Text, p. 313; translation, pp. 458-459.

² *Māthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, I, pp. 483, 484.

³ *Akbarnāma*, Text, II, p. 359; Beveridge's translation, II, pp. 520-522; Jarrett's translation of *Āin*, III, pp. 363, 364.

Gujarāt. His rank was raised to 700, and was given the title of Shāh 'Alī Khān. In the time of Jahāndār Shāh, he was deprived of his rank and fief owing to his having joined Muhammād Farrukh Siyar. In the 1st year of Emperor Muhammād Farrukh Siyar his rank was restored, and he was appointed *Faujdār* of Mandesūr, Mālwa. In the 2nd year of Emperor Muhammād Shāh, when Nizām-ul-Mulk Āṣaf Jāh started from Mālwa for the Deccan, he showed him favour, and took him and his younger brother Nūr Ullāh with him. He was appointed Superintendent of the Artillery and his brother Superintendent of the Artificers (*Aḥshām*). He distinguished himself in the battles with Saiyids Dilāwar 'Alī Khān and 'Ālam 'Alī Khān. In the last battle, when the position became critical, he dismounted like the devoted heroes, and fought with determination. Shaikh Nūr Ullāh was killed in that battle, and Shaikh Muhammād Shāh was wounded¹, and disabled. After this he received the rank of 3,000 with 2,000 horse, the gifts of a flag and drums, and the title of Shujā'at Khān. He obtained *Pargana* Bir, and some villages of Fathābād Dhārwār in the province of Aurangābād, the *Havelī* of Pāthrī in Berār, and the *Sarkār* Bijāgarh Kharkūn in Khāndesh. When Bir and other estates were included in the fief of Rāja Sultānjī, Shujā'at Khān was given a fief in Bālāpur and other estates in Berār. Gradually he rose to the rank of a *mansabādār* of 5,000, and had the title of Bahādūr. After the death of 'Add-ud-Daulah in 1143 A.H. (1730-31 A.D.) he was appointed Deputy Governor of Berār. He was skilled in the affairs of collections. The *mukāsadārs* of the Marathas were afraid of him, but when he imprisoned his *Dīvān*, the latter stirred them up against him. Raghūjī Bhōnsle collected a force and marched to Elichpūr.

It is said that Shujā'at Khān always kept the *Dīvān* of Hāfiẓ before him, and used to take omens from it in emergencies. This time the *fāl*² was:

1 Yusuf Husain Khan, *Nizāmu'l-Mulk Asaf Jāh*, I, pp. 130, 132.

2 Omen.

Hemistich

O pigeon be alert, for the hawk has come.

He resolved to leave the city and march against the enemy so the meaning of the line might apply to him. The battle took place some four *kos* from the city, and he was wounded after a stiff fight, and taken prisoner. Of these wounds, he died in 1150 A.H. (1737-38 A.D.). He used to spend a great deal on food. Every day he would send dishes to each set of *Jam'adārs*. In addition, he had arranged for the supply of food for both main meals, in accordance with the customary dietary of the men of the east, that is of the country east of Shāhjahānābād, to some two hundred of his compatriots who were with him. His sons were Ghulām Muhiyy-ud-Dīn Shujā'at Khān—who is known as Sarwar Jang—Ashraf Khān, Ā'zam Khān and Mu'ażẓam Khān. They had a small *Jāgīr* in *Pargana Bir*, and were in service.

(SAIYID) SHUJĀ'AT KHĀN BAHĀDUR BHAKKĀRĪ

(Vol. II, pp. 460, 461).

He was the son of Saiyid Luṭf 'Alī of Bhakkar, who in the 8th year of Emperor Shāh Jahān's reign, was the *Faujdār*¹ of the Miyan Dūāb, and in the 16th year of the reign was appointed Governor² of Kāngra. In the 27th year, on the score of age he was excused from service, and was granted four lacs of *dams* from the *Pargana* of Farīdābād. Afterwards Saiyid Shujā'at was given the rank of 1,000 with 500 horse, and when the kingdom was adorned by Aurangzib ascending the throne, he took up service under him. He was in attendance on the royal stirrups in the battle against Muḥammad Shujā', and the second battle with Dārā Shikoh. In the 2nd year of the reign, he was exalted by the title of Shujā'at Khān. Later his

¹ His transfer from the post of the *Faujdār* in the 8th year is recorded in *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. ii, p. 101.

² *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p. 335.

ambitions were fulfilled by his appointment as the *Qil'adār* of Chānda in succession to Khwwāṣ Khān¹. It has not been possible to trace his later history.

(SAIYID) SHUJĀ'AT KHĀN BĀRAH

(Vol. II. pp. 423-427).

His name was Saiyid Ja'far, and he was the son of Sa'yid Jahāngīr, son of Saiyid Maḥmūd Khān² Bārah, the leader of the Saiyids of Bārah in Emperor Akbar's time. He was acknowledged as one of the great nobles. Saiyid Ja'far entered the service of the heir-apparent Shāh Jahān, and through his courage and valour gained a close position of association and trust. But in the battle on the Tōns near Benāres, when the heir-apparent was signally defeated by Sultān Parvīz and Mahābat Khān, and he retired towards Bengāl, and as it was so decreed that the prince should under the shadow of this mortification pass some time in the wilderness of disappointment, many of his followers losing courage would not exert themselves. Saiyid Ja'far, who commanded the advance guard of the centre, fled without fighting. When the prince proceeded from Nāsik to Tatta, and it was rumoured that he, at the instance of Shāh 'Abbās Ṣafāvī, proposed to go to Irān, some of his followers left him. Among those, Saiyid Ja'far asked for leave to go home, and withdrew from service and the boon of companionship. After reaching his home, he was summoned to the Presence by Emperor Jahāngīr, and given the rank of 1,000. Shāh Jahān, however, who did not proceed to Irān, was greatly displeased with the Saiyid. After his accession he did not show any graciousness to him, and so returning home he went into retirement. In the 5th year, the Emperor out of regard for his earlier service and passing over his offences, appointed him to the

¹ This is apparently incorrect, as it was Shujā' Khān and not Shujā'at Khān Bahādur who was appointed *Qil'adār* of Chānda in the 2nd year in succession to Khwwāṣ Khān, see 'Alamgīrīma, p. 418.

² *Maāthir-ul-Umara*, Text, II, pp. 375-377; translation *antea*, pp. 35-38.

rank of 4,000 foot with 2,000 horse, and gave him the title¹ of Shujā'at Khān. In the 6th year, he was ordered to accompany Prince Muḥammad Shujā' to the siege of Parēnda. When that campaign dragged on, and due to the haughtiness of the Commander-in-Chief, Mahābat Khān leading officers, such as Khān Daurān Bahādur and Saiyid Khān Jahān, did not apply themselves to work and did not wish the affair to end; the approach of rains rendered inevitable many inflictions. The taking of the fort was bound to be a long business and all the officers counselled the prince to retire. It was decided that a council of war should be held, but on account of the crabbedness and foul-mouthed nature of Mahābat Khān, no one dared to take the lead. Shujā'at Khān took the initiative, and in the presence of the prince said to the Commander-in-Chief, "If you talk foolishly, you will be killed. The fact of the matter is that this year this expedition cannot be terminated. In spending the rainy season in this neighbourhood, the imperial army will have to face famine and scarcity. We can give it to you in writing. If you will put down in writing the date of finishing this business (i.e. the date of taking the fort), we will stand by you till it comes even to subsisting on carrion." Though Mahābat Khān wished to demonstrate the advantages of staying on, the prince ordered that the drums of retreat be beaten. Mahābat Khān lost his self-control, and said to the prince, "This victory was in your Highness's name (was certain). At the words of these men you are throwing away the winning card for no reason." From what is recorded in the *Bādshāhnāma* and its abridgment, it is evident that the Commander-in-Chief in the Parēnda campaign had made such arrangements about supplies of the grain that there could not be any distress in the army on that account, but there was no wood or forage within twenty *kos*. The rains came on, and so Mahābat Khān himself did not think it advisable to stay, and retreat was decided upon².

¹ *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. i, pp. 439, 440, where an account of Saiyid Ja'far is given.

² For the Parēnda campaign see *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. ii, pp. 33-46; *Khāfi*

As the prince had been ordered not to go contrary to the advice of the Khān Khānān, he came after six months with Khān Khānān to Burhānpūr in the end of Shawwāl of the 7th year. Emperor Shāh Jahān censured Mahābat Khān because he had brought back the prince without taking the fort, and because it was owing to his disagreement with his comrades that the expedition had not succeeded. In the 10th year Shujā'at Khān was appointed Governor of Allāhābād. As that province is turbulent and requires a force to manage it, 2,000 horse were added to his rank, and 2,500 of his horse were made 2-horse, 3-horse; it was hoped that with this force the affairs of that province would be properly attended to. In the 16th year, *Parganas* Irīj, Bhāndēr, etc. were taken from 'Abdullāh Khān Firūz Jang, who had been appointed Governor of Allāhābād, and given in fief to Shujā'at Khān¹. He laboured hard to settle the province, and to chastise the Bundēlas. In *Pargana* Irīj he fell ill through excessive drinking and died in 1052² A.H. (1642 A.D.). It is stated that Shujā'at Khān was an eloquent speaker, and of a noble nature. He also was well versed in sciences. In his manners and movements he imitated princes. He was most liberal. Though Emperor Shāh Jahān was very gracious to him, he never gave up the exclusiveness and hauteur of a Saiyid. He used to speak freely and boldly. Consequently Emperor Shāh Jahān took a dislike to him, and always favoured Saiyid Khān Jahān. This proved too much for Shujā'at Khān, and so he was always abusing Khān Jahān. One day, the Emperor asked him, "Where does your lineage meet that of Saiyid Khān Jahān?" He replied, "Just as Dhaurī Khāl of Āgra meets the Jumnā." His son was Saiyid Mużaffar³, who by the 30th year of

Khān, I, pp. 495-500. From these accounts it appears that Mahābat Khān eventually decided upon the retreat, but this was on account of the treachery of his followers, see also *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text. III, p. 500. Also see Banarsi Prasad Saksena, *History of Shahjahan*, pp. 160-162.

¹ *Bādsbāhnāma*, II, p. 307.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 319.

³ In the 9th year he was given the rank of 1,000 with 500 horse, *op. cit.*, p. 43¹.

Shāh Jahān's reign had reached the rank of 1,500 with 800 horse, and received the title of Himmat Khān. His second son Saiyid Najābat had the rank of 1,000 with 500 horse.

SHUJĀ'AT KHĀN MUḤAMMAD BĒG TURKAMĀN
(Vol. II, pp. 706-708).

He was one of the auxiliaries employed in the Gujarāt *Sūba*. As he worked for harmony with Sultān Murād Bakhhsh, when the latter was the Governor of that province, he gained influence through his personal acquaintance with the prince. That prince following a hint from his brother, Sultān Muḥammad Aurangzib Bahādur, left that province, and moving over to Mālwa joined his brother. After the battle with Maharāja Jasvant Singh and the first engagement with Dārā Shikōh, when Prince Murād through the subtleties of the changing fortune was imprisoned, Muḥammad Bēg hastened to the province of his appointment. In the 2nd year of Emperor Aurangzib's reign when Dārā Shikōh after reaching Gujarāt collected a force, he granted Muḥammad Bēg the title¹ of Qizilbāsh Khān and took him with him. After Dārā Shikōh's flight he took up service under Emperor Aurangzib, and received a dress of honour, and was appointed as before² to the Ahmādābād *Sūba*. He lived there a long time. As the Emperor was impressed with his zeal, he was in time granted the title of Kārtalab Khān, and appointed Superintendent of the port of Sūrat. In the 26th year, he was removed from this post, and appointed *Faujdār* of Ahmādābād.³ After that he was promoted to the post of Governor of Ahmādābād and granted the title of Shujā'at Khān. In the 40th year he had risen⁴ to the rank of 4,000 with 4,000 horse, and in the 45th year⁵ corresponding to 1212 A.H.

1 'Ālamgīrnāma, p. 326,

2 *Op. cit.*, p. 343.

3 *Maātbir-i-Ālamgīrī*, p. 247.

4 *Op. cit.*, p. 383.

5 On the 20th of Muḥarram or 25th July, 1700. The account of his character in the *Maātbir* is taken from the same source, p. 441.

(1700 A.D.) he died. He was possessed of many excellent qualities. He was also fortunate, and through his good fortune rose from a low to a high rank. The Emperor was so well impressed by his honesty, straight-forwardness, military talent and administrative ability, that he never suffered any reverse. As he had no son, he adopted a farmer's son as his own. Out of regard for his father he received a high rank and the title of Nazar 'Ali Khān. After his father's death, he fought a badly arranged battle with the Marathas. In this he was defeated and lost all his possessions. Shujā'at Khān's daughter was married to Ma'sūm Bēg son of Kāzim Bēg, who in the time of Haidar Quli Khān was the Deputy Governor of Ahmadābād, and received the title of Shujā'at Khān. His (Ma'sūm Bēg's) second brother was Rustam 'Ali, who was appointed Superintendent of the port of Sūrat. His third brother had the title of Ibrāhīm Quli Khān. All three of them were killed during the Governorship of Mu'izz-ud-Daulah Hāmid Khān Bahādur.

SHUJĀ'AT KHĀN RA'ADANDĀZ BĒG

(Vol. II, pp. 679-681).

He was an officer during the reign of Emperor Aurangzib. In the beginning of the reign, he was appointed to a suitable rank, and honoured with the grant of the title of Khān, and during the 1st year, when the Emperor wanted to fight against Sultān Shujā', he was appointed¹ as the *Qil'adār* of the Āgra fort in succession to Dhūliqār Khān. After sometime he was removed, and in the second battle against Dārā Shikoh, he was attached to the skirmishing forces. Later, he was appointed *Bakshī* of the *Ahadis*². In the 3rd year, he was removed from that office, and went off with Kanwar Rām Singh for destroying the fort of the *Zamīndār* of Srīnagar (Garhwāl). In the 4th year, he was gratified by being appointed³ as *Faujdār* of

1. *'Alamgīrnāma*, p. 234.

2. *Op. cit.*, p. 336.

3. *Op. cit.*, p. 625.

the Dūāb in succession to 'Āqil Khān. In the 6th year he was the *Faujdār* of the Āgra district in place of *Himmat Khān*, and in the 7th year, on the death of I'tibār Khān, he was appointed *Qil'adār*¹ of the Capital, and his rank was raised to 2,000 foot with 1,500 horse. In the 9th year, he was made Master of the Horse and *Mir Tūzuk* in place of *Multafat Khān*. In the 10th year, he was appointed Superintendent of the Artillery in the room of *Fidāī Khān*. In the 12th year he was sent after the grant of a horse with golden trappings to root out the rebels in the neighbourhood of the capital. In the 13th year he was ordered to accompany *Fidāī Khān*. In the 15th year, when the outbreak of the Satnāmīs in the neighbourhood of Mēwāt was reported, he was sent² with a good force and essential equipment to put them down.

The Satnāmīs were men who had gathered together from among the lower classes and from the craftsmen. In the year in question, they created a disturbance in the neighbourhood of Nārnaul, and plundered the towns and *Parganas*. It is stated that they believed themselves to be immortal. After the arrival of Ra'adandāz Khān in that district they began to fight; following a hard fighting many were killed, while those who took to flight were slain in pursuit. The Khān after his return to Court received approbation and the title of Shujā'at Khān, and his rank was increased to 3,500 with 2,000 horse.³ In the 16th year, his rank became 4,000 with 2,500 horse, and he was presented a dress of honour, a turban ornament of jade, and an Arabian horse with golden trappings. He was also deputed to Kābul to put down the turbulent Afghāns⁴. In the 17th year, when he got his army ready for crossing the river by a ferry, and designed to proceed by the Kharya Pass, the Afghāns, who were lying in

1 *Maathir-i-'Alamgiri*, p. 50.

2 *Op. cit.*, p. 115.

3 The account of the Satnāmīs is taken from *Maathir-i-'Alamgiri*, pp. 114-116. The grant of the title of Shujā'at Khān and promotion in the rank of Ra'adandāz Khān is recorded on p. 116.

4 *Op. cit.*, p. 129.

ambush, blocked his path. Though a severe engagement took place, and great efforts were made, he in the year 1084 A. H. (1674 A.D.) presented his life (was killed) in the service¹ of his master.

SHUJĀ'AT KHĀN SALĀM ULLĀH 'ARAB

(Vol. II, pp. 641, 642).

He was the brother's son of Mubārak 'Arab. In the 4th year of Emperor Jahāngīr's reign, he was appointed to the rank of 400 with 200 horse², and deputed to the Deccan³ under Khān Jahān Lōdī. In the 10th year, through promotion his rank was advanced to 500 with 200 horse⁴, and in the 11th year, he was given the title⁵ of Shujā'at Khān. He had a *Jāgīr*⁶ in Gujārāt, and lived there till he died. Rahmān Ullāh, his son, obtained during the time of Emperor Shāh Jahān the rank of 700 with 400 horse, and in the third year he bravely sacrificed⁷ his life in the battle against Khān Jahān Lōdī.

SHUJĀ'AT KHĀN SHĀDĪ BĒG

(Vol. II, pp. 662-664).

He was the son of Jānish Bahādur, whose account⁸ has been included in its proper place. He, in the 7th year of Emperor Shāh

1 *Op. cit.*, p. 131. The name of the pass is given as Khunpa in this work.

2 *Tuzuk-i-Jahāngīr* (Rogers & Beveridge's translation), I, p. 158 and note 3.

3 *Op. cit.*, p. 162.

4 There is some confusion here, for according to the *Tuzuk*, *op. cit.*, p. 285 he was given an increase of 200 horse, which resulted in his rank becoming 1,500 personal, and 1,000 horse. Not long afterwards his rank was increased to 2,000 personal, and 1,100 horse, p. 297.

5 *Op. cit.*, p. 320; note 1, where it is stated that he joined the *Halqa-bā-gōshān* by boring his ears in imitation of *Jahāngīr*.

6 In the 12th year, *op. cit.*, p. 397. 7 *Bādsbāhnāma*, I, pt. i, p. 305.

8 *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, I, pp. 511, 512, Beveridge & Prashad's translation, I, pp. 748, 749.

Jahān's reign was raised to the rank¹ of 1,000 with 800 horse, and received the title² of Shādī Khān. In the 12th year he was given a dress of honour, a turban ornament, a decorated dagger, a sword with ornamented golden scabbard, and a horse with silver saddle, and was sent off to Balkh with the reply to Nadhr Muḥammad Khān's letter and presents to the value of a lakh of rupees³. In the 14th year he returned, and waited on the Emperor when he returned from Kashmīr to Lāhōre, and presented twenty seven⁴ horses. The Emperor treated him with favour, and raised his rank to 1,500 with 1,200 horse, and appointed him to Bhakkar in succession to Shāh Qulī Khān; he was also given a horse⁵. Later when the news of the death of Ghairat Khān, the Governor of Tatta was received, he received a dress of honour, a sword and an increase of 500 foot with 500 horse, and was appointed Governor of that province⁶ (Sind). In the 15th year, the number of his horse was increased by 300, and thereby his personal rank and the number of his horse was equalized. In the 19th year, he accompanied Prince Murād Baksh on his expedition to take Balkh, and Badakhshān, and when the prince took a dislike to the country and returned, and Jumlat-ul-Mulk Sa'd Ullāh Khān was deputed for arrangement of the affairs of the territory, Shujā'at Khān was appointed to govern Maimna⁷. In the 21st year he was favoured with the grant of a dress of honour, and a horse with a golden saddle, and appointed Governor of Kābul in succession to Siv Rām Gaur. It was also ordered that till his arrival there, Multafat Khān should act as his representative⁸. In the 22nd year, he went to Qandahār in attendance on Prince Muḥammad Aurangzib Bahādur, and had the command of the scouts. On arrival there, he was sent with Qulij Khān to take Bust, and received the rank of 2,500 foot with 2,000 horse. In the battle with the Qizilbāshs, which was fought by Rustam

1 *Bādsbāhnāma*, I, pt. ii, p. 13.

2 *Op. cit.*, p. 60.

3 See *Bādsbāhnāma*, II, p. 157, but his name there is Shād Khān.

4 *Op. cit.*, p. 214.

5 *Op. cit.*, p. 220.

6 *Op. cit.*, p. 225.

7 *Op. cit.*, p. 664.

8 *'Amal Ṣālib*, III, p. 3.

Khān and Qulij Khān, he stood firm, and his son Muḥammad Sa'īd was slain. In the 23rd year his rank was raised to 3,000 foot with 2,500 horse, and he was honoured by the grant of a flag and drum¹. In the 25th year he went to Qandahār a second time with the said prince. During the time when the royal cortege arrived at Kābul, he was the Governor there, and paid his respects. He was granted a dress of honour, a turban ornament, a horse with golden saddle, and an elephant, and on promotion to the rank of 3,500 foot with 3,000 horse was granted the title² of Shujā'at Khān. In the 26th year he went³ with Prince Dārā Shikoh for the conquest of the Qandahār fort, and from there he went with Rustum Khān Bahādur to Bust. Nothing is known of his later history.

SHUJĀ'AT KHĀN SHAIKH KABĪR

(Vol. II, pp. 630-633).

He was known as Rustum Zamān Chishtī Fārūqī. He was an inhabitant of Mau, and was related to Islām Khān Chishtī. He was one of the high officers of Emperor Akbar. He received promotion⁴ in the reign of Emperor Jahāngīr, and when Khān Jahān Lōdī was appointed with a large force to lead an expedition to the Deccan, he, because of the confidence he had in Shujā'at Khān, and though the vanguard of the royal army was always reserved for the Saiyids of Bārab, placed him in the van of the entire force. The Saiyids protested that this position was theirs by inheritance, but Khān Jahān did not yield. After this Shujā'at Khān was posted to Bengāl⁵. In the 6th year, Islām Khān, the Governor of that province, appointed many distinguished officers under the leadership of Shujā'at Khān to march against 'Uthmān Khān Lōhānī in fights against whom Rāja Mān Singh had lost many of his relatives and tribesmen, but had not succeeded in defeating him. When Shujā'at Khān reached the borders

1 *Op. cit.*, p. 100.

2 *Op. cit.*, p. 143.

3 *Op. cit.*, p. 157.

4 *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīr* (Rogers & Beveridge's translation), I, p. 29.

5 *Op. cit.*, p. 192.

of his territory, 'Uthmān Khān, who was very proud and haughty, arranged his forces with great pomp and grandeur, and gave battle. 'Uthmān drove his war elephants, whom he regarded as the pivot of his attack, against the vanguard, but the heroes of the imperial forces stood firm and sacrificed their lives. Iftikhār Khān, the leader of the right wing and Kishwar Khān, the leader of the left wing, fought bravely and were killed. That inconsiderate and defiant leader ('Uthmān), in spite of the fact that a very large number of his men had been killed, again attacked the centre. Shujā'at Khān's relations and brothers fought bravely and were slain, while a large number who were severely wounded were incapacitated.

At this juncture 'Uthmān Khān, who was very corpulent and had a large belly, mounted on an elephant, in a howdah and assailed Shujā'at Khān. That famous warrior first struck the elephant with a spear, and then smote it twice in the face with a sword. Then he drew a dagger and inflicted two other wounds. The elephant becoming wild boldly advanced, and overthrew Shujā'at Khān and his horse. Shujā'at Khān skilfully extricated himself from below the horse and stood up. Meanwhile his groom so struck the elephant on its forelegs with a sword two cubits long that it fell on its knees. Shujā'at Khān with the help of his groom dragged the driver off the elephant, and struck the latter with a dagger on its trunk. The elephant trumpeting loudly moved backwards a few paces and then fell down. Just then a bullet from some unknown quarter struck 'Uthmān in the forehead. Recognizing that the wound was fatal, he turned and reached his quarters half dead. At midnight he died. Wali Khān his brother, and Mumrēz Khān his son left the camp and the baggage on the field, and carrying his dead body hurried to the fort. As the brave warriors of the victorious army were unable to exert themselves any further, Shujā'at Khān with Muta'qad Khān, who had after the battle arrived with reinforcements, started in pursuit. Wali Khān realizing that safety lay in submission capitulated, and assurances having been given, he came with his relations and brothers for an interview. He presented 49 elephants

as an offering. Shujā'at Khān taking these with him went and joined Islām Khān at Jahāngīrnagar (Dacca). As a reward for his services and in recognition of his exceptional bravery, he was honoured by an increase in rank and the title of Rustum¹ Zamān. Islām Khān did not observe the terms of the treaty which Shujā'at Khān had arranged with 'Uthmān's survivors, but sent them all to the Court. Accordingly Walī Khān and Mumrēz Khān were put to death in the Kālī Talāwārī at Ahmādābād, while Ayāz Ghulām—who was the adopted son of 'Uthmān—and others were long confined in wells. Shujā'at Khān became distressed at Islām Khān having broken the treaty, and left Bengāl. Just then an order of his appointment as the Governor of Bihār was received. On the day when he was to enter the city of Patna, he was riding on a female elephant. An elephant (probably a male) ran at her, and Shujā'at Khān, with all his firmness, became alarmed and tried to climb down from the elephant. His foot was broken and he² died.

SHUJĀ'-UD-DAULAH BAHĀDUR

(Vol. II, pp. 715-722).

He was the son of Abūl Mañṣūr³ Khān and his real name was Mīrzā Jalāl-ud-Dīn⁴ Haidar. After his father's death he was appointed Governor of Oudh and Allāhābād in his father's vacancy, and he settled these areas in a proper manner. In the year 1170 A.H. (1757 A.D.)

¹ The account of the battle etc. with 'Uthmān Khān is taken from the *Tūzuk*, *op. cit.*, pp. 209-214.

² *Op. cit.*, pp. 226, 227.

³ *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, I, pp. 365-368; Beveridge's translation, I, pp. 137-140. See also A.L. Srivastava—*The First Two Nawabs of Oudh*, pp. 91-259 (1933) for a detailed account of his life.

⁴ For a detailed monograph of the first half of the life-history of Shujā'-ud-Daulah see A.L. Srivastava's *Shuja-ud-Daulah*, I, 1754-1765, (Calcutta, 1939). See also Dow—*History of Hindustan*, II, pp. 393-395, (London, 1770), Keene—*The Fall of the Moghal Empire*, pp. 64, 65, 112 (London, 1882), and for his character Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *Fall of the Moghal Empire*, II, pp. 530-532 (1934).

'Imād-ul-Mulk, as has been detailed in his biography¹ led an army against him. He advanced from Lucknow to the plains of Sāndī and Pāli which were on the borders of Oudh to meet 'Imād-ul-Mulk. A slight engagement took place, and then through the mediation² of Sa'd Ullāh Khān, son of 'Alī Muḥammad Khān Rōhilla, a truce was arranged for five lakhs of rupees, part of which amount was paid in cash and the rest was promised. In the year 1173 A.H. (1759-60 A.D.) Najīb Khān Rōhilla and other Afghāns—who held *Parganas* in fief in the Metropolitan province on the other side of the Ganges, assured him that the Marathas owing to the rainy season could not possibly cross the Ganges. It has to be mentioned that in 1171 A.H. (1757-58 A.D.) Dattājī Sindia had made a settlement of the territory near the capital Āgra, and then crossed the Jumna and besieged Najīb Khān in Shukartāl. After the end of the rains Gōvind Pant had been sent by him with 20,000 horse from Thākur Dwāra—which is near the hills—across the Ganges to plunder the territory. Shujā'-ud-Daulah marched against him and signally defeated him. Sa'd Ullāh Khān, Dūnde Khān and Hāfiẓ Rahmat Khān, who, as a result of the pressure by the Maratha army, had retired into the Kumāon hills, came and joined him. Najīb Khān also was relieved from the siege. As, however, the force of the Marathas was very large, out of fear of the final result proposals for peace were made³.

At this time, as the arrival of Shāh Durrānī was widely rumoured and Dattājī Sindia had been killed in a battle⁴ with him, and Shāh

¹ *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, II, p. 853.

² See Srivastava's *Shuja'-ud-Daulah*, pp. 1-49. The amount promised is stated to have been 15 lakhs, 5 lakhs to be paid immediately and the balance of 10 lakhs after a year, p. 49. The light fighting took place in June, 1757.

³ See Srivastava, *op. cit.*, pp. 78-81. The place where Najīb Khān was besieged is rightly written as Shukartāl by Srivastava and Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 207, but incorrectly Shukartār by Sir Wolsley Haig in *Cambridge History of India*, IV, p. 444.

⁴ Battle of Barāri Ghāt, 9th January, 1760, see Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *op. cit.*, pp. 222, 223; *Cambridge History of India*, IV, p. 416.

Durrānī was encamped at Sikandra, Shujā'-ud-Daulah on the recommendation of Najib Khān and after executing oaths and promises, went with 10,000 horse and waited¹ on the Shāh. He distinguished himself in the battle² with Sadāshiv Rāo Bhāō, and was complimented. At the time of returning to his country the Shāh left the empire of India to Sultān 'Alī Gauhar, who is now the Emperor and is known by the high and low as Shāh 'Ālam, and Shujā'-ud-Daulah was appointed as the Prime Minister³. The latter went to Oudh, and sent a request for return to Shāh 'Ālam Bahādur, who after the death of his revered father 'Aziz-ud-Dīn Bādshāh 'Ālamgīr, II in 1173 A.H. (1759-60 A.D.) had assumed sovereignty in the areas between Bihār and Bengāl. He himself also went as far as the Karmnāsā river to welcome the Emperor⁴. When the imperial equipage in the end of 1174 A.H. (June, 1761) reaching Jājmau encamped there, the Antarbēd territory, which means the country between the Ganges and the Jumnā, and which for some ten years had been held by the Marathas, once again became imperial territory⁵. In the year 1175 A.H. (1761-62 A.D.) the victorious standards crossed the Jumnā and took Kālpī and the fort of Jhānsī from the Marathas⁶. In this year⁷ Shujā'-ud-Daulah was exalted by the presents of the *Vazirs'* dress of honour, a necklace of pearls and a jewelled inkstand. After-

¹ See Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *op. cit.*, pp. 274-279 for a detailed account; also Srivastava *op. cit.*, pp. 88-92.

² Battle of Pānipat, 14th January, 1761.

³ This account is repeated in *Cambridge History of India*, IV, p. 448, but see Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *op. cit.*, pp. 376-377 where it is stated that the 'parting instructions (of Abdāli) were that Shah Alam should be recognized as Emperor, Imad reappointed Wazir'. Shujā'-ud-Daulah had left Delhi for Oudh a fortnight before Abdāli started on his return march. See also Srivastava, *op. cit.*, pp. 111-113.

⁴ See Srivastava, *op. cit.*, p. 130, where full details of the arrival of Shāh 'Ālam are given.

⁵ Srivastava, *op. cit.*, pp. 131-135.

⁶ Srivastava, *op. cit.*, pp. 136-140.

⁷ 15th February, 1762, *vide* Srivastava, *op. cit.*, p. 141.

wards he went with the Emperor to Bengāl, and was defeated¹ by the English who had become powerful in that territory. The Emperor had an interview with the English, and Shujā'-ud-Daulah went to Allāhābād and busied himself in collecting troops. At Buksar there was a second² battle, and this time also there was complete defeat, and all his equipment was plundered. Shujā'-ud-Daulah was consequently forced to seek refuge with Hāfiẓ Rahmat Khān. He treated him with contempt, and had an eye on the remainder of his property. At last coming to the Ganges opposite Farrukhābād, he thrust himself upon Ahmād Khān Bangash; he also did not welcome him. A third time in conjunction with Imād-ul-Mulk and Malhār Rāo Holkar he attempted to contend with them. They sent a small force to meet him and a slight engagement took place. Holkar went off to Kālpī and Imād-ul-Mulk to the Jāt³ country. Consequently he made peace with the English, and was content with the name of the *Vazir*. For some years with their help he engaged in the settlement of the provinces, and accepted them as partners in their revenues. In the year 1188 A.H. (1774-75 A.D.) he with their help attacked Hāfiẓ Rahmat Ullāh Khān Rōhilla—who was a companion of ‘Alī Muḥammad Khān Rōhilla and after his death had taken possession of some of the territories held by him—and put him to the sword. In the same year⁴ he died as a result of complications due to various ailments. His son, who is in Oudh, at the time of writing is known as Mīrzā Amānī. His title is Aṣaf-ud-Daulha, but the English are the dominant partner in his domain.

As in connection with Shujā'-ud-Daulah the name of Ahmād Shāh Durrānī has been mentioned, it is necessary to include some

¹ Battle of Panch Pahāri, 3rd May, 1764. The English are called Feringis and Hat-wearers in the text.

² Battle of Buxar, 23rd October, 1764; see Srivastava, *op. cit.*, pp. 230-240.

³ Srivastava, *op. cit.*, pp. 285-294.

⁴ According to Beale, *Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, p. 382, he died on 29th January, 1775.

account¹ of his career. It is stated that he was a follower of Nādir Shāh, and was one of his *Yasāwals* (Guards). Later he became a *Mingbāshī* (Commander of 1,000). After Nādir Shāh's assassination he raised the standard of power in Kābul and Qandahār, and struck coins and had the *Khuṭba* recited in his own name. He came seven times to India. The first was about the end of the year 1151 A.H. (1739 A.D.) with Nādir Shāh. The second in the year 1161 A.H. (1748 A.D.) when Prince Ahmād Shāh and other nobles rallied forth to oppose him, and in which battle Qamīr-ud-Dīn Khān was killed by a cannon ball, the Durrānī Shāh then returned to Kābul and Qandahār. The third was in 1162 A.H. (1749 A.D.), the 4th in 1165 A.H. (1752 A.D.); on each occasion he fought with Mu'in-ul-Mulk. On the second occasion Mu'in-ul-Mulk after an interview was appointed as his Deputy in Lāhōrē. The fifth time in 1170 A.H. (1757 A.D.), he advanced to Shāhjahānābād (Delhi). He had an interview with 'Alamgīr, II, and had the daughter of Izz-ud-Dīn the brother of 'Alamgīr, II, married to his son Tīmūr Shāh. He also addressed himself to the chastisement of Sūraj Mal, but owing to the outbreak of cholera he speedily returned (to Afghānistān). On this occasion he married the daughter of Muhammad Shāh. The sixth time was in 1173 A.H. (1759 A.D.) when he killed Dattājī Sindia, and encamped at Sikandra (Sikandarābād). In the following year Sadāshiv Rāo *alias* Bhāō with a large army was defeated by him, and he then returned to Qandahār. The seventh was in 1175 A.H. (1762 A.D.), and on this occasion he thoroughly chastised the Sikhs, and sent Nūr-ud-Dīn Durrānī—who was a cousin of the Ashraf-ul-Vuzarā Shāh Wali Khān—against Sukh Jīvān the Governor of Kashmīr.

Sukh Jīvān² was a Khatri by caste and an inhabitant of Kābul. At first he was the accountant of the Ashraf-ul-Vuzarā Shāh Wali Khān, the *Vazīr* of the Durrānī Shāh. Once Shāh Durrānī had sent

¹ The account of Ahmād Shāh Abdālī is based on *Khazāra-i-'Āmira* (Lith. Edn.), p. 97.

² Sukh Jīvān's account is also taken from *Khazāna-i-'Āmira*, pp. 114, 115. See also Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *op. cit.*, pp. 488, 489.

him from Kābul to collect the dues from Mu'īn-ul-Mulk. When in the year 1167 A.H. (1754 A.D.) Shāh Durrānī sent 'Abdullāh Ishak Aqāsī from Kābul to conquer Kashmīr, and he took it from the Governor who held it on behalf of 'Ālamgīr, II, 'Abdullāh Khān alias Khwāja Kīchak was left with a force of Afghāns as his Deputy, and the *Dīwānī* was assigned to Sukh Jīvān. He himself returned to Kābul. After a time Sukh Jīvān killed the Afghān leaders, and at first imprisoned Khwāja Kīchak and later deported him from Kashmīr. Sukh Jīvān then sent some money to 'Ālamgīr, II, through the mediation of 'Imād-ul-Mulk, the *Vazīr*, and begged for a *Farmān* for the government of the country in his own name. He struck coins and had the *Kbūjba* recited in the name of 'Ālamgīr, II. He reduced into submission the entire province whether it consisted of crown-lands or the Manṣabdār's fiefs. Sukh Jīvān was possessed of excellent qualities and was almost a Muḥammadan. He repaired and restored the shrines and gardens of Kashmīr and every day after closing his court he called 200 Muslims before him and fed them on a meal of several courses. Every month on the 12th and 11th (? 15th) he distributed cooked food to all visitors, whether they were darwēshes or otherwise, and concerned himself in alleviating their condition. Every week he arranged an assembly of poets, when all the poets of Kashmīr would gather together, and partake in a feast after close of the session. When Nūr-ud-Dīn Khān reached there, Sukh Jīvān sent an army to hold the passes and stop him. The Durrānīs overcame the resistance and were victorious after a hard struggle and much fighting, and having cleared the passes and mountainous ravines of the Kashmīris killed large numbers of them. They then from the rear advanced to the city of Kashmīr (Srinagar). Sukh Jīvān drew up the armed forces, which he had with him, and exerted himself as best as he could. But the Kashmīris were not able to withstand the Durrānīs and were defeated. Sukh Jīvān with all his family members was taken prisoner, and Shāh Durrānī after this victorious ending appointed Nūr-ud-Dīn Khān as his Deputy in Kashmīr.

SHUJĀ-UL-MULK AMIR-UL-UMARĀ

(Vol. II, pp. 722, 723).

He was the fifth son¹ of Nizām-ul-Mulk Āṣaf Jāh. His real name was Mīr Muḥammad Sharīf. In the lifetime of his father he was raised to the rank of a Khān, and granted the title of Basālat Jang Bahādur. In the time of Ṣalābat Jang he was appointed Governor of Bijāpūr, but after a time he went to his brother Ṣalābat Jang and became the general manager of his household. In 1172 A.H. (1758-59 A.D.) Nizām-ud-Daulah Āṣaf Jāh in view of his position as the heir apparent—which position had been assigned to him earlier—came to interview Ṣalābat Jang. Shujā'-ud-Daulah under the circumstances did not consider it advisable to remain with Ṣalābat Jang, and giving up his office went away to his own province. When the above mentioned Āṣaf Jāh perceived the unsuitable behaviour of Ṣalābat Jang, he separated from him, and with a view to collecting tributes (*peshkashāt*) went to Rājmehandī in Haidarābād. Shujā'-ul-Mulk again returned to Ṣalābat Jang, and as in earlier times, began to look after all his affairs. As the collection of revenues from the estates had fallen to a low level, and the pay of the soldiery had been increased much more than previously, interested colleagues—who were only concerned in their own good—believed that a settlement would be difficult and hence retired. Later, when the government of the Deccan was assigned to the said Āṣaf Jāh, he for a time dropped the thread of ceremoniousness, and made up various plans. All these plans failed, and several estates in the Bijāpūr *Šūba* fell into the hands of the Marathas and Haidar 'Alī Khān—whose biography² has been separately given—rose to power. Shujā'-ul-Mulk, at the time of writing, contents himself in managing certain areas of the *Sarkār* Imtiyāzgarh alias Adōnī and Firūzgarh Rāichūr, and has adopted the principle of “slanting the jar but not spilling its contents” (acting inconsistently with impossible results).

¹ See the genealogical table in *Cambridge History of India*, IV, p. 622.

² *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text I, pp. 611-613, Beveridge's translation, I, pp.

SIPAHDĀR KHĀN MUHAMMAD ṢĀLIḤ

(Vol. II, pp. 427-429).

He was the brother's son and adopted son of Khwāja Bēg Mirzā Ṣafavī, who in the reign of Emperor Jahāngīr was Governor of Ahmadvār, and had attained the rank of 5,000; he died in the 13th¹ year. The subject of this notice, in the 5th year of Emperor Jahāngīr's reign, was appointed to a suitable rank, and granted the title of Khanjar Khān. After Khwāja Bēg's death he was promoted to the rank of 2,000, and appointed Governor of the fort of Ahmadvār². In the 15th year, when the Deccanīs having broken off their engagements raised commotion, and besieged the fort, he took proper precautions, and ably defended it. When he was encouraged by the arrival in the Deccan of the imperial army under Sultān Khurram, he sallied out and drove off the besiegers; some 200 of them were killed. In the 19th year, when an imperial army was deputed to assist Mullā Muḥammad Lārī, the 'Ādil Khānī general—who had a quarrel with Malik 'Ambar the Abyssinian—and when that leader was killed after a fight, and his force was defeated and some of the imperial officers were captured by the enemy, Khanjar Khān marched rapidly to Ahmadvār³ and strengthened it. When after Emperor Jahāngīr's death, Khān Jahān Lödī the Governor of the Deccan went astray and intrigued with Niẓām-ul-Mulk Deccanī, and sent letters to the *Thānadaras* of Bālāghāt—which had been annexed as an imperial domain—to surrender (their posts) to Niẓām-ul-Mulk's men, the said Khān wrote "Refused" —(*Dast radd*) on his letter, and did not surrender the fort⁴. In the end of that reign his rank had risen to 5,000 with 5,000 horse, and he had the title of Sipahdār Khān. After the accession of Shāh Jahān, and his coming to

¹ *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīr* (Rogers & Beveridge's translation), II, p. 9.² *Op. cit.*, p. 9.³ Khāfi Khān, I, p. 348, and Bādshāhnāma, I, pt. i, p. 76.⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 384.

the Deccan, three armies under three leaders were sent to devastate the country of Niẓām-ul-Mulk and to punish Khān Jahān Lōdī, who had stirred up strife, and taken refuge with the Niẓām, Sipahdār Khān was attached to Shāyista Khān. In the battle, which Ā'zam Khān fought against Khān Jahān Lōdī, he distinguished himself. In the 4th year he besieged and captured the forts of Taltūm¹, which was on the top of a hill, and is at present in ruin, and Sitūnda. In the same year he was honoured by appointment as Governor² of the fort of Ahmadvār in succession to Jān Nīthār Khān, and received a dress of honour and a horse with golden saddle. In the 7th year he came to the Court, and received the rank of 5,000 foot and horse, of which 3,000 were 2-horse, 3-horse, and was appointed Governor³ of Ahmadābād in succession to Bāqir Khān Najm Thānī. In the 8th year he was⁴ removed from there and sent to look after Elichpūr. In the 9th year, when the Emperor came to visit Daulatābād, he presented himself, and was sent⁵ with Khān Jahān Bārah to devastate the 'Ādil Shāhī territory. In this campaign also he rendered good service. In the 10th year, he had charge of a battery during the siege of Dēogarh. When a mine, which had been laid from his battery, was filled with gun-powder and exploded, and the bastion and a part of the wall were blown up, he bravely entered⁶ the fort and put the enemy to the sword. Later, he was appointed Governor of the fort of Junair in the Deccan. In the 17th year⁷ corresponding to 1054 A.H. (1644 A.D.) he died, and was buried in the tomb of Khwāja Beg Mīrzā at Ahmadvār. He was a God-fearing man, possessed of good judgment and distinguished for his bravery. He was very fond of Irānians, and had an excellent posse of retainers. He had no sons. Many of his sons-in-law and relations held various offices.

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 346.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 399.

³ He was appointed Governor of Gujarat—see *Bādsbāhnāma*, I, pt. ii, p. 8.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 102.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 140.

⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 233.

⁷ *Bādsbāhnāma*, II, p. 378.

(RĀJA) SIV RĀM GAUR
(Vol. II, pp. 263-265).

He was the son of Balrām son of Rāja Gōpāl Dās. As his father and grand-father were killed in the attack on Sind when Shāh Jahān was a prince, he became a greater favourite with the Emperor. After his accession, Sīv Rām was appointed to a suitable rank, and granted¹ Dhandhēra, which means some *Parganas* of Sārangpūr in Mālwa, as his homeland. By the 10th year he had advanced to the rank of 1,500 with 1,000 horse², and for a time was Governor of the Āsīr fort. In the 18th year he was removed³ from this office, and in the 19th year was nominated⁴ to accompany Prince Murād Baksh on the expedition to Balkh and Badakhshān. Afterwards he somehow returned to the Court, and in the 20th year had charge⁵ of the Kābul fort. In the 21st year he was removed from there, but in the end of the same year when the disputes of 'Abdul 'Aziz Khān with Nadhr Muhammad Khān became known to the Emperor, a body of troops was sent to Kābul as a precautionary measure; and he also was attached to this force. In the 22nd year, he received a promotion of 200 horse in his rank, and was detailed to the Qandahār campaign under Prince Muhammad Aurangzib. In the 25th year, when his uncle Rāja Bēthal Dās (Gaur) died, his rank was increased to 2,000 with 1,500 horse, and he was granted the title⁶ of Rāja; he was also detailed a second time with the above-mentioned prince on the same campaign. In the 26th year he was⁷ with Prince Dārā Shikoh on the same campaign. From there he was sent with Rustam Khān Firuz Jang for reducing the fort of Bust. In the 28th year he went with Sa'd Ullāh Khān to demolish Chittor. In the 31st year his rank was advanced to 2,500 with 2,500 horse, and he was honoured by being

¹ *Bādschāhnāma*, I, pt. ii, p. 142.² *Op. cit.*, p. 304.⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 484.⁶ *'Amal Salih*, III, p. 133.³ *Bādschāhnāma*, II, p. 388.⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 641.⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 157.

appointed as the Governor of Māndū.* In the battle of Samūgarh, he was in the vanguard of Dārā Shikōh's army, and was killed¹ there in 1068 A.H. (1658 A.D.).

SIYĀDAT KHĀN SAIYID OGHLĀN

(Vol. II, pp. 494-496).

Oghal in Turkish means a son, and Oghlān² is its plural. In the Kingdom of Bokhāra it is the title of Saiyids and Sharīfs, and they have a right to its use in the assemblies of the ruler of the territory. Siyādat Khān was the son of the teacher Khān of Firūz Jang³ Bahādur, and through him he came to the notice of Emperor Aurangzib, and succeeded in receiving a suitable appointment. In the 27th year of the reign, he was appointed to teach Muhammad Kām Bakhsh. He was also the intermediary for presenting to the Emperor the reports of Khān Firūz Jang Bahādur—who was absent—and thus had access to the Presence⁴. When that Bahādur burnt the fort of Rāhirī, and slew the infidels and destroyed their property, Siyādat Khān in the 28th year, as a reward for bringing in this good news, received an elephant⁵, and afterwards the title of Siyādat Khān. In the 29th year, he was appointed Examiner of Petitions in succession to Lutf Ullāh Khān, as a special favour a jade inkstand was given to him⁶. Later although he was removed from this office, but he carried on the duties of the Superintendent of the *Diwān-i-Khās*. In the 41st year, corresponding to 1108 A.H. (1697 A.D.), he died⁷ of plague which had become

¹ 'Ālamgīrnāma, pp. 95, 102. a biography of Siv Rām Gaur is also published in the Urdu work *Umrā'i Hunūd*, pp. 390-392 (1932).

² This is incorrect. Oghlān is not the plural of Oghal in Turkish, and merely means a son.

³ Ghāzi-ud-Din Khān Bahādur Firūz Jang, *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, II, pp. 872-879; Beveridge's translation, I, pp. 587-592.

⁴ See for example *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīri*, p. 269.

⁵ *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīri*, p. 252.

⁶ *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīri*, p. 270. The jade inkstand was given to Fādil Khān and not Siyādat Khān.

⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 392.

rampant in the royal camp. His son received the father's title, and in the 43rd year was appointed¹ Examiner of Petitions. In the 47th year having been promoted² to the rank of 2,500 foot with 700 horse, he was repeatedly deputed as head of an army for the punishment of the Marathas. About this time through the jugglery of Fate he became blind of both eyes, and on this account was excluded from the Presence. During the government of Amīr-ul-Umarā Husain 'Alī Khān, he was appointed as the Governor of the fort of Ahmadnagar in the province of Aurangābād.

When the government of the Deccan devolved on Niẓām-ul-Mulk Āṣaf Jāh, this noble, as he was very appreciative of his services, confirmed him in his appointment. After his death, his son Muḥammad Mīr Khān got the hereditary title and the charge of the fort. For a time he was *Bakhsbī* of the troopers³ of Āṣaf Jāh. After him, his son Saiyid Ḥamīd Khān got the title of Siyādat Khān, and was appointed deputy to his brother-in-law Saiyid Lashkar Khān, the Governor of Berār. For a time he served as the Governor of Bīdar. At last he received the title of Ḥamīd-ud-Daulah. In the year 1184 A.H. (1770 A.D.), he died. At the time of writing his son has the title of Nāmwar Jāng Bahādur. He is fond of *Rēkhta*⁴ composition. There were many brothers and uncles of Siyādat Khān Saiyid Ḥamīd, but none attained any eminence.

SIYĀDAT KHĀN MĪR ZAIN-UD-DĪN 'ALĪ

(Vol. II, pp. 463-465).

He was a brother of Islām Khān⁵ of Mashhad. In the early part of the reign of Emperor Shāh Jahān he was appointed to a suitable Department.

1 *Op. cit.*, p. 407.

2 *Op. cit.*, p. 473.

3 Apparently *Sā'ir Sarkār* means Customs or Miscellaneous Revenue Department.

4 *Rēkhta gō;* probably means that he wrote Urdu poetry.

5 For his account see *Māthbir-ul-Umarā*, Text, I, pp. 162-167; Beveridge & Prashad's translation, I, pp. 694-696.

rank. In the 6th year he was appointed Superintendent¹ of Branding and the Master of *Mansabdārs*. Later, when the province of Bengal was assigned to Islām Khān, the said Khān accompanied him. Islām Khān sent a force² under the leadership of his brother to Kūch Hājō and the Mōrang territories on the borders of the province. A great deal of fighting took place with the contumacious elements of the areas, and thereafter the area was properly settled. In the 11th year, he had the rank of 1,000 foot with 200 horse, and the title³ of Siyādat Khān. In the 13th year, when Islām Khān was summoned to the Presence for appointment as the *Vazīr*, Siyādat Khān was appointed⁴ as his Deputy in Bengal. In the 14th year he had an increase of 200 horse, and in the 16th year a further increase⁵ of 500 foot. In the 19th year when Islām Khān was exalted by his appointment as the Governor of the four provinces of the Deccan, Siyādat Khān was raised to the rank of 2,000 foot with 500 horse, and attached to his brother in the Deccan auxiliaries⁶. In the same year he was appointed Governor of the fort of Daulatābād in succession to Prithī Rāj. In the 21st year, he had an increase of 200 horse, and on his brother's death, he was granted an increase of 500 foot with 300 horse, and confirmed in his appointment⁷ as Governor of Daulatābād. In the 22nd year, he returned to the Court on being removed from this post. In the 23rd year he was appointed 2nd *Bakhshī*, and promoted⁸ to the rank of 3,000 foot with 3,000 horse. In the 24th year he was granted an increase of 500 and appointed Governor⁹ of the fort of the Capital in succession to Bāqī Khān. In the 29th year he was removed from this office, but was re-instated¹⁰ in the 30th year. After Emperor Aurangzib's accession to the throne, and when in the 1st year the royal cavalcade reached the Capital in pursuit of

1 *Bādshehnāma*, I, pt. i, p. 543.

2 *Bādshehnāma*, II, p. 75.

3 *Op. cit.*, p. 90.

4 *Op. cit.*, p. 164.

5 *Op. cit.*, p. 336.

6 *Op. cit.*, p. 430.

7 *'Amal Ḫālib*, III, p. 9.

8 *Op. cit.*, p. 105.

9 *Op. cit.*, p. 111.

10 *Op. cit.*, p. 241.

Dārā Shikōh, he was appointed to administer the affairs of the place¹. In the 2nd year of the reign, 1069 A.H. (1659 A.D.) he died² a natural death. His son Fadl³ Ullāh Khān, and his nephews Ṣafī Khān and ‘Abdur Rahīm Khān and ‘Abdur Rahmān sons of Islām Khān were granted mourning robes. His eldest son Mir Faid Ullāh was granted the title of Faid Ullāh Khān in the 1st year of ‘Ālamgīr’s reign, and was Superintendent of the Jewel room. Later he was made *Mir Tūzuk*. In the 12th year when Dildār, son of Alif Khān Muḥammad Tāhir, grandson of Daulat Khān, on account of an enmity with Multafat Khān, fell out with him, and while the Emperor was seated in the general and special Hall of Audience, Fadl Ullāh Khān boldly struck him with a staff on the head. On this score he fell from favour, and was degraded from his office⁴. In the 20th year, he was restored to his earlier office and deputed⁵ to Bengāl. After sometime a servant killed him there⁶ with a dagger.

SUBAL SINGH SĒSŌDIA

(Vol. II, pp. 468, 469).

He was a grandson of Rānā Amar Singh. For a time he was in the service of Prince Dārā Shikōh. In the 23rd year, at the request of the said prince, he was admitted into imperial service, and appointed to the rank of 2,000 foot with 1,000 horse. In the 25th year he was given an increase of 500, and granted a flag; he was also detailed to accompany Prince Muḥammad Aurangzib Bahādur, who was being sent to Qandahār campaign for the second time. In the 26th year, he again went with Prince Dārā Shikōh on the same campaign. It is

¹ ‘Ālamgīrnāma, p. 161.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 418.

³ Faid Ullāh in text is apparently a mistake, for it is Fadl Ullāh in *Maāthir-i-‘Ālamgīrī*.

⁴ *Maāthir-i-‘Ālamgīrī*, pp. 88, 89.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 159.

⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 160.

clear from the *Bādshāhnāma* that he was alive in the 30th¹ year. No further account of his life has been available, except that it appears from '*Ālamgīrnāma*'² that he was with Mu'azzam Khān Khānān in the Assām expedition.

SUJĀN SINGH

(Vol. II, pp. 452-454).

He and Bīram Dēō were the two sons of Surāj Mal Sesodīa, the second son of Rānā Amar Singh. Sujān Singh was an old servant of the State, and by the 10th year of Emperor Shāh Jahān's reign had attained the rank³ of 800 with 300 horse. In the 17th year of the reign, he was promoted⁴ to the rank of 1,000 foot with 400 horse. In the 18th year, he was granted an increase⁵ of 100 horse, and in the 19th year he accompanied Prince Murād Baksh on the Balkh and Badakhshān Campaign. In the 22nd year through promotion his rank was advanced to 1,500 foot with 700 horse, and he went in attendance on Prince Muhammad Aurangzib Bahādur to Qandahār. In the 25th year his rank was further advanced to 2,000 foot with 800 horse, and he accompanied the said prince a second time to the Qandahār fort. In the 26th year he was deputed to Qandahār Campaign for the third time with Prince Dārā Shikoh. In the 29th year, as Mahārāja Jasvant Singh was to be married to his brother's daughter⁶, he was permitted to go to Mathurā. In the 30th year he went with Mu'azzam Khān to Prince Aurangzib Bahādur in the Deccan and rendered good service in the battle with 'Ādil Khān's forces. After that he returned to the Court, and was sent with Mahārāja

¹ This should be 20th year as the account in this work ends with the 20th year of Shāh Jahān's reign.

² '*Ālamgīrnāma*', p. 947.

³ *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. ii, p. 315.

⁴ '*Amal Sālib*', II, p. 394.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 418.

⁶ Bīram Dēō's daughter was to be married to Mahārāja Jasvant Singh, '*Amal Sālib*', III, p. 204, and as is detailed further on in this account.

Jasvant Singh to Mālwa. He was killed in 1068 A.H. (1658 A.D.) in the battle which Prince Aurangzīb fought with the Rājpūts. His son Fath Singh was a *Mansabdār*. The other brother (Bīram Dēo) left the Rānā's service and came to the Court in the 21st year, and received the rank¹ of 800 foot with 400 horse. In the 22nd year he was promoted to the rank of 1,000 foot with 500 horse, and sent² with Prince Muhammad Aurangzīb Bahādur to Qandahār. In the 23rd year he was granted an advance³ of 500, and in the 25th year of 200 horse, and again went to Qandahār with the said prince. In the 26th year his rank was 2,000 foot with 800 horse, and in the 27th he was exalted by a further increase of 200. In the 28th year his rank was increased by 500 foot, and he was presented jewels⁴ worth Rs. 10,000. In the 29th year he was allowed to proceed to Mathurā on account of his daughter's marriage which had been arranged with Mahārāja Jasvant Singh. In the 31st year his rank was advanced by promotion⁵ to 3,000 foot with 1,000 horse, and he was sent to the Deccan to Prince Muhammad Aurangzīb Bahādur. In the 'Ādil Khānī battle when Rāja Rāī Singh Sēsōdīa was hard-pressed, he dismounted⁶ and fought strenuously. In the Samūgarh battle he was placed⁷ in the van of Dārā Shikoh's forces. Later he joined 'Ālamgīr's forces, and was with the Emperor in the battle with Shujā⁸ and in the second battle⁹ with Dārā Shikoh. Afterwards he was appointed to the Deccan¹⁰, and in the 10th year with Rāja Rām Singh Kachwāha rendered good service¹¹ in the Assām war. In the 12th year he was appointed¹² with Ṣaf Shikan Khān who was sent as the *Faujdār* of Mathurā. He died at his appointed time.

1 'Amal Ṣālib, III, p. 18.

2 *Op. cit.*, p. 72.

3 *Op. cit.*, p. 135.

4 According to 'Amal Ṣālib the present was in cash, *op. cit.*, p. 204.

5 *Op. cit.*, p. 239.

6 *Op. cit.*, p. 256.

7 'Ālamgīrnāma, p. 95.

8 *Op. cit.*, p. 306.

9 *Op. cit.*, p. 338.

10 *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīri*, p. 65.

11 *Op. cit.*, p. 84.

(RAJA) SUJĀN SINGH BUNDĒLA

(Vol. II, pp. 291-295).

He was the son of Rāja Pahār Singh¹. He came to the notice of Emperor Shāh Jahān during the lifetime of his father, and was appointed to various offices. When his father died in the 28th year, his rank was raised to 2,000 with 2,000 horse, 2-horse, 3-horse, and he was given the title of Rāja². In the 29th year he was deputed³ with Qāsim Khān, the head of the Artillery, for chastising the *Zamīndār* of Srīnagar (Garhwāl), and was granted a standard and a kettle-drum. In the 30th year, he, in accordance with orders, went to the Deccan to join Sultān Aurangzīb, the Viceroy of the Deccan. Later, on recall he came to the Presence, and was appointed with Mahārāja (Jasvant Singh) to block the path of the army of the Deccan. On the day of the battle with Sultān Aurangzīb, he left the field, and retired to his home. After sometime his offences were forgiven, and he was given a suitable rank by Aurangzīb. In the battle with Shāh Shujā⁴, he was in the right wing. When after his defeat, Shāh Shujā⁴ retired towards Bengāl and Prince Muhammād Sultān was deputed to pursue him, Sujān Singh was sent as one of the auxiliaries. He rendered good service in that territory. In the 4th year he was appointed with the auxiliaries of Mu'azzam Khān for the conquest of Kūch Bihār and chastisement of the *Zamīndār* of the place. As he could not do this with the force which he had at his disposal, he after Khān Khānān's arrival joined him. When he reached Āssām, he fought bravely against the Assamese, and earned a name for his valour. In the 7th year, he was deputed⁴ with Raja Jai Singh to the Deccan, and did good service in the siege of the fort of Pūrandhar. In the 8th year he was honoured by increase of rank to 3,000 with 3,000 horse, of which number 500 were 2-horse, 3-horse. Later he

¹ *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, II, pp. 256-260; translation *antea*, pp. 470-472.

² *'Amal Sālib*, III, p. 197.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 216.

⁴ *Khāfi Khān*, II, p. 178.

distinguished himself in the fights with the 'Ādil Khānī forces. In the 9th year, he was sent with Dilēr Khān on the campaign against Chānda near Berār. In the 11th year, 1078 A.H. (1667-68 A.D.) he died in the Deccan. As he had no sons, Indaraman, his younger brother succeeded him. After the death of his father, Pahār Singh, Indaraman had in the time of Empefor Shāh Jahān reached the rank of 500 with 400 horse, and in the 29th year had been sent with Qāsim Khān, the head of the Artillery, on the expedition against the Zamīndār of Srīnagar. In the 30th year he was sent to Sultān Muhammād Aurangzib in the Deccan. In the time of Emperor Aurangzib, he, in the 1st year, had gone with Subkaran Bundēla to chastise Champat Bundēla. Later he was appointed to the Deccan, and made good under Mīrzā Rāja Jai Singh; in recognition of his services his rank was increased, he was granted the title of Rāja and granted his homeland as his fief. When Khān Jahān Bahādur was the Governor, he was for a time the Thānādār of Gulshanābād. When he died in the 19th year, his son Jasvant Singh, who was at home, was granted the title of Rāja and the government of his native country. In the same year, he came to the Deccan with a large force, and joined the Emperor's service. In the 21st year he was appointed to chastise the sons of Champat Bundēla, who were creating a disturbance in Bundēlkhand. In the 29th year, he went to Bijāpūr with Himmat Khān son of Khān Jahān Kōkaltāsh. At the time of departure, he received¹ a dress of honour and a drum. He rendered good service in the expedition against the fort of Mulkhair. In the 30th year he died. After him his son Bhagwant Singh had the title of Rāja and the government of his native country, but he died in the 31st year. At the request of Rānī Amar Kaur, his grandmother, the management of the estate was given in the name of Uday Singh son of Pratāp Singh—whose lineage went upto Rāja Madhūkar. Pratāp Singh had been subsisting on one village of Pargana of Āndchā (Orcha). He was honoured with the grant of the title of Rāja. In

¹ *Māathir-i-Ālamgiri*, p. 273.

the 33rd year he came from his home and did homage. In the 47th year his rank was raised to 3,500 with 1,500 horse, and he was appointed Governor of the fort of Khelna—which was renamed Sakhruṇā. After Autangzīb's death when his position became insecure, he retired to his home after making over the fort to the Marathas. After him his son Prithī Singh and his grandson Sānwal Singh had the *Zamīndārī* of Ōrcha. At the time of writing Pancham Singh son of Sānwal Singh is in possession.

(MĪRZĀ) SULAIMĀN (Ruler of Badakhhshān)

(Vol. III, pp. 264-277).

He was connected through five generations with the Lord of Conjunction—Amīr Tīmūr Gūrgānī. This territory (Badakhhshān) was long held by a family which claimed descent from Alexander the Great. No neighbouring princes interfered with this family, who were content only with exacting a small tribute. When Sultān Abū Sa'īd Gūrgān came to the throne, he captured Sultān Muhammād, who was the last of his race, and put him to death along with his children and other relations, and took possession of Badakhhshān. Later, when Sultān Mahmūd¹ Mīrzā son of Sultān Abū Sa'īd after capturing Samarqand died, Amīr Khūsrau Shāh—who had become an *Amīr* through the patronage of Sultān Mahmūd—for sometime carried on the sovereignty in the names of Mīrzās Bāysanghar and Mas'ūd, the sons of the late King. Then he blinded the first and killed the second, and in 905 A.H. (1499-1500 A.D.) ascended the throne of Badakhhshān². In 910 A.H. (1504-05 A.D.) Emperor Bābur, the conqueror of the world—who after fighting grand battles with the Chaghtāi and Uzbeg princes in Māwar-ul-Nahr saw that the position was not favourable to him, and therefore turned away from his native land—came to Badakhhshān with a few followers. As

¹ Text has Muhammād which is incorrect.

² *Akbarnāma*, I, Beveridge's translation, p. 230, note 2.

Khusrau Shāh's men took the road of disloyalty, and joined Bābur, he also was obliged to join his service. Bābur in spite of Khusrau's injustices to two of his cousins gave him leave to proceed to Khurāsān with some of his possessions. Bābur after arranging the affairs of Badakhshān went to Kābul.

When in 912 A.H. (1506-07 A.D.) Bābur took Qandahār from Shāh Bēg Arghūn, he sent Khān Mīrzā, who was the son of Sultān Mahmūd and son of Mīrzā Sulaimān to Badakhshān. He after many adventures firmly established himself in that territory. In the year 917¹ A.H. (1511-12 A.D.) he died. Thereupon Bābur gave Badakhshān to Prince Humāyūn, and for a long time his officers administered that territory. After the conquest of India and the battle with Rānā Sāngā, Prince Humāyūn on 9th Rajab, 933 A.H.² (11th April, 1527 A.D.) took leave to settle Kābul and Badakhshān. He enjoyed himself for a year in Badakhshān, and then was suddenly overcome by a desire to see his august father. He thereupon made over Badakhshān to Sultān Wais³, who was the father-in-law of Mīrzā Sulaimān, and proceeded towards India. It happened that during his absence Sultān Sa'īd Khān, who was one of the Khāns of Kāshghar, proceeded to Badakhshān on the summons of Sultān Wais and other officers. Mīrzā Hindāl, however, arrived before him, and strengthened the fort of Zafar. Sa'īd Khān after besieging it for three months returned unsuccessful to Kāshghar. It was, however, reported in India that Kāshgharis had taken possession of Badakhshān. Bābur thereupon directed Prince Humāyūn to go there, but he represented that he had vowed that he would not voluntarily deprive himself of the pleasure of waiting upon his father, but that if he was ordered to go, there was no help to it. So Mīrzā Sulaimān was sent to Badakhshān, and a letter written to Sultān Sa'īd Khān saying: "This affair

¹ As has been discussed at length by Beveridge *Akbarnāma*, I, translation, p. 266, note, 5, this date appears to be wrong; it should be 927 (1521 A.D.).

² *Akbarnāma*, translation, I, p. 267.

³ *O.p. cit.*, p. 271.

seems strange in view of my numerous claims on your consideration. I have now recalled Mīrzā Hindāl and sent Mīrzā Sulaimān. If in consideration of the hereditary rights you should hand over Badakhshān to him—for he is as a son to us both—that would be desirable. Otherwise, I having discharged my responsibility, will place the inheritance in the hands of the heir. The rest you know¹". Before Mīrzā Sulaimān's arrival at Kābul, however, Badakhshān had been freed from the designs of the evil-minded persons, and transformed into an abode of peace². The Mīrzā brought the whole of that territory under his control, and established himself firmly.

After the predominance of Shēr Khān in India, when Mīrzā Kāmrān had the *Khuṭba* recited and the coins struck in his own name in Kābul, he sent a message to Mīrzā Sulaimān that in Badakhshān also the *Khuṭba* should be recited and coins struck in his name. Mīrzā refused to obey this command and collected an army. But he found that he would not be able to resist and so knocking on the door of peace submitted to recite the *Khuṭba* and strike coins in Kāmrān's name. Mīrzā Kāmrān confiscated some of the districts of Badakhshān, and after settling these on his³ own men returned. Mīrzā Sulaimān broke the compact and took possession of these districts. Mīrzā Kāmrān again led an army towards Badakhshān, and a battle took place at Andarāb. Mīrzā Sulaimān after being defeated took refuge in the fort of Zafar. Having lost heart as a result of a prolonged siege and the unfaithfulness of his men, he was obliged to come out of the fort and wait on Mīrzā Kāmrān. The latter imprisoned Mīrzā Sulaimān and his son, Mīrzā Ibrāhīm, and brought them to Kābul. Friday⁴, 17th Jummāda II is the chronogram of this event (948 A.H., or 8th October, 1540 A.D.).

When on 25th Jummada II, 952 A.H. (3rd September, 1545 A.H.) Humāyūn returned from Irān and captured the Qandahār fort by force from Mīrzā 'Askarī, and it was reported that he was proceed-

1 *Op. cit.*, pp. 273, 274.

2 *Op. cit.*, p. 275.

3 *Op. cit.*, p. 408.

4 *Op. cit.*, p. 409.

ing to Kabul, Mīrzā Kāmrān was thinking of releasing Mīrzā Sulaimān in the hope that he might later prove a useful ally, but meanwhile a number of Mīrzā Sulaimān's supporters joining together took possession of the fort of Zafar, and imprisoned Mīrzā Kāmrān's officers. They also sent a message that if Mīrzā Sulaimān was released they would make over the country, otherwise they would kill the officers and hand over the country to the Uzbegs. This coincided with the earlier deliberations, and so Mīrzā Kāmrān soothed Mīrzā Sulaimān and Mīrzā Ibrāhīm by treating them kindly, and sent them to Badakhshān. They had not completed the journey when Mīrzā Kāmrān repented of having let them go, and sent men to recall them. The Mīrzā, however, sent a written excuse¹ and proceeded to Badakhshān. When Emperor Humāyūn took Kābul from Mīrzā Kāmrān without a fight, Mīrzā Sulaimān became hostile, and had the *Khutba* recited in his own name. Emperor Humāyūn marched towards Badakhshān in 953 A.H. (1546 A.D.), and the Mīrzā being unable to resist him retired to the wilds, and all that country passed into Humāyūn's possession. He made the fort of Zafar his Capital. At this time Mīrzā Kāmrān, who had fled to Sind, finding that Kābul was undefended, made a rapid march, and took possession of it. Perforce Emperor Humāyūn was compelled to send for Mīrzā Sulaimān and to restore² his territory to him. After Emperor Humāyūn had crossed the Indus on his expedition to India, the Mīrzā also took possession³ of some neighbouring districts. After Emperor Humāyūn's death, he, his son Mīrzā Ibrāhīm and his wife Haram Bēgum known as Wali Ni'mat—who managed most of his affairs—came and besieged⁴ Kābul.

As Mun'im Khān, who was defending the fort and the city found himself in a difficult situation, a sort of peace was arranged, and

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 469.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 504.

³ *Op. cit.*, pp. 637, 638.

⁴ The account is based on *Akbarnāma*, II, Beveridge's translation, pp. 39, 40. The name of Mīrzā Ibrāhīm's wife there is Haram Bēgum, while in the text it is Khurram Bēgum.

Mīrzā Sulaimān returned¹. In 967 A.H. (1559-60 A.D.) he collected a force and marched towards Balkh. Far-seeing well-wishers pointed out that it was unwise to attack with the available forces Pīr Muḥammad Khān, who had a number of powerful supporters and also a large force of Uzbegs. They also added that experienced commanders had stated that in the case of a small force opposing a much larger force there must be large number of experienced leaders in the smaller force. In this case they only had two leaders, one Mīrzā Sulaimān and the other Mīrzā Ibrāhīm. He, however, paid no heed to their words and started the fray. When later he saw that the affair was not proceeding as he had hoped, he started retreating towards Badakhshān. They also counsilled Mīrzā Ibrāhīm, who was eager for battle, to retire as his father had done, but he replied that it was difficult to get away, and so he would fight, and see what came of it. Muḥammad Qulī Khan Shighālī roughly said that it was generally agreed amongst soldiers that when they had gone a bow's length from the enemy, it was difficult to engage in a hand to hand fight. With great difficulty Mīrzā Ibrāhīm made his escape, and with a few men, on foot and disguised, he came to a village. The people of the place recognizing him arrested him, and took him to Pīr Muḥammad Khān. He put him to death after keeping him under surveillance for a few days. Mīrzā Sulaimān found that chronogram: *Kō nakbl umēd pidr* (where is the sapling of a father's hopes? 967 A.H., 1559-60 A.D.). Before this occurrence Mīrzā Ibrāhīm had written an ode, the opening verse of which was:—

Verse

I go to the land of regret like a tulip with a scar on its heart,
On the day of Resurrection I'll rise from the clay with a
scarred heart.

And one of the eloquent men composed this quatrain:

¹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 41, 42.

Quatrain

Ah! Badakhshān Ruby, thou'st gone from Badakhshān,
 Thou hast gone from the shade of the shining sun.
 In the age thou wast like Sulaimān's signet-ring.
 Alas! that thou hast gone from Sulaimān's finger¹.

When in the 8th year of Emperor Akbar's reign, in accordance with a secret request from Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm—whose mother had been put to death by the ungrateful Shāh Abūl Ma'ālī—Mīrzā Sulaimān and his wife came to Kābul and as a retribution for his deeds hung² Abūl Ma'ālī. He gave his daughter to Mīrzā Ḥakīm in marriage, and distributed two parts of the Kābul territory to his own men. He appointed Umēd 'Alī, one of the Chief officers of Badakhshān as the Minister of Mīrzā Muḥammad³ Ḥakīm, and himself returned to Badakhshān. As Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm was worried over the supremacy of the Badakhshīs, he drove them out of Kābul, and made over the country to his own followers. In 971 A.H. (1563-64 A.D.) Mīrzā Sulaimān started for Kābul to put this matter right. Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm on hearing this news made over the city to Bāqī Qāqshāl and Ma'sūm Kōka, and left the place. After crossing the Indus he implored for help from Emperor Akbar. When Mīrzā Sulaimān heard of Mīrzā's escape, he started in his pursuit, but on finding that he had got away, he returned and took Jalālabād. He also set about besieging Kābul. When, however, he heard that Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm with Pīr Muḥamīd Khān and other leaders of the Atga Khail, who were the nobles of the Panjab and who had been ordered by Emperor Akbar to assist him, had come near, he returned⁴ to Badakhshān. Again in 973 A.H. (1565-66 A.D.) when he found that the Akbarī officers had left Kābul, he came with his wife Ḥarāmī

¹ The account of the invasion of Balkh and Mīrzā Ibrāhīm's death, as also the verses and quatrain, are based on the detailed description in *Akbarnāma*, II, translation, pp. 188-194.

² *Op. cit.*, pp. 320, 321.

³ *Op. cit.*, pp. 321, 322.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, pp. 359-363.

Bēgum. Ḥakīm Mīrzā after strengthening the city went away to Ghorband. Mīrzā Sulaimān tried several ways, and was almost successful in having his prey fall in the net. But Mīrzā Muhammad Ḥakīm getting the news in time departed for India. Mīrzā Sulaimān thereupon was forced to renew the siege of Kābul. He, however, failed in his efforts, and so had to content himself with a small tribute and return¹ to Badakhshān.

After this events so shaped themselves that the Mīrzā could not live in peace in his own country. The details are as follows. Ḥaram Bēgum, the Mīrzā's wife and daughter of Sultān Wais Kūlābī, who was of the Qibchāq tribes, assumed control of the country and the army to such an extent, that the Mīrzā had to make over to her the power of ordering executions—which was a duty that he could not delegate to another. The Badakhshis out of envy charged her with misconduct with her own beloved brother Haidar 'Alī and Mīrzā Ibrāhīm in his youthful folly and at the instigation of the slanderers put that innocent one to death. The Bēgum addressed herself to the destruction of the Badakhshī officers, and when Mīrzā Ibrāhīm was killed, she became annoyed with all the Badakhshī soldiers, and the feuds and differences became general. Muhtarim Khānum, daughter of Shāh Muhammad Kāshgharī, who was married to Mīrzā Kāmrān, came from Kābul to Badakhshān on her way back to Kāshghar. Mīrzā Sulaimān wanted to marry her, but the Bēgum forestalling him married her to her son Mīrzā Ibrāhīm; and thus prevented her becoming a co-wife. But on this score Muhtarim Khānum had a grudge in her heart, and was always dissatisfied and pining for revenge. As meanwhile Mīrzā Ibrāhīm was killed, she began to taunt her more and more. Ḥaram Bēgum's sole idea was that becoming sick of her ill treatment Muhtarim Khānum might depart for Kāshghar, and the former might be able to bring up Mīrzā Shāhrukh (Muhtarim Khanum's son) herself. Muhtarim Khānum not wanting to be separated from her child ignored all the insults. At last Mīrzā Shāhrukh grew up

¹ *Op. cit.*, pp 409-412.

to years of discretion, and in conjunction with his mother and at the instigation of the Badakhshīs—who were noted for their intrigues and disloyalty—he fell out with his respected grandfather and grandmother. Sometimes they were at peace, and at other times they were at war. Meanwhile Haram Khānum died, and Mīrzā Shāhrukh took possession of his father's estates; and many of the people leaving Mīrzā Sulaimān joined his party. Mīrzā Sulaimān, therefore, was obliged to make peace with the Khānum and Shāhrukh; and oaths and terms were exchanged. He got permission to leave for pilgrimage to Mecca, and started. His secret intention, however, was to get help from Kabul or India, and to revenge himself. When he reached Kabul, Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm behaved contrary to his expectations, so much so that he did not even give him influential guides who would see him safely over his journey. He thereupon trusting in God took the route to India. He crossed the Indus in the 20th year, 983 A.H. (1575-76 A.D.). Emperor Akbar issued orders to the Panjab officials to welcome him suitably, and to treat him with all respect. Rājā Blagwān Dās became his guide and conducted him to the Court. Rupees 50,000 in cash and necessary goods suitable to the status of such a guest were sent to him through Khwāja Āqā Khān. The Mīrzā was overjoyed at receiving such presents which were worth more than several years' revenue of Badakhshān.

When he reached the outskirts of the Capital, he was received by numbers of nobles and peers of the realm, and when he was three miles away, Emperor Akbar himself rode forward to welcome him. The entire city was illuminated. Two lines of elephants were drawn up from the palace to his quarters; they had gold and silver chains, and golden coverings and trappings, and between every two elephants was a hunting leopard (*chita*) adorned with jewels and gold-worked coverings and cows with golden headstalls which made them a very attractive sight for all the people who had collected for witnessing the spectacle. The Emperor alighting from his charger embraced him. No rites of hospitality were neglected in the gorgeous feasts that were arranged in Mīrzā's honour. An order was issued to Khān

Jahān, the Governor of the Panjab, to arrange for accompanying¹ the Mīrzā on an expedition to Badakhshān. It so happened, however, that Mun'im Khān Khān Khānān, the Governor of Bengāl, died in the same year, and the Mīrzā was offered this appointment in his place. Out of love for his native land the Mīrzā did not accept the appointment, and consequently Khān Jahān was appointed as the Governor of Bengāl². The Mīrzā saw that there would now be delay in getting the necessary help, and so he asked leave³ for going on a pilgrimage to Mecca thinking that perhaps he might reach Badakhshān from there, and by strategy be able to achieve his object. Accordingly he turned aside from the holy intent, and went instead to Irān to Shah Ismā'il II. He treated him with great regard and honour, and provided him with a suitable contingent for the proposed expedition. He had only reached Herāt when the Shāh died. The Mīrzā becoming despondent went to Qandahār, and made Mużaffar Husain his son-in-law. As, however, this scheme did not fructify, he went to Kābul and joined Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm. The latter wanted to proceed to Panjab and create a disturbance there. Mīrzā Sulaimān dissuaded him from this idea, and prevailed on him to accompany him on a march to Badakhshān. Mīrzā Shāhrukh made preparations for a fight, but after a slight engagement some of the Badakhshīs deserted and joined Mīrzā Sulaimān. Mīrzā Shāhrukh suspecting his other followers also went away to Kulāb. At last peace was arranged on the condition that the territory from Tāliqān to the Hindu Kush (Hindu Kōh in text) which was Mīrzā Ibrāhīm's fief would be made over⁴ to Mīrzā Sulaimān. For a time peace reigned in the area, and friendly relations were maintained, but sometimes owing to the machinations of evil-minded partisans differences would be-

¹ The long account of the intrigues in Badakhshān and the quarrels between Mīrzā Sulaimān and Shāhrukh and the former's coming over to India is taken almost verbatim from *Akbarnāma*, III, Beveridge's translation, pp. 211-222.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 229.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, pp. 423-425.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 231.

come quite acute, but so long as the mother of Mīrzā Shāhrukh was alive, the differences were speedily smoothed. After the death of Khānum Bēgum, however, Mīrzā Shāhrukh behaved arrogantly, and so Mīrzā Sulaimān went to 'Abdullāh Khān Uzbeg the ruler of Tūrān, in the hope that with his assistance, he would succeed in achieving his object. As he had gone off on an expedition to Tāshkand, the Mīrzā was received by his father Sikandar Khān. But when the Mīrzā discovered that 'Abdullāh Khān was deceitful, he hurriedly left the place. When he reached near Badakhshān, Mīrzā Shāhrukh came forward with humility, and offered that the earlier division of the territory be maintained. The Mīrzā settled down being content with Kishm. 'Abdullāh Khān hearing of the disagreements between the Mīrzās and the unrest in the territory, came to Badakhshān in 992 A.H. (1584 A.D.). The Mīrzās abandoned the country without a fight¹, and Mīrzā Shāhrukh left for India. Mīrzā Sulaimān, however, feeling ashamed at his earlier behaviour was not inclined to go to India. Mīrzā Muhammād Hakīm assigned him some villages in the Lamghānāt for his support, and sent him off there. After some time he sent him with a force to Badakhshān. He was again defeated and returned. After Mīrzā Muhammād Hakīm died, Mīrzā Sulaimān had perforce to go to India. Kanwar Mān Singh, Governor of Kābul accompanied him as far as Peshāwar. In the end of 31st year he reached the Capital. Prince Sultān Murād welcomed him and introduced him² at the Court. He was granted the rank of 5,000, and spent his days in comfort. In the year 997 A.H.³ (1589 A.D.), while the Emperor was away in Kashmīr, he died at the age of 77 at Lāhōre. *Ikhshī* (meaning beautiful, not Bakhshī as in the text) was the date of his birth (920 A.H., 1514 A.D.). He was distinguished for his courage and military skill.

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 652.

² *Op. cit.*, pp. 785, 786.

³ *Op. cit.*, pp. 836, 837. The date of his death is given there as 23rd June, 1589.

(RĀJA) SULTĀNĪ

(Vol. II, pp. 338-340).

In the Maratha tribe he had the title of Nimbālkar. He became known with Shāhjī Mānik grandson of Anang Pāl—who in the 15th year of Aurangzib's reign was admitted into imperial service at the recommendation of Bahādur Khan Kōka. Anang Pāl was a leading *Zamindār* of the Deccan. The Rāja under notice was at first in the service of Rāja Shāhū, and was his general. In the time of Niẓām-ul-Mulk Āṣaf Jāh after the battle with Mubāriz Khan, he entered imperial service, and received the rank of 7,000 and the estate of Bīr and some estates of *Sarkār* Fathābād in the province of Aurangābād, and the *Pargana* of Pathrī in Berār. He had 3,000 horsemen. The year in which Niẓām-ul-Mulk died, he also died a few months later in the same year, 1161 A.H. (1748 A.D.). Later, when Nāṣir Jang the Martyr, proceeded towards Pondicherry, and came near his residence,² Hanūnat Rāo his son came out with a large force, and pitched his tents near those of the army of the Islām. Nāṣir Jang out of respect for his position went to visit him in his camp to offer condolence. He confirmed him in his rank, granted him the hereditary title, and the estates which his father had held. In the time of Ṣalābat Jang, the title of Adhirāj was added to his name. In 1176 A.H. (1762-63 A.D.) he died. His younger son, who survived him, succeeded him. But as service was not of long duration (in that establishment), no settlement was made. After one or two years a small portion of his fief was left to him, and the rest confiscated. At the time of writing, his son, when he had attained manhood, received the name of Dhanpat Rāo, and some estates in Berār *Sūba* were given to him as his fief, but his affairs are in a disorganized state.

SULTĀN KHWĀJA NAQSHBANDĪ¹

(Vol. II, pp. 379-396).

His name was 'Abdul 'Azīm, and he was the son of Khwāja Khāwand Dōst, who was a disciple of Khwāja 'Abdul Shahīd son of Khwāja 'Abdullāh known as the Khwājgān-i-Khwāja, who was the son of Khwāja Nāṣir-ud-Dīn Ahrār. When Khwāja 'Abdul Shahīd² came² to India from Samarqand, Emperor Akbar received him with respect and kindness, and presented him the *Pargana* of Chamārī in the Panjab. The Khwāja lived there for many years. After eighteen years, however, he returned to Samarqand about the end of 982 A.H. (1574-75 A.D.) and died in 984 A.H. (1576-77 A.D.). Though Sultān Khwāja was not very learned, his learning and *Sufism* made him a favourite with the Emperor. He had much influence and developed great intimacy with the Emperor. When in the 21st year, 984 A.H. (1576-77 A.D.) Emperor Akbar resolved to go on a pilgrimage to the *Hijāz*, his courtiers represented that most wise men, whose opinion were worthy of consideration, had in regard to rulers—who had to dispense justice, and particularly when these noble Kings had to maintain by civil and military measures tranquillity and peace in their extensive territories—laid down that such pilgrimages could only be undertaken if life of their subjects would not in any way be affected thereby. Accordingly, Emperor Akbar gave up the idea. As spiritual feelings had been aroused, he appointed Sultān Khwāja, who was all upright and experienced officer, as the *Amīr Hāj* (Director of Pilgrimage), and made over to him six lakhs of rupees and twelve thousand robes, so that he could distribute presents in accordance with the rules of propriety to the deserving pilgrims. He was also ordered to enquire into the condition of and prepare a list of the recluses—who

¹ This is a very mixed account. The short biographical notes of Khwāja 'Abdul Shahid, and Sultān Khwāja are followed by a long account of *Din-i-Ilāhī* or the Divine Faith introduced by Akbar.

² *Akbarnāma*, Text, II, p. 127; Beveridge's translation, II, p. 195. He came to India apparently in 968 A.H. (1561 A.D.).

owing to their devotion to spiritual pursuits could not follow any normal professions and handicrafts—and of other contented indigents of that land. This was with a view to sending to that area every year a well qualified person from the Court for granting succour to the needy there. Many high and low joined the caravan for the journey to Hijāz; and perhaps few such large caravans had gone previously from India to that land¹.

The Khwāja returned in 986 A.H. (1578-79 A.D.) from that edifying journey, and having made his obeisance became the recipient of even greater favours. He was appointed² *Sadr Kull* (Chief Ecclesiastical Officer), and given the rank of 1,000. In the 29th year, 992 A.H. (1584 A.D.) he died³ a natural death, and was buried in the area on the north side in the fort of Fathpūr. After his death in the beginning of the 33rd⁴ year, his daughter was married to Prince Daniyāl. His son Mir Khwāja in the 46th year attained the rank of 300.

In *Dabistān* of Mūbāid it is stated that Sultān Khwāja was one of the *Ālbīān*, or in other words, was one of the faith which was founded by Emperor Akbar, and which is known as the *Dīn-i-llāhī*. At the time of his death he requested the Emperor not to bury him like the demons. As a result he was interred in a tomb with a special lamp, and a grill was fixed facing the Sun, so that the light thereof might obliterate his sins⁵. Stories like this do not find a place in trustworthy histories, and they cannot be accepted as there is no positive evidence for their veracity—what Shaikh Badayūnī and his

¹ This account is taken from *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 192; Beveridge's translation, III, pp. 269-271. See also the very helpful footnotes by the translator.

² *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 263; translation, p. 382.

³ *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 437; translation, p. 655. He died on 25th July, 1584 of "weakness of the stomach and heart."

⁴ The marriage took place in the 33rd and not the 30th year. See *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 528; Beveridge's translation, III, p. 806.

⁵ *Dabistān* (lith. edn.), p. 806.

like have stated either clearly or by innuendo must be disregarded as being due to bigotry and exaggeration. From what is stated in the biographies of the Chief Shaikhs in the work entitled *Thamarāt-ul-Quḍus* by La'l Bēg—who was a *Mansabdār* under Emperor Akbar, and was connected with the Naqshbandī Order—it appears from the account of Sultān Khwāja that the above statements are unreliable and not worthy of credence. It is stated "As at this time some new faiths were promulgated, and people wanted to make flaws and fissures in the Muhammadan Faith, they therefore determined that if one died they should, after the fashion of the fire-worshippers, have a window in his tomb facing the sun (East). For if the light of the Great Luminary—which is a Divine Light and the source of all other lights—does not shine on him, he would not attain Salvation. Some wicked persons wanted to do this with His Holiness (Sultān Khwāja), but as the Almighty God protects the (Naqshbandī) Order, no one was able to carry it out. He was carried to the grave and buried according to the rules of the Sunnat.

In these pages something has been said on the subject (of Divine Faith or Dīn-i-llāhī) wherever it was appropriate, but this has always been done with reserve. Here we propose to allow our pen full license, and let it rush over the pages at full gallop. Emperor Akbar from his early youth was fond of, nay enamoured of Indian customs and institutions, either because of a natural inclination or from motives of policy. For example, he let his hair grow, and when after a long time he wanted to shave, he remarked that he had adopted the other practice with a view to conciliating the natives of India, but as this was no longer necessary he was going to shave. Although he laboured to exalt the 'Ulemās and the chief Shaikhs, and made current the tenets of Islām, yet as a result of his broad-mindedness and toleration

¹ It has not been possible to identify the work *Thamarāt-ul-Quḍus* by La'l Bēg. A La'l Bēg is mentioned in *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 363, but no indication is given that he was the author of such a biographical work.

he sat with the Brahmins and Yogīs, and adopted their invocations and practices. Later, when he was charged with impiety and infidelity, he, in order to blind the common people, deemed it right to do something in accordance with the tenets of the Faith. Accordingly, he announced his intention of going on a pilgrimage, appointed a Mir Hāj every year, and also celebrated the birthday of the Prophet—May the peace of God be on him and his family! And in the 23rd year in imitation of the Prophet, and of the Caliphs and the Princes of Islām he himself took up the post of the preacher, and ascended the pulpit in the Jāma' Mosque of Fathpūr. As he was not acquainted with Arabic, or for some other reason, he recited these lines composed by Shaikh Faiḍī by way of a sermon:—

Verses

The Lord has bestowed on me the Sovereignty,
 And has given me a wise heart and a strong arm,
 He has guided me in equity and in justice;
 And removed from my thoughts every thing but equity;
 His description surpasses human understanding;
 Great is His power, Allāhu Akbar¹.

Some historians have stated that when he entered the pulpit, he stammered and trembled, and that in great agitation he closed the Friday prayers by reciting the above verses. He wanted to introduce innovations in all affairs and also desired to make current novel practices in religious observances, but as he realised that the introduction of principles different from the Sharī'at laws might upset tranquillity and harmony in public affairs, at the suggestion of the learned 'Ulemās who knew his disposition, and whose head was Ghāzi Khān Badakhlshī, they all agreed in the 24th year, 977 A.H. (1569 A.D.)

¹ For this account see *Akkarnāma*, Text, III, pp. 270, 271. See also Badayūni's account in *Muntakhab-ut-Tawārikh*, Lowe's translation, II, pp. 276, 277 on which apparently the next paragraph of the note is based.

to the decree that the rank of a just sovereign was higher than that of a *Mujtahid* (Spiritual Director), and that the reigning Caliph (i.e. Akbar) was just, pious and virtuous. A document was drawn up and attested by several learned men to the effect that whatever Emperor Akbar ruled in disputed points should be regarded as Divine, and that the submission thereto was incumbent on all men¹. Accordingly, this has been described in the notice² of the Ṣadr Shaikh 'Abdul Nabi.

As Emperor Akbar developed an earnest desire to investigate the various faiths and religions of mankind, it was not long before the royal assembly had in it representatives of all faiths and religions. The learned of all religions gathered there, and toleration and forbearance were extended to all of them. Each one of them expounded the tenets of his faith without fear of persecution, and the good and bad points of each were freely discussed. Every one reviled and abused the religions of other people. The Jew, the Nazarene, the Sunnī, the Shi'a, the Fire-worshippers, the Brahmans and the Muhammadans disputed with one another. And—God forgive us—they even spoke disparagingly and disrespectfully of the great prophets and Imāms. The altercations developed to such an extent that the 'Ulemās and theologians of Islām fell out among themselves and accused one another of infidelity. Hakīm Filsfī said that there were wise men in all religions, and why should one be preferred to another. One should obey the great Spirit of Reason—which is the ruler and arbiter between the good and the bad—and should not give heed to fantastic stories. The house of tradition had decayed. A Zoroastrian Ardshēr was sent for from Irān, and he brought fire with him. Emperor Akbar regarded it as the Divine Fire, and entrusted its charge to Abūl Fadl. He was to look after it according to the practice in

¹ For the text of this document see Badāyūnī, Lowe's translation, II, pp. 278-280. This happened in 987 A.H. and not 977 A.H. as is wrongly stated in the text.

² *Ma'āthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, II, pp. 560-564; Beveridge's translation, I, pp. 41-44.

the fire-temples of Irān. An order was also sent to Adar (*Adhar*) Kaivān, who was the head of the fire-worshippers of Persia. He excused himself, but sent a book composed by himself, which contained praises of angels and the constellations, and also comprised rules and observances. It was divided into fourteen chapters. Every line of it was pure Persian, but by changing the diacritical marks it became Arabic, and when these were inverted they became Turkish and when the vowels were altered, it became¹ Hindī (Sanskrit). Shaikh Abūl Faḍl used to say that this book was superior to *Qur'ān*. No weight whatsoever was attached to the sciences of the Law and the Traditions. Men devoted themselves to philosophy, mathematics, medicine, astronomy, poetry, and history. Orders were issued to the provinces to restrain the laity from (religious?) studies. They were to pay reverence to the Great Luminary, which is the benefactor of the Shamāsiyān, who believe in the spiritual and physical benefits thereof (?) and regard the offering of thanks to it as a spiritual and material bliss. At the instigation of Rājā Bīrbal Emperor Akbar regularly repeated invocations to and names of the Sun in Hindī and Persian, and he regarded the time of transit of the Sun from one sign to another, and especially its transit into Aries as auspicious. In the same manner regarding the combinations of other wandering stars—which receive their light from the Sun—as auspicious and harbingers of good fortune at specific times, he established fourteen festivals² in the year. On the recommendation of Amīr Fath Ullāh Shīrazī,³ the most learned man of the age, he abandoned

¹ *Dabistān*, p. 410, on which this account of Kaivān's work is based. Apparently the meaning is that when the letters or vowel points were changed, the Turkish became Hindi.

² For a detailed account see *Akbarnāma*, Text, II, pp. 10-13; Beveridge's translation, II, pp. 19-24. In this list only 13 festivals are given, but Badāyūnī's account on which *Maāthir*'s notice is based has fourteen, see Lowe's translation, *op. cit.*, p. 316.

³ *Maāthir-ul-Umārā*, Text, I, pp. 100-105; Beveridge's translation, I, pp. 543-546. The Ilahi Era was introduced in 992 A.H. (1584 A.D.) "its first

the Arabian calendar (Hijrī Era) and adopted the solar year and months after the Irānian fashion. He forbade the slaughter of cattle, and as there were *Qādis* for the disposal of cases among the Muhammādans, learned Brahmins were appointed to settle the cases of the Hindus. As every order issued by him was by way of distinction headed with the title of *Ilāhī* (Divine), he gathered the cream of all religions and systems, and designated the result as *Din-i-llāhī* (Divine Faith). A number of recluses and men of the world adopted this religion, and said strange things. They also stated that this collecting and selecting was a Divine work. This erring faction called Akbar "God's Vicar" and gave out that it had been ordained that they should say, "There is no God but Allāh, and Akbar is the Vicar of Allāh."

It is related that when on the eve of Sunday, 5th Rajab¹ 949 A.H. (15th October, 1542 A.D.), Akbar was born at Amarkōt, one of the wise men saw in a vision that the Universal Reason ('Aqlkull) came down with Universal Sense (*Nafas kull*), and after moulding a form, which was composed of the excellences of the four elements, made it over to Emperor Humāyūn. Thus it is written in the story of Alanqawā² that some were inspired in a dream, and that the Lord of Humanity—who is called in Turkish Kush *Khān*—came to her spiritually, and that without copulation she by the Holy spirit became

year being the year of Emperor's accession, *viz.*, nine hundred and sixty three"—*vide* Badāyūni Lowe's translation, *op. cit.*, p. 316.

¹ This is the date according to Abūl Fadl, see *Akbarnāma*, Text, I, p. 18; Beveridge's translation, I, p. 54. In the regard to the controversy regarding the name of the place Amirkōt and the date of Akbar's birth see Vincent Smith, *Akbar, the Great Mogul*, p. 14 (1919) and *Indian Antiquary*, XLIV, pp. 234-244 (1915), and B. De's translation of *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, II, p. 88, footnote 2 and pp. 89, 90, footnote 4. Also see Hidayat Hosain's edition of *Tadhkirā-i-Humāyūn wā Akbar* of Bāyazid Biyāt, p. 46, note 2.

² For Alanqawā's story see *Akbarnāma*, Text, I, p. 12; Beveridge's translation, I, p. 37, note 2,

pregnant. Accordingly, all the sons of Būzunjar Qāān¹ who are called Nairūn,² were procreated from angles.

The Ilāhī Sect have stated that Emperor Akbar had the power of quitting his body, and that on one occasion he in the night watches passed beyond the heavens in a spiritual body, and that his spirit became commingled with the *Wāhid Akbar*—The Great absolute one—a phrase which in their language means the Divine Person. God said: “Between Me and others Gabriel is the intermediary, between Me and thee there is no one,” and He bade him put an end to the disputes of the world. Akbar said that he could not accomplish this without inflicting punishment, and that this he could not inflict, but that he would be a guide as far as he could be means of gentleness and tenderness. Then God said, “Thou art the exponent of my love, others are the exponents of my wrath.” And numerous examples of such nonsense and absurdities have been made current. Most of them were Yogis and Sanyasis, and some Muhammadans, who affected a change in their ways. They adopted him as their leader and called him the Jagat Guru, and the miracles stated to have been performed by the Emperor Akbar were considered by them as the demonstrations (*Burhān*) of his power.

Shaikh ‘Allāmī has related in his history that in the 8th month after Akbar’s birth Jījī Anaga was suckling him. She appeared sad and depressed owing to the opposition of Māham Anaga and several others. At this time when no one was present, Akbar spoke soothingly to her, and gave her joyful news; he, however, charged her not to tell the secret to any one. Jījī Anaga remained in state of great exultation, but told no one. At last, one day when Emperor Akbar was hunting at Delī, and was in the neighbourhood of Pālam, a huge snake appeared in his path. Without hesitation, Akbar seized it by the tail and overpowered it. Yūsuf Muḥammad Khān Kōka came and told the marvel to his mother Jījī Anaga. She revealed what she had

¹ *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 67; translation, pp. 183, 184. On p. 37, in note 2 his name is given as Budantsar Mong Khan.

² *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 72, translation, p. 192.

kept secret, and said that it was no wonder if one who had performed a Messiah-like miracle in his infancy should perform a Moses-like marvel in his full age. The Shaikh adds that while he heard these stories from other people, these were also confirmed by me from that chaste lady (*Jījī Anaga*)¹ herself.

It is also related in the *Dabistān*² that the author had been told by Mīrzā Shāh Muhammād Khān known as Ghaznīn Khān son of Shāh Bēg Khān Khān Daurān that he had asked Mīrzā ‘Azīz Kōka about what had been said regarding Akbar having spoken (in his infancy). The Mīrzā replied that his mother used to say that the story was true. And Shaikh ‘Allāmī has stated: “Why shall radiance of the light of grandeur and magnificence be not patent in the illustrious forehead of Emperor Akbar which is the repository of the light of sovereignty and the storehouse of the treasure of Divine Power. This very Light was reflected in the victories of Bābur, and became resplendent in the remarkable conquests of Ṣāhib Qirān (Timūr). It was the same light which sparkled in the princely pearls developed in the Oysters in Alanqawā’s Ocean of chastity. Āghur Khān flourished in the resplendence of the same light. The same Light has shed its lustre in varying degrees from Adam to Nūh. It is not possible for any one to detail the miraculous properties and influences of this wonderful light. All cannot distinguish it, nor are they able to probe into its mysteries”. It should, however, be evident that if an attribute were universally present, all descendants would inherit it from their ancestors. But the unique faculty and attribute recorded by the Shaikh is another matter. May God protect us!

It is stated in the *Dabistān* that in the year 1000 A.H. (1591-92 A.D.) it was brought to Emperor Akbar’s notice by Āḥliān that one

¹ This account of miraculous manifestations by Akbar during his infancy and in later year is taken almost verbatim from *Ākbarnāma*, Text, I, pp. 186-188; Beveridge’s translation, I, pp. 384-386.

² *Dabistān*, p. 390. The author states that he heard the story at Lāhōrē in 1053 A.H. (1643 A.D.) from Ghaznīn Khān. For Ghaznīn Khān see in the account of his father Shāh Bēg Khān Aghūn *Māthbir-ul-Umarā*, Text, II, p. 645.

thousand years of the Hijrī Era had expired, and that like Shāh Isma'il Safavī he should now extirpate his opponents by strong measures. He replied that he was working for tranquillity, and hoped that his principles would be generally accepted by men's goodwill, and that they would not by force and fear of sword be coerced into accepting *Din-i-Ilāhī*. Mīr Sharīf Āmulī¹ brought forward proofs from the writings of Maḥmud Khān showing that in the year 990 A.H. (1582 A.D.) a person (*Shakhs*) would arise who would introduce the true religion. He interpreted this to mean Akbar, for *Shakhs*² is equal to 990. Hakīm Firūz-ud-Dīn recited this quotation of Nāṣir Khusrau³.

Quatrain

In 999 according to the decree of Fate
 The Stars from all directions shall meet together
 In the year of Leo, the month of Leo, and the day of Leo,
 The Lion of God will stand forth from behind the curtain.

He also said that when he saw Nāṣir Khusrau in a vision, he asked him who the Lion of God was? He replied: Jalāl-ud-Dīn Muḥammad Akbar, Khwāja Maulānā of Shīrāz, the Divine (*Jafardān*) brought a pamphlet by some Sharīfs from Mecca to the effect that according to true traditions seven thousand years of the world's existence had passed, and now was the time for the appearance of the promised *Mahdi*⁴. He also said that he saw in a vision the Prophet of God standing in the *Ka'ba* while Jalāl-ud-Dīn was sitting there. He asked the reason and was told that it was now his (Akbar's) turn, and that the Lord of the Age and Master of Laws was Jalāl-ul-Akbar. The author of the *Dabistān Mūbadī* also says⁵ that he heard from Ahmad

1 See *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, III, pp. 285-290, translation *antea*, pp. 811-816. 2 According to *Abjad*.

3 A Persian poet of the fifth century of Hijra. See Blochmann's translation of *A'in*, I (2nd edn.) p. 199, note 2; a translation of the quatrain referred to is also given on the same page. Perhaps Hakīm Firūz is the Firūzā Kābulī of Badāyūnī, *op. cit.*, p. 186.

4 Based on Badāyūnī *Muntakhab-ut-Tawārikh*, II, Lowe's translation, p. 295. 5 I have not found this passage in *Dabistān*.

Tōqbāī—who was one of the Chief servants of Khān Ā'zam—that when novelties (in religious practices) were promulgated and vain foundations made current, the Mīrzā out of religious bigotry departed from Gujārāt for *Ka'ba* in 1001 A.H. (1593 A.D.). In 1002 A.H. (1594 A.D.) he offered his homage at Lāhōrē and embraced the Divine Faith. The reason for this was that one night in the *Ka'ba* he saw in a vision that the Apostle said, "The *Ka'ba* is the husk, and Akbar the kernel. This is a house and he is the householder". Still he did not propose to return (to India). It happened that one night he beheld in a vision that He (?the Apostle) said to him, "You will not depart with honour." The Sharīfs started behaving badly to him, and so he was obliged to return and to adopt what he had fled from. Hence it is that Badāyūnī has said, "The going of Mīrzā was good, but his coming back was not so." An amusing story is told of him to the effect that after Emperor Akbar's death he spoke lightly of him. When they questioned him about it he said, "There is no doubt about Akbar's greatness, but I am Akbar's Abū Jahl¹ (*Advocatus diaboli*)."

Finally when the *Albīs* became too obstreperous, Emperor Akbar confined himself to instructing some special persons. The confusion of faith consisted in acknowledging one God and in honouring those near him, such as the angels and the planets, abstaining from injuring living things of all types, and from evil, and the behaving without bigotry to all sects. The highest point was to be loyal to their benefactor to the extent of sacrificing four things, Property, Life, Honour and Religion. Dhūlfiqār Ardīstānī whose *nom-de-plume* is Mūbad has mentioned in his *Dabistān* several of the tenets of this religion. His book is a collection of the doctrines of the Hindus, the Magis and of the sects of Islām. Though at the present day no one avowedly belongs to this religion, and also in Akbar's time no one except certain privileged persons were instructed in it, Khān Khānān Mīrzā 'Abdur

¹ See Hughes *Dictionary of Islam*, p. 8 where he is described as "An implacable adversary of Muhammad".

Rahīm sought an interview and vehemently urging said, "I too am an *Ilāhī* slave." The Emperor assented and on the eve of the 'Āshūrā¹ (10th Muḥarram) gave him the loving Cup. He also one day said to Mīr Sadr Jahān Muftī², "In your heart is the thought 'There is Muhammadanism in the religion which the Sovereign is introducing? why don't you therefore adopt the *Ilāhī* religion'?" Sadr Jahān fell at his feet, and said, "For three days I had this thought, but I mentioned it to no one. For if he is the true exponent of the Sun, he will speak of his own accord. God be praised that this has happened." With his two sons he embraced the Divine Religion. Now-a-days the religion has been forgotten in this part of the world, for which God be praised! Shaikh 'Allāmī has written at length on the subject in the *Akbarnāma*³; a summary of it is given here. One group of people charged that Unique of God's servants, who is the glory of this race, with claiming the Godhead. Apparently they were led into the error by the circumstances that some of the leaders of the concord—who were of the school of Naṣīr, and had the enthusiasm of Husain son of Mansūr—recognized and spoke of the *Khediv* of spirituality as the "witness of God" (*Mazbar-i-Haqq*). The occupant of the throne of Fortune in view of the principle of "Peace with all" (*Suluk kulf*) did not in any way rebuke the idle talkers and the distracted individuals. Some of them conjectured that the Prince of the age had the desire of claiming to be the prophet of the incomparable Deity. The proof of this imagination was that the Shāhinshāh was always introducing noble laws, and pointing out the discrepancies in the doubtful statements of the ancients. When the fact of the foolish talk of these two factions came to the Emperor's hearing, he said repeatedly, 'How could it enter the narrow thoughts of the ignorant

1 See Hughes *Dictionary of Islam*, p. 25 for *Āshūrā*. It is the 10th day of Muḥarram, and is observed as a voluntary day of fasting.

2 For Sadr Jahan see Badāyūni, Text, III, pp. 141, 142; Haig's translation, III, pp. 198-200, and note 3 on p. 198.

3 The following account is extracted almost verbatim from *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, pp. 271-273; Beveridge's translation, III, pp. 397-400.

that recent creatures belonging to a dependent existence and of feeble intellect should ascribe to themselves a share in Divinity? And members of the leaders of humanity—who by thousands of miracles have expounded the prophetic office—have come into the world. Have times changed and cycles elapsed that an opinion like this should be cherished and generally accepted, and the dust of unbelief be not yet laid. How could such a notion find a place in my mind.” Another set of them imagined that the Prince of Horizons regarded with disfavour the Muhammadan religion. The sole evidence for this was that the wise sovereign out of tolerant disposition, general benevolence and all-embracing majesty received all classes of mankind with affection. In regard to religious matters and spiritual doctrines he searched for evidence from the sages of all religions and the ascetics of all faiths. Above all, at the time when the Christian philosophers assailed the orthodox (*Muttafiqqahān*) of the day in the sublime assemblies, people became very suspicious (regarding Akbar’s religious beliefs). This was in spite of the fact that the honour and respect which this appreciative personality always extended to the family of the Prophet had rarely been found in the case of other monarchs. Many of the Saiyids had been raised to high offices. Nor did he permit that any member of this family should lay his head on the holy feet, or rub his forehead on the threshold of fortune. Another set accused that candid believer of Shi’ism—The cause of stumbling of this set was that in the sublime assemblies the arguments of two sects, like those of other sects, were discussed; and the wise Emperor from equity and truth selected without any bias what was preferable.

Verse

When a statement is well supported by argument,
It is unfortunate, if you do not listen to it.

The favour shown to the Irānians, most of whom belonged to that sect (Shia’), increased the suspicion, and the favour extended to the Tūrāniāns as a matter of routine remained hidden to the bigoted eyes

of that set. Another faction reproached the Caravan-leader of the God-knowing with being of the Brahman (Hindu) religion. The ground for this improper notion was that this experienced monarch as a result of his very tolerant and catholic nature had received Hindu sages into his intimacy, and for political and administrative reasons increased the ranks of Hindus and for the good of the country had shown them kindness. Three things supported the gossips of the evil minded: (i) For the increase of knowledge sages of all religions were allowed in the royal assemblies, and as each religion has some good in it, each received some praise. Out of a spirit of justice the bad practices of any sect could not weave a veil over its merits. (ii) The dictum of "Peace with All" was honoured at the court of the Caliphate, and different tribes of mankind of various natures gained spiritual and material success. (iii) The evil nature and crooked ways of the base ones of the Age. So ends the narrative.

It will be clear to the judicious that whatever is written above is taken from the writings of the Shaikh. He lays great stress on the fact that the root cause of that breadth of religious opinions and of the maxim of "Peace with All" was that all classes of mankind (*lit.* the humid and the dry) might be treated with forbearance. Good God! The management of worldly affairs—which are not eternal—is regarded of such importance that no individual can venture to have an independent opinion (*i.e.* different from that of the Emperor). In the affairs of Faith, which are of greater consequence, dissembling and connivance have no other foundation than levity and indifference¹.

¹ Apparently the author as a strict Muhammadan could not look with favour on toleration in religious observances, and regarded it as the result of laxity and indifference.

(MIRZĀ SULTĀN ṢAFAVĪ

(Vol. III, pp. 581-583).

He was the younger brother of Mīrzā Naudhar¹ of Qandahār and the son-in-law of Islām Khān Mashhadī². When during the reign of Emperor Shāh Jahān, the latter was appointed Governor of the provinces in the Deccan, Mīrzā Sultān was promoted to the rank of 1,000 foot with 400 horse, and sent with the said Khān. After the death of Islām Khān he returned to the Court, and was gratified by an increase in his rank. In the 24th year, he, in succession to Mīrzā Murād Kām his cousin, was appointed *Qurbēgi* (Keeper of the Arsenal), and served in this post for a long time. When in the 30th year Prince Muḥammad Aurangzib Bahādur was deputed to chastise ‘Ādil Shāh and to devastate his country, and an auxiliary army was sent under the command of Mu‘azzam Khān Mīr Jumla, Mīrzā Sultān was also promoted to the rank³ of 3,000 foot with 1,500 horse, and deputed with the forces. When, at the instance of Dārā Shikoh, the auxiliary army returned, the Mīrzā—who through the favours of the Prince (Aurangzib) had developed sincere bonds of service for him—did not leave him but stayed back in Aurangābād. When about the same time the march to Upper India was arranged as a matter of urgent necessity, Prince Muḥammad Mu‘azzam was appointed Governor of the Deccan, and Aurangzib raising the rank of the Mīrzā to 4,000 foot with 2,000 horse by an increase of 1,000 foot with 500 horse, sent him back from Phulhērī to Aurangābād to⁴ serve loyally with the prince. Afterwards when the flag of ‘Ālamgīr’s fortune rose from the sky of the Khilāfat, and the thorn of the enemies was uprooted, so that the small and great flourished under its shelter, Mīrzā Sultān

¹ See *Maathir-ul-Umarā*, Text, III, pp. 555-557; translation *antea*, pp. 388, 389.

² *Op. cit.*, pp. 162-167, Beveridge & Prashad’s translation, I, pp. 694-696.

³ *‘Amal Ṣālib*, III, p. 236.

⁴ *‘Ālamgirnāmā*, p. 46.

hastened to the Court from the Deccan, and did homage¹. In the 9th year, he was granted an increase of 1,000 horse in his rank, and was appointed² to accompany Prince Muhammad Mu'azzam, who, on receipt of the news that Shāh 'Abbās, II was coming to invade India, was hurriedly sent to Kābul. The prince had not yet left Lāhōre when news was received that the Shāh of Irān had died of quinsy (*Khunāq*). In the beginning of the 10th year the Khān returned in attendance on the prince and did homage³. At this time the prince was appointed to the government of the Deccan—which indeed was his appanage, and from where he had come to the Court in the end of the 8th year in obedience to summons. At the time the Deccan had been given to the charge of Rāja Jai Singh, who was engaged in chastising 'Ādil Shāh, and who was asked as hitherto to carry on the government. Mīrzā Sultān was granted a robe of honour, and permitted to go to his assignment in order that after settling the affairs there he might proceed to the Deccan to serve⁴ with the prince. He spent a long time there. The year of his death is not recorded, but he probably died in the Deccan, for his tomb is situated outside Aurangābād near Jaisinghpūra on the road to the fort of Daulatābād. His son was Mīrzā Ṣadr-ud-Dīn Muḥammad⁵ Khān Bakhshī whose account has been written separately.

RĀO SŪR BHŪRTIYA

(Vol. II, pp. 211-212).

He was the son of Rāī Rāī Singh/Rāthōr, the *Zamīndār* of Bikānīr. By the end of the reign of Emperor Jahāngīr he had been promoted to the rank of 3,000 with 2,000 horse. In the 1st year of Emperor Shāh Jahān's reign when he came to do homage, his rank was advanced

¹ This was in the 5th year of the reign, see *Ālamgirnāma*, p. 873.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 976. ³ *Op. cit.*, p. 1031. ⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 1038.

⁵ His name in the account is Mīrzā Shāh Nawāz Khān Ṣafāvī, see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, III, pp. 692-694; translation *antea*, pp. 772, 773.

⁶ *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, II, pp. 148-154; translation *antea*, pp. 566-571.

to 4,000 with 2,500 horse, and he was honoured with the gift of a flag and a drum¹. He was deputed² against Nadhr Muhammad Khān—who had advanced with an army on Kābul—with Mahābat Khān Khān Khānān. As Nadhr Muhammad Khān had retreated from that territory before their arrival, they also, in accordance with orders, returned. Later he proceeded³ with ‘Abdullāh Khān Bahādur to punish Jujhār Singh, who because of some groundless suspicion had fled from the Court. In the 2nd year he was deputed against Khān Jahān Lōdī who had left Akbarābād (Āgra) through the currency of some baseless whispers. In the 3rd year he was granted an increase of 500 horse, and sent⁴ with Shāyista Khān in one of the three armies which were appointed to devastate the territory of the Nizām-ul-Mulk. In the battle near Bīr, when Ā’zam Khān attacked Khān Jahān Lōdī, he rendered good service. In the 4th year of the reign, corresponding to 1040 A.H., 1630-31 A.D., he died. The Emperor promoted his son Karan to the rank of 2,000 with 1,000 horse, and granted him the Jāgīr of his homeland Bikānīr with the title of Rāo. Satr Sāl another son had the rank of 500 with 200 horse⁵. A separate biography⁶ of Rāo Karan has been given.

(RĀJA) SŪRAJ MAL

(Vol. II, pp. 176-179).

He was the eldest son of Rāja⁷ Bāsū. As his unseemly behaviour and turbulent nature brought about a rupture between the son and the father, the Rāja, owing to a suspicion which was strengthened by

¹ *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. i, p. 120.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 242.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 212.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, pp. 295,296.

⁵ His death, and the ranks and jāgīrs granted to his sons are recorded in the same work. *op. cit.*, p. 398.

⁶ *Maātbir-ul-Umarā*, Text, II, pp., 287-291; Beveridge & Prashad's translation, I, pp. 764-766.

⁷ *Maātbir-ul-Umarā*, Text, II, pp. 157-160; Beveridge's translation, I, pp. 392-394.

his improper actions, at last put him in prison. On his father's death—as there was no other worthy son among the progeny—Emperor Jahāngīr for the sake of the management of the *Zamīndāri* and the guarding of that territory, granted him the title of Rāja and the rank of 2,000, and bestowed on him—without his having to share these with any other relations—the estates of the entire *Zamīndāri* and the treasures and goods which his father had accumulated over a period of many¹ years. He was deputed² with Murtadā Khān Shaikh Farīd who was appointed to capture the Kāngra fort. When through the Shaikh's exertions the garrison were hard pressed, and Sūraj Mal saw that victory was at hand, he adopted a non-cooperative and obstructive attitude and started intrigues and strifes with the men of the said Khān. Murtadā Khān reported to the Court that signs of rebelliousness and bad will were apparent from the behaviour of Sūraj Mal. As the presence of a capable leader such as Murtadā Khān with a large force in that hilly area would not permit of the success of Sūraj Mal's plans of disorder and sedition, he wrote to Prince Shāh Jahān to the effect that Murtadā Khān at the instigations of selfish persons was not on good terms with him, and was seeking to discredit him by accusing him of various offences including sedition. He, therefore, prayed that in order to save the unfortunate servant from destruction and to preserve him, he might be recalled to the Court. About the same time, in the beginning of the 11th year, Murtadā Khān died, and the conquest of the fort was delayed. Sūraj Mal was summoned³ in accordance with the recommendation of the prince, and was received with favour. About the same time he was deputed⁴ under the said prince to the Deccan expedition, and on his return from there he as a result of various influences was appointed⁵ Caretaker for the conquest of Kāngra. Though his re-appointment

¹ *Tuzuk-i-Jahāngiri* (Rogers & Beveridge's translation), II, pp. 54, 55.

² *Op. cit.*, I, p. 283.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 311, but his name is misprinted as Sūraj Singh.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 337.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, pp. 388, 389.

to that hill country was an injudicious and careless decision, yet as that affair had been assigned to the prince, the latter sent him there under the command of his own Bakhsī Shāh Qulī Khān Muḥammad Taqī. As soon as his desire was achieved, he started to give trouble to Shāh Qulī Khān, and sent a representation to the prince stating that he found it impossible to get on with the commander, and that the latter would not be able to achieve success. If another commander was nominated in his place, the fort would be easily conquered. Consequently Shāh Qulī Khān was recalled to the Court, and Rāja Bikramājīt¹—who was a leading officer of the realm—was sent there with a fresh force.

Sūraj Mal taking advantage of the interval upto the time of arrival of the Rāja, at first gave leave to large numbers of imperial servants on the ground that their equipment as a result of long service had become useless, and that they should therefore hurry back to their assignment, and till the arrival of the Rāja re-equip themselves. Then he showed open signs of rebellion and extended the hand of oppression. He attacked many of the *Parganas* of the Dāman-i-Kōh (valley)—which were in the assignment of I'timād-ud-Daulāh, and took possession of whatever cash and goods he could find there. Saiyid Ṣafī Bārah and other auxiliaries—who in spite of having been granted leave had not yet left for their *Jāgirs*—stood firm together with their relations, and were martyred. Some were wounded and others found safety in flight².

When in the end of the 13th year Rāja Bikramājīt arrived in that territory, that unscrupulous diplomat (Sūraj Mal) sought to spin out the time by flattery and vulpine tricks. The Rāja, who was fully cognisant of the true position, paid no heed to his talks and bravely went forward. Sūraj Mal because of ill luck and not being able to solve the weighty problem, very courageously and bravely started to

¹ *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī* (Rogers & Beveridge's translation), II, pp. 25,26, and 55,56.

² *Op. cit.*, pp. 56,57.

fight. In a short struggle large numbers of his men were killed and he took to flight. The forts of Mau' and Mahri on whose impregnability he had relied were reduced without much trouble, and the territory which he had inherited from his ancestors was taken possession of by the imperial forces. In his wretched flight he sought shelter in ravines which were difficult of access, and lived dishonoured and discredited¹. In this state of vagrancy he died and went to hell.

(RĀJA) SŪRAJ SINGH RĀTHŌR

(Vol. II, pp. 179-183).

He was a son of Udai Singh² alias the Mōta (fat) Rāja, son of Mäldeō Zamindār of Mārwār. Mārwār is a district of the province of Ajmēr; it is 100 *kos* long and 60 broad, and the Sarkārs Ajmīr, Jōdhpur, Sirōhi, Nāgōr, and Bīkānīr are included in it. The Rāī was one of the influential Rājas of India, and was famed for the number of his troops and their equipment. It is stated that when Mu'izz-ud-Dīn Sām after disposing of Pithorā went to fight with Jai Chand, the Rāja of Qannauj, the latter took to flight, but was drowned in the Ganges which was in flood. His descendants fell on evil times Sahiyā, his brother's son was in Shamsābād, and he too with many others went to annihilation. Three sons of his Sūtik, Asothāmā and Uchchha went off to Gujarāt, and rested for a while in Pālī near Sōjat. At the time people of the Mīnā tribe came to plunder the inhabitants who were Brahmans, the sons came forward, fought bravely and defeated the Mīnas. The Brahmans converted them, and washed off the dust of distress. When they had collected materials, they took possession, by their expeditious movement, of the country of Kher from the Gōhal tribe. Sūtik separated and captured Idar from the Mīnas, while Uchchha went to Baglāna and took that territory from the Kōlis; their progeny settled down in these areas. Asothāmā remained in Mārwār, and his descendants gradually rose to importance. Rāī

¹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 74-75.

² See Blochmann's translation of *A'in*, I (2nd edn.), pp. 474, 475.

Mäldeō was the 16th descendant. After his death Chandar Sēn his younger son became his successor. In the 15th year of Emperor Akbar's reign, the Emperor came to Ajmīr, and after performing a pilgrimage to the shrine (of Mu'īn-ud-Dīn Chishtī), he went off to Nāgōr, and concentrated his attention on the settlement of that territory. Chandar Sēn waited upon him¹ there. In the 19th year when his rebellious intentions were reported, a number of officers were sent against him. Kalā, his brother's son, who was in the city of Sōjat, being harassed by the pursuing force submitted, and joined the imperial forces. When the royal army after the conquest of Mahē-swārā engaged in the siege of Sīwāna², another army was detailed to chastise Chandar Sēn; he, however, retreated into the hilly country. In the 21st year, Kalā, his brother's son, collected a force, and strengthened the fort of Wankūr. Shahbāz Khān Kambū attacked and captured the fort³. In the 25th year, when Chandar Sēn stirred up strife, he was defeated by Pāyanda Khān Mughal, who with other fief-holders had been appointed to chastise⁴ him. But Udai Singh alias the Mōtā Rāja put the ring of servitude in his ear, and gave his daughter Mānmatī in marriage to Sultān Salīm; Sultān Khurram (Shāh Jahān) was her⁵ child. After that Udai Singh was greatly in royal favour, and was exalted by the grant as Jāgīr of his homeland, the territory of Jōdhpur. In the 23rd year, he went with Śādiq Khān to chastise Rāja Madhukar Bundēla. In the 28th year he was deputed with Bairām Khān's son Mīrzā Khān to settle Gujarāt and put down Mużaffar Khān Gujarātī. In the 38th year he was appointed⁶ to chastise the Zamīndār of Sītōhī. In the 40th year he died. He had

¹ *Akbarnāma*, II, Beveridge's translation, p. 518.

² See *Akbarnāma*, III, pp. 113, 114 for a more detailed account, see also p. 155.

³ *Op. cit.*, pp. 224, 225 and 237, 238.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 466.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 921, note 2 where the date of his birth is given as 5th January, 1592, and it is stated that he was born at Lāhōrē.

⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 985.

attained the rank of 1,000. Four of his wives burnt themselves with his corpse¹. After his death his son Sūraj Singh was appointed to a suitable rank.

When Prince Murād was appointed Governor of Gujārāt, Sūraj Singh also was detailed² there. In the 42nd year, when most of the Gujārāt fief-holders, accompanied Prince Murād to the Deccan, and Bahādur, the eldest son of Mużaffar Gujārātī, collecting a number of vagabonds, attacked a number of towns and villages, Sūraj Singh started from Alīmadābād to fight. Both drew up their forces, but Bahādur lost courage, and fled without³ fighting. When on Prince Murād's death, Prince Dāniyāl was appointed to the Deccan, Sūraj Singh was nominated to accompany him. In the 45th year he was sent⁴ by the prince with Daulat Khān Lōdī to punish Rājū Deccanī. In the 47th year he accompanied Khān Khānān 'Abdur Rahīm to chastise Khudāwand Khān the Abyssinian, who was creating a disturbance in Pāthrī and Pālam⁵. As he rendered good service there, in the 48th year he, on the recommendations of Prince Dāniyāl and Khān Khānān was granted a drum. In the 3rd year of Emperor Jahāngīr's reign he did homage⁶, and in the 4th year his rank was advanced to 4,000 foot with 2,000 horse, and was deputed with other *Mansabdārs* to help Khān Khānān the Governor of the Deccan. In the 8th year he accompanied Prince Khurram on the expedition against the Rānā, and later was sent with the said prince on the Deccan Campaign. In the 10th year, he returned to the Court, and was promoted to the rank of 5,000⁷. After the affair of Kishan Singh his brother—which has been described in detail in the biogtaphy⁸ of Kishan Singh—he was grant-

1. *Op. cit.*, pp. 1027, 1028.

2. *Op. cit.*, p. 1043.

3. *Op. cit.*, p. 1083, where it is stated that there "was some fighting among the skirmishers".

4. *Op. cit.*, p. 1154.

5. *Op. cit.*, p. 1199.

6. *Tuzuk-i-Jahāngīr* (Rogers & Beveridge's translation), I, pp. 140, 141.

7. *Op. cit.*, p. 288.

8. *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, III, pp. 150-152, Beveridge & Prashad's translation, I, pp. 829, 830.

ed leave of two months for going to his homeland. After that he with his son Gaj Singh did homage, and was detailed¹ to the Deccan command. In the 14th year, corresponding to 1028 A.H., 1619 A.D., he died² there. A separate account³ of his son, Gaj Singh, has been included in this work.

(RAI) SURJAN HĀRĀ

(Vol. II, pp. 113-116).

The Hārās are a branch of the Chauhān tribe, and Hāravatī⁴—which is another name for the *Sarkār* of Ranthambhōr in the province of Ajmīr—includes the estates of their *Zamīndārī*. Originally he was a servant of the Rāna. During Emperor Akbar's reign he lived proudly in the Ranthambhōr fort, and was sure of his position⁵. When the Emperor after taking Chittōr proceeded in the end of the 13th year for the conquest of Ranthambhōr, he himself went and inspected the surroundings of the fort from the hillock, and ordered the erection of batteries round it. In the course of a month after the completion of *sābāts* the fort was captured.

It is stated that in the end of the month of Ramadān Emperor said that if the garrison did not surrender that day, the fort on the morrow—which was the 'Id day—would be the *qabaq-bāzī* (archery or gunnery) target. Surjan became frightened and losing heart sent as emissaries to the Presence his sons Dūdā and Bhōj together with a number of his officers. After the interview orders were passed for

1 *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngirī*, translation, I, p. 293.

2 *Ibid.*, II, pp. 99, 100.

3 *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*; Text, II, pp. 223-226; Beveridge's translation, I, pp. 570-572.

4 For Haravati see Tod—*Annals and Antiquities of Rajast'han* (London, 1914 edn), II, p. 355 where he states that it consists of two principalities, Kotah and Bundi.

5 Taken from *Akbarnāma*, Text, II, pp. 87, 88; Beveridge's translation, II, p. 133.

presenting both of them with robes of honour. When they were taken out of the royal enclosure for putting on the Khil'ats, one of the companions, whose brain was deranged, thought that an order had been issued for the arrest of Surjan's sons. Consequently out of loyalty he lost control and drew his sword. One of the servants of Rāja Bhagwān Dās tried to restrain him, but that mad man used his sword on him. He ran to the royal enclosure, and wounded Pūran Mal son of Kān Shaikhāwat and two others, and with his sword cut into two Shaikh Bahā'-ud-Dīn Majdhub Badāyūnī. Thereupon a servant of Mużaffar Khān killed him.

The sons of Surjan were stricken with remorse at this occurrence, but as they were innocent, the Emperor excused them, and after granting them robes of honour allowed them to return to their father. Rāj Surjan after the return of his sons begged that one of the nobles might be sent to lead him to the Presence. Thereupon the Emperor appointed Husain Qulī Khān to this duty. Rāj Surjan received the Khān with due ceremony and respect and came with him to the Presence; after making obeissance, he received innumerable favours. After that he returned to the fort for three days to bring out the necessary goods; and surrendered the fort to royal servants¹. He was granted the fief of Garha, and in the 20th year Chunār in place of Garha was assigned to him² as his *Jāgīr*.

When Dūdā, his elder son, went without permission to his home-land Bündī, and began to oppress the people, and although a force had earlier been sent for his chastisement³, yet in the 22nd year the Emperor decided on the conquest of Bündī, and appointed Zain Khān Kōkaltāsh with Rāj Surjan to this expedition. After the conquest of Bündī Rāj Surjan returned to the Court⁴, and was promoted to the

¹ The account of the conquest of the Ranthambhōr fort is based on *Akkarnāma*, Text, II, pp. 335-338; Beveridge's translation, II, pp. 490-495.

² *Akkarnāma*, Text, III, p. 158; Beveridge's translation, III, p. 223.

³ *Op. cit.*, Text, 184; translation, pp. 258.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, Text, pp. 201, 202; translation, pp. 284, 285.

rank of 2,000. Dūdā after this failure always followed the wrong road, and the dust of dissension was stirred up by him. At last in the 23rd year, at the request of Shabbāz Khān Kambū he was pardoned, and he waited on the Emperor. The Emperor left him in the Panjab, and returned to the Capital¹. At that time Dūdā becoming suspicious absconded. He died in the 30th year of the reign².

TAHAWWUR KHĀN MIRZĀ MAHMŪD
(Vol. I, pp. 484-486).

He was one of the noble Saiyids of holy Mashhad. He arrived in India during the reign of Emperor Akbar, and through his good fortune being introduced to that noble ruler was appointed to the rank of 500. Afterwards when Jahāngīr became the emperor, it so happened that a tiger, which had been shot, was brought into the august assembly. A discussion was started about the hair at the back of the tiger's³ head, and it was remarked that it was so thick that it could not be cut through at one blow. Strong-limbed young men on a signal from the Emperor wielded their swords with all their might, but only produced a gash. The Mīrzā was standing there, and he said to those who had the right of audience that if he were permitted, he also would try with his sword. As he had an insignificant-looking body, the Emperor said, "In the name of God! (*Bism Allāh*) let us see (what you can do?)". The Mīrzā severed the head of the tiger so dexterously, that there were cheers and acclamations from every side. Mīrzā Mahmūd thereafter was known as *Shēr badūnīm* (the tiger

¹ *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 246; translation, pp. 356, 357.

² *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 468; translation, p. 706. Beveridge has throughout transcribed his name incorrectly as Dandā.

³ There is no mention of Tahawwur Khān Mirzā Mahmūd or of the incidents mentioned in the above account in the *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīr* translated by Rogers & Beveridge.

In David Price's translation of the spurious *Memoirs of Jahangir*, p. 92, it is mentioned that the animal must have been a lion.

bisector) amongst all and sundry. He was unique for his strength as an archer, and famous all over for his prowess. No one could compete with him. The athletes of the age yielded under his compression, and the mighty fell before his onset.

It is stated that Mīrzā Shamsī Jahāngīr Quli Khān¹ son of Mīrzā 'Azīz Kōka had brought a bow from Gujarāt, and strong men, however much they tried, were unable to draw its bow-string. As soon as the Mīrzā put his hand on the string he drew it up to his ear, and the back of the bow was nearly broken. From that day the Emperor called him *Shaikh Kamān* (The Shaikh of the Bow). Wonderful stories are told about his archery. Emperor Jahāngīr in the *Jahāngīr-nāma*, which he himself composed, has mentioned his feats, but the author is unable to remember the details at the time of writing. When he had risen high in the Emperor's estimation, he was appointed to one of the *faujdāris* on the borders of Panjab, he fought there bravely, and was victorious. As a reward he was granted the title of Tahawwur Khān. During the time of Emperor Shāh Jahān his brain went wrong, and he became mad. His sons kept him in confinement and he died at Lāhōrē. He wrote clear *Nasta'liq*² very beautifully, and was also good at writing verses. Pleasant jests and several stories are current about him. It is said that he one day arranged a feast, and invited people for a feed. Āqā Rashidā³, who was the sister's son of the famous Mīr 'Imād, and was a master of *Nasta'liq* writing, was also present. A discussion arose between the two. The Khān all at once went into his chamber, and shortly afterwards returning

¹ For an account of Jahāngīr Quli Khān see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, I, pp. 524, 525, Beveridge & Prashad's translation, I, pp. 729-730. The bow is mentioned in Price, *op. cit.*, p. 93, but the anecdote about archery is not recorded there.

² The word *Jalī* as explained by Blochmann, *A'īn*, I (2nd edn.), p. 106, note 4, "is a term used by copyists to express that letters are thick, and written with a full pen of ink."

³ See Rieu, *Cat. Manuscripts Brit. Museum*, II, 786c, 787 and 519b where there is a note about 'Imād.

with a drawn sword stood at the Āqā's head. He said, "I have heard that you deny having been my pupil." The Āqā was greatly frightened, and at once replied, "My Khān, what do you order?" He replied, "In the presence of the distinguished men, and with them as witnesses write a confession to the effect that you are my pupil." The Āqā willy-nilly wrote out a confession, and so escaped from his tyranny.

TAKHTA BEG SARDĀR KHĀN

(Vol. I, pp. 481, 482).

He was one of the single-fighters (*yakhā*) of Mīrzā Hakīm¹. In the battle which the Mīrzā fought against the armies of Emperor Akbar, he did great deeds, and became well known for his bravery. After the Mīrzā's death Takhta Bēg, in the 30th year of the reign of that Emperor, came to the Court² with the Mīrzā's sons, and received all kinds of favours. Afterwards he was deputed to the Kābul Shāba, and with Kanwar Mān Singh and Zain Khān Kōka did great service in chastising the Yūsufzāīs³ and the Tarīkīs (Raushānīs). As he had rendered outstanding service, he in the 39th year was attached to Prince Sultān Salīm, and was given a *Jāgīr* in the province⁴ of Lāhōre. Later, on being appointed *Thānadar* of Peshāwar he punished the Tarīkīs on several occasions. As he had given a good account of himself, he was granted the title of Khān in the 49th year. After the accession of Emperor Jahāngīr, and when the news of the coming of Husain Shāmlū, ruler of Herāt, with a large army and besieging the Qandahār fort was received at the Court, he was promoted to the rank of 2,000⁵, granted the title of Sardār Khān, and

1 Half-brother of Emperor Akbar.

2 *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 473, Beveridge's translation, III, p. 713.

3 *Op. cit.*, Text, pp. 513, 521, 526, 565, translation, pp. 781, 794, 853.

4 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 649, translation, p. 998.

5 This is incorrect; he was promoted to the rank of 3,000 from that of 2,500 in the first year, *vide* Rogers & Beveridge's translation of *Tuzuk-i-*

deputed with Mīrzā Ghāzī Bēg to help Shāh Bēg Khān Governor of Qandahār. As by the time of their arrival, the Irānian army had left the fort, and retired to its own territory, he was appointed Governor of Qandahār¹ in place of Shāh Bēg Khān. After a short time in the 3rd year corresponding to 1016 A.H. (1607 A.D.) he died² there. His sons Hayāt Khān, and Hidāyat Khān received minor appointments.

TAQARRUB KHĀN

(Vol. I, pp. 490-493).

His name was Ḥakīm Dāūd, and he was the son of Ḥakīm ‘Ināyat Ullāh. He was the foremost pupil of Mīrzā Muḥammad the father of Ḥakīm Masīh-uz-Zaimān. After his father's death he, on account of his great skill and experience as a physician, became an intimate companion of Shāh ‘Abbās I, and was at the head of the Shāh's physicians. After the death of that great sovereign, he was through the machinations of his enemies ill treated by Shāh Ṣafī, and as he also did not receive proper consideration from Shāh ‘Abbās II—who was still young—he became averse to staying on in Irān. Ostensibly he gave out his intention of going on pilgrimage, but in reality he proceeded to the Court of Emperor Shāh Jahān from ‘Irāq via Baṣra, and disembarked at the port of Lāhērī (Lārī, in Sindh). In the 17th year 1053 A.H. (1643 A.D.) he presented himself at the Court, and was appointed to the rank of 1,000, and received Rs. 20,000 as a present³.

Jahāngīr, I, p. 31, and later in the same year granted the title of Sardār Khān and sent with Mīrzā Ghāzī to Qandahār, *op. cit.*, p. 71.

1 *Op. cit.*, p. 86.

2 *Op. cit.*, p. 151. The grant of half his rank to his sons is recorded on the same page. Also see Blochmann, *A’īn*, I (2nd edn.), p. 523, where his name is given as Takhtā Bēg Kābulī.

3 The above account is taken almost verbatim from his biography in *Bādshāh-nāma*, II, p. 756, where, however, it is stated that he came to India

By a fortunate coincidence Bēgam Sāhib—who was loved by Emperor Shāh Jahān more than all his sons—was, only twenty days before his arrival, going to her bed-chamber after waiting upon her father. Suddenly the corner of her dress caught fire¹ from a lamp which was lighted in the portico on the way. As the clothes of the ladies of the Harem of honour are extremely delicate, and fragrant oils are sprinkled on them, the flames shot out and caught all over the dress. Although four (female) servants, who were in attendance, took all possible steps to extinguish the flames, but as their dresses also caught fire they were obliged to look after themselves. Before others could know of this accident, and water could be brought, the back and both sides of the body, and both the arms of the Princess were burnt. In great anguish the Emperor himself undertook the task of nursing, and in the first instance had recourse to spiritual remedies. From the first to the third day 5,000 *mubars* (gold coins) and 5,000 rupees were distributed as alms to the poor each day. Until convalescence large sums were spent in charity, and seven lacs of rupees of government dues², for which debtors in detention were responsible, were remitted. It was also ordered that after this 1,000 rupees a day, or 360,000 rupees a year should be distributed to the poor as alms

after performing the pilgrimage. See also *id.* pp. 367, 368, where it is stated that he arrived at the Court 20 days after the accident, but the rank to which he was appointed is given as 1,500 with 200 horse. The year in the text is incorrectly given as 1053 instead of 1054 A.D.

¹ The burning took place on 27th Muḥarram, 1054 A.H. (5th April, 1644 A.D.). A detailed account is given in *Bādshāhnāma*, II, pp. 363-369. In *Khāfi Khān*, I, pp. 598-600 the year of accident is given as 1053 A.D., and it is stated that two of the four maid-servants who tried to extinguish the flames died of their injuries. Beale, *Oriental Biographical Dictionary* (1894 edn.), p. 190, apparently on Stewart's authority states that she was cured by the treatment of an English physician named Gabriel Boughton, but this is incorrect, see Irvine's note in *Storia do Mogor*, I, p. 219. Boughton treated one of Shujā's ladies.

² 'Ain-ul-māl. From *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p. 365 it appears that criminals were also released.

on behalf of the Princess. Afterwards bodily remedies were resorted to, and physicians and surgeons came from all quarters, and applied themselves to cure the patient.

Hakīm Dāūd, whose arrival at such a time was a lucky coincidence made use of proper remedies for various diseases which developed from the burns, such as *lazūm tab* (hectic fever), *lainat taba*,¹ (intermittent fever), and *tababhanj itrāf chashm*² (swellings round the eyes). He became an object of praise and felicitation. On the occasion of the festival to celebrate the convalescence he was raised to the rank of 1,000 with 200 horse, received various other gifts, and gained a position of trust with the Emperor. Further all offerings (to the Emperor) on Fridays were for one year assigned to him. In the 20th year he received the high title of Taqarrub Khān, and in the 23rd year his rank was advanced to 3,000 with 800 horse. In the 26th year he displayed his great skill in treating Akbarābādī Mahal³, and in addition to an increase of 500 in his rank received a present of Rs. 30,000. In the 27th year his rank was increased to 4,000 with 3,000 horse. In the 31st year when the Emperor was afflicted with strangury and as a result of use of cooling medicines this ended in diabetes and great weakness of the body; no prescriptions of the ablest physicians proved of any use. But for the relief of strangury much benefit was derived from the use of manna (*shīr-khisht*) which was ably prescribed by Taqarrub Khān. In accordance with a presage, the Emperor changed his residence, and in Muḥarram 1068 A.H. (October, 1657 A.D.) came from the Capital to Āgra, and by taking *mā'-ul-lāhm* (essence of meat) and strong soups recovered his health. Taqarrub Khān was promoted to the exalted rank of 5,000, and beat loudly the drum of his high office. After the throne of India

1. *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p. 368.

2. *Op. cit.*, p. 368.

3. One of Shāh Jahān's wives. Her name was 'Izz-un-Nisā Begam, see Beale, *Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, p. 45. She died on 28th January, 1678 (4th Dhul Hijjah, 1088 A.H.), vide *Maāthir-i-'Alamgiri*, p. 160, and not 29th January, 1677, as stated by Beale.

was adorned by the accession of Emperor Aurangzib, and Shāh Jahān was kept in retirement in the Āgra fort, Taqarrub Khān who had made excellent endeavours in treating Shāh Jahān, and had become fully acquainted with his constitution received a reward of 30,000 *ashrafis*, and was again the recipient of royal favours. He was appointed to complete the cure, and to restore Shāh Jahān to health. After this he, for some reason, became the object of censure by Emperor Aurangzib, and for a time lived in retirement. In the beginning of the 5th year Emperor Aurangzib suffered from a severe attack of fever, and became extremely weak. On this occasion, Taqarrub Khān was again restored to favour, and made the recipient of gifts and bounties even though he was not asked to treat the Emperor¹. He was, however, allowed to pay his respects. In the same year, 1073 A.H. (1662 A.D.) he died²: His son Muḥammad 'Alī was relieved of his mourning dress by the grant of a robe of honour by the Emperor. He also had been dismissed from office on account of his father's faults, but was now restored to the rank of 1,500 with 200 horse. As he became the envy of the leading men of the time owing to his close association with the Emperor, a separate account³ about him has been included.

TARBIYAT KHĀN 'ABDUR RAHIM

(Vol. I, pp. 483, 484).

He was the son of Qāim Khān, son of Muqīm Khān, son of Shujā'at Khān⁴ of Akbar's time. Muqīm Khān was appointed to a suitable rank on the death of his father, and towards the end of Emperor Akbar's reign reached the rank of 700. Later, Emperor

¹ 'Ālamgīrnāma, p. 749.

² Op. cit., p. 757, and Maāthir-i-'Ālamgiri, p. 42.

³ Maāthir-ul-Umarā, Text, III, pp. 625-627, translation *antea* pp. 111, 112.

⁴ See Maāthir-ul-Umara, Text, II, pp. 557-660, translation *antea* pp. 850-853; also Blochmann, *A'in*, I (2nd edn.), pp. 401, 402.

Jahāngīr in the 3rd year of his reign married¹ Şaliha Bānū, the daughter of Qāim Khān, and gave her the title of Pādshāh Mahāl; as a consequence 'Abdur Rahīm's position was greatly advanced. In this year he was granted a suitable rank, and the title of Tarbiyat Khān². Later he received the rank of 700 foot with 400 horse³. In the 5th year he was appointed *Faujdār*⁴ of the *Pargana* of Alwar. In the 9th year his rank was increased by 500 with 500 horse⁵. His son Miyān Jōh⁶ whom Pādshāh Mahāl had taken for her son, was killed by Mahābat Khān in the year when the latter behaved insolently towards the Emperor on the banks of the river Bihāt (Jhēlum).

TARBIYAT KHĀN BARLĀS

(Vol. I, pp. 493-498).

His name was Shafī-Ullāh, and he was a foreigner (an Üzbeg) by birth. He entered royal service in the time of Emperor Shāh Jahān, and because of his becoming well known was soon appointed to the

¹ The marriage is not mentioned in *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*. For Pādshāh Mahāl see Beale, *Oriental Biographical Dictionary* (1894 edn.), p. 347; the name of her father is wrongly given as Qāsim Khān. This mistake is repeated in Rogers & Beveridge's translation of *Tūzuk*, Vol. I, but in Vol. II, the name is correctly given as Qāim Khān. See also Rogers & Beveridge, *op. cit.*, II, p. 86 note where it is stated that she was the chief wife of the Emperor before Nūr Jahān.

² Rogers & Beveridge, *op. cit.* I, p. 149.

³ The promotions and ranks as given in the *Tūzuk* are quite different from the above account. In the 2nd year he was made paymaster of the *Abdis* and given the rank of 700 with 200 horse, pp. 116, 117; in the 3rd year he was promoted to the rank of 700 with 400 horse, p. 153; in the 8th year after a promotion of 500 with 50 horse his rank is stated to have been raised to 2,000 with 850 horse, p. 236; and in the 11th year a further increase of 500 with 500 horse is stated to have increased his rank to 3,000 with 1,500 horse, p. 320.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 178.

⁵ His death is recorded in the 14th year of the reign, *op. cit.*, II, p. 86.

⁶ *Iqbālnāma-i-Jahāngīrī*, p. 259 where he is called Jhājū grandson of Shujā'at Khān.

high office of *Mir Tūzuk*¹ (Master of Ceremonies). In the 19th year he was appointed Commandant² of the Lāhōrē fort, and granted the rank of 1,000. In the 20th year he was reappointed *Mir Tūzuk*³, and was ordered⁴ to go to Ghōrbānd, and act as a *Sazāwal*, and make everyone, who had been appointed to Balkh, and had not joined Prince Muḥammad Aurangzib—who had been sent as the Governor of that territory—proceed there. In the 22nd year he came to Kābul and paid his respects to the Emperor. He was granted an increase of 500 horse, and carried out his duties as zealously as he had done hitherto. In the 23rd year he returned from the Qandahār campaign along with Sa'ad Ullāh Khān, and appeared at the Court. He was granted the title of Tarbiyat Khān⁵, and in the 24th year was made Master of the Horse in succession to Murshid Qulī Khān. In the 26th year he was appointed *Dārōgha* of the artillery in addition to his office of the *Mir Tūzuk*. In the 29th year he was granted a standard, and the rank of 2,000 foot with 1,500 horse, and nominated to the charge of the *Ṣūba* of Orīssā as the deputy for Prince Muḥammad Shujā'. In the 31st year he was granted an increase in the number of his troopers, and a drum, and appointed Governor of Oudh. During the time of confusion in the sovereignty he came to the Presence, and after the defeat of Dārā Shikōh he entered the service of Aurangzib at the stage of Bāgh Nūr Manzil (near Āgra). Before Aurangzib left the Capital in pursuit of Dārā Shikōh, Tarbiyat Khān received an increase of 1,500 with 2,000 horse; his rank thus became 4,000 foot with 3,000 horse⁶, and he was appointed to the charge of the holy territory of Ajmēr. After Dārā Shikōh in the course of his wanderings had withdrawn into Gujarāt, and renewing his plumage was marching towards Ajmēr with a fresh army, Tarbiyat Khān before his arrival in that neighbour-

1 *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p. 477.

2 *Op. cit.*, p. 480.

3 *Op. cit.*, p. 609.

4 *Op. cit.*, pp. 641, 642.

5 *'Amal Ṣālib*, III, p. 104.

6 *'Alamgirnāma*, p. 119, but his rank after promotion is given as 4,000 with 4,000 horse.

hood came¹ out of the fort, and at the stage of Tūra² joined Aurangzīb's force which was proceeding to Ajmēr with the intention of giving battle. After Emperor Aurangzīb's victory he was confirmed in the government of Ajmēr. In the 3rd year he was appointed³ to the charge of the Abode of Sanctity (*Dār-ul-Amān*, i.e., Multān) in succession to Lashkar Khān.

When Shāh 'Abbās II the ruler of Irān sent⁴ Būdāq Bēg, the son of Qalandar Sultān Chōla Tafangchī Āqāsī—who was one of the chief officers of his realm—as an ambassador with a letter of congratulations on the accession (of Aurangzīb). The ambassador arrived at the royal court, and in the same year was permitted to return. As it is a well established custom that a reply should be sent—especially in the case of two powerful Sultāns, and the exchange of ambassadors also results in amicable relations—Tarbiyat Khān—who was an excellent officer of position and means—was granted an increase of 1,000 horse, and with suitable presents of the rarities and precious products of Hindūstān worth nearly seven lacs of rupees was in the 6th year sent on an embassy to Irān⁵. He paid his respects to the Shāh at Ispāhān which was the capital of Irān. Owing to the lack of proper management the embassy was unsuccessful. Tarbiyat Khān lacked discretion and understanding, and behaved in a flighty manner. The Shāh was given to drinking, and being puffed up with power and youth his brain box—which is the seat of wisdom—would get ruffled, and he was not void of madness. He displayed conceit and arrogance which are not at all proper for great and eminent people. The interviews that took place are well known to the people, but are not fit to be written about.

1 *Op. cit.*, p. 304.

2 Tūra is 35 *kos* from Fathpūr, *vide Khāfi Khān*, II, p. 903.

3 *'Ālamgīrnāma*, p. 485.

4 *Op. cit.*, p. 607.

5 For an account of the arrival of the ambassador of Persia and Tarbiyat Khān being sent to Persia and details of the present see *op. cit.*, pp. 844, 845, also *Māathir-i-'Ālamgīrī*, p. 47.

In short, Tarbiyat Khān after bearing insults and ill treatment obtained after one year permission to return from Farrukhābād to India.¹ Contrary to the ambassadors of the times of Emperors Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān, such as Khān ‘Ālam Dūldī², Ṣafdar Khān³ Āqāsī—who had conducted their great missions in a proper manner—he annihilated the objects of an embassy, *viz.*, laying the foundations of friendship and strengthening the pillars of amity. Rather the result was just the opposite, as ancestral good relations and regard were changed into enmity, and it even went as far as the collecting of armies on both sides. After Tarbiyat Khān’s departure the Shāh deputed a large army to Khurāsān, and himself set about making preparations for war. When this state of affair became known to Emperor Aurangzīb from the letters of Tarbiyat Khān—who had reached the imperial territories, he, in the 9th year, sent Prince Muḥammad Mu’zzam with 20,000 cavalrymen to Kābul. By chance the Shāh died in the beginning of Rabī‘ I, 1077 A.H. (September, 1666 A.D.) of quinsy, and the disturbance raised by Tarbiyat Khān quieted down. The said Khān returned from Irān to the Capital, and was censured by the Emperor and was not permitted⁴ to do homage. In the 10th year he received the rank of 4,000 with 3,000 horse, and on the death of Khān Daurān appointed Governor of Orissa⁵. In the

¹ Farrukhabad is incorrect, it should be Farrāhābād in Mazandarān, see ‘Ālamgīrnāma, p. 974. The remarks about the embassy are apparently taken from Khāfi Khān, II, pp. 202, 325. Bernier in his *Travels in the Moghul Empire* (Constable edn. 1891), p. 185, refers to Tarbiyat Khān’s ill treatment by the Shāh. See Irvine’s edition of *Storia do Mogor*, II, pp. 128-131, for Manucci’s account of the indignities which Tarbiyat Khān had to suffer, and his useful note on p. 128.

² *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, I, pp. 732-736, Beveridge’s translation, I, pp. 389-392, and Blochmann, *Ā’īn*, I (2nd edn.), pp. 577, 578. His name was Barkhūrdār. In *Bādsbāhnāma*, I, pt. i, on p. 427 it is stated that he did not possess the skill or tact necessary for an ambassador.

³ *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, II, pp. 733-736. translation *antea* pp. 665-667 For his embassy see Banarsi Prasad Saksena, *History of Shahjahan*, p. 214.

⁴ *Maāthir-i-‘Ālamgīrī*, pp. 56, 57.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 62.

13th year he was sent as Governor of Oudh¹ in succession to Fidā'ī Khān. After that he returned to the Court, and was appointed Superintendent of the *Mansabdārs*. In the 19th year he succeeded Amir Khān as the Governor of Bihār², and when in the 20th year that province was assigned in fief to Prince Muḥammad Ā'zam, the said Khān was appointed *Faujdār* of Tīrhūt and Darbhanga³. In the 24th year he was transferred as *Faujdār* of Jaunpūr⁴, and in the 28th year⁵, 1096 A.H. (1685 A.D.) he died there. His son Ḥidāyat Ullāh came to the Court, and received a mourning dress of honour⁶. A story about Tarbiyat Khān apparently refers to the Tarbiyat Khān under consideration. It is said that one morning Shāh Jahān was shooting ducks on the banks of the Jamnā. A mist, such as often comes up over rivers and ponds and which is called *kuhr* in Hindī, arose. The Emperor jokingly said, "Let someone recite a verse suitable to the occasion." Tarbiyat Khān said:

Verse :

If the inauspicious foot of Mas'ūd⁷
Should approach a river, (even there) smoke would arise.

TARBIYAT KHĀN FAKHR-UD-DĪN AHMAD BAKHSHĪ

(Vol. I, pp. 486-490).

In the time of Emperor Jahāngīr he came from Tūrān to India, and was exalted by the grant of a *mansab* under the Crown. While holding a minor rank he came to the notice of the Emperor, and as a result became more famous than his contemporaries and rivals. As in the affair of Shahriyār, he rendered valuable services⁸ in conjunction

1 *O.p. cit.*, p. 104.

2 *O.p. cit.*, p. 148.

3 *O.p. cit.*, p. 157.

4 *O.p. cit.*, p. 209.

5 *O.p. cit.*, p. 261.

6 *O.p. cit.*, p. 272.

7 The conjunction, between *nā muhārak* and *Mas'ūd* in the text is apparently a mistake, and has been omitted in the translation.

8 *Bādsbānāma*, I, pt. i, p. 73. For an account of Shariyar's bid for sover-

with Āṣaf Khān Yamīn-ud-Daula, he was suitably rewarded. After Shāh Jahān ascended the throne he was granted the title of Tarbiyat Khān. In the 6th year he was selected as the ambassador for Tūrān, and was sent along with Waqās Hājī, the ambassador of Nadhar Muḥammad Khān the ruler of that country. He carried a reply to the Khān's letter together with the rarities of India to the value of a lac of rupees¹. In the 8th year, after having performed his commission in the most excellent manner, he returned to the royal threshold. He brought with him a *pēshkash* of forty five horses, and a like number of male and female camels, and other articles. Among these was a manuscript of the holy *Qurān* in the handwriting of Shād Mulk Khānum, daughter of Sulṭān Muḥammad Mīrzā, son of Jahāngīr Mīrzā, son of Amīr Timūr². It was beautifully written in the *Raihāni*³ characters, and at the end her name and lineage were inscribed in the *Riqāq*⁴ characters. Tarbiyat Khān obtained it in Balkh, and Emperor Shāh Jahān was greatly pleased with this memorial of his ancestors.

It is said that Tarbiyat Khān on going to that country gave up the Hindūstānī dress, and until his return to India used to wear the clothes used in Tūrān. Accordingly he appeared before the Emperor in an Uzbeg turban, and the latter was greatly pleased. At the same time his rank was raised to 1,500 with 1,000 horse, and he was appointed Master of the Horse⁵. In the 9th year when the royal retinue on its return from the Deccan halted at Māndū, Tarbiyat Khan was deputed⁶ with a force against the *Zamīndār* of Jītpūr, who was behaving in a

eighty see Beni Prasad, *History of Jahangir*, pp. 426, 427, and Banarsi Prasad Sakseña, *History of Shahjahan*, pp. 58, 59.

1 *Op. cit.*, pp. 465, 466.

2 *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. ii, pp. 65, 66.

3 *Raihān* is a style of writing derived from the *Kūfic*, abounding in straight lines, see Blochmann, *A'in*, I (2nd edn.), p. 106.

4 Epistolary writing consisting of "three-fourth curved lines and one-fourth straight lines", see Blochmann, *loc. cit.*

5 *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. ii, p. 67.

6 *Op. cit.*, p. 216.

rebellious manner. The Khān conciliated him, and brought him to salute the threshold of the Caliphate. In the 10th year he was granted an increase of 500 *Dhāt*, and appointed 2nd *Bakhs̄hī*¹ in succession to Mu'tamad Khān. In the 14th year on the death of Shāh Quli Khān he was appointed Governor² of Kashmīr. When, in the 15th year, as a result of extraordinary rains the water rose very high in the river Bihat (Jhelum) and the floods destroyed the autumnal crops, and owing to the destruction of many villages, inhabitants of the country became scattered and miserable, the said Khān did not take proper measures to relieve and help the poor and the wretched—as was essential at such times. The distressed of the territory preferred complaints and discontent against his behaviour, and he, therefore, on being removed³ from office returned to the Presence.

The author of the *Dhakbirat-ul-Khwāñīn* has stated that when Emperor conceived the idea of conquering Balkh and Badakhshān he asked Tarbiyat Khān for his opinion on the subject. That honest man, who had recently become acquainted with the countries, represented without any dissimulation that the Emperor should never contemplate carrying out any campaigns there. As horses and men there were more numerous than ants and locusts, and as Indians would not be able to withstand the snow and cold of the country, there would be no end to the affair. By chance the Emperor also asked Mullā Fādil Kābulī⁴—who was one of the most learned men of the age—what he thought of the project of extricating his ancestral properties from the hands of the Changēzī princes. The Mullā replied that to make war on the people of that country—who were all Muhammadans—was contrary to the Sharī'at Law, and would end in loss and destruction. The Emperor was greatly offended and said that if time-servers pronounced such judgments, and *Bakhs̄hīs* frightened the soldiers about snow and cold, how could campaigns be carried out.

1 *Op. cit.*, p. 279.

2 *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p. 225.

3 *Op. cit.*, p. 283.

4 Probably he is Fādil Khān alias Mullā 'Alā-ul-Mulk Tūnī—see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text. III, pp. 524-539, Beveridge's translation, I, pp. 550-553.

He sent off the Mullā on pilgrimage to Mecca, and removed Tarbiyat Khān from his post of *Bakhsī*. The latter thereupon swooned and died. Though this story does not agree with the facts of Tarbiyat Khān's biography, for after being *Bakhsī* he was appointed Governor of Kashmīr, and the Balkh affair occurred in the 19th year when perhaps Tarbiyat Khān was still alive—although the date of his death has not been traced—yet this can be said that he may have served as *Bakhsī* a second time, or that on some former occasion there may have been a proposal for conquering Balkh but which was not translated into action. In any case Tarbiyat Khān's views were fully confirmed later. The Indian army did not at all take to the idea of settling in that cold country, and the territory that had been conquered, had perforce to be given up. Emperor Shāh Jahān after seeing the state of things approved the sage opinion of Tarbiyat Khān, and favoured his sons; the displeasure which he had felt against Tarbiyat Khān was dissipated. He was gracious to his eldest son Mīrzā Muḥammad Afḍal, who was unique as a horseman and an archer. It is stated that his father would place him on a horse that was restive and obstreperous. Men would say that today or tomorrow this boy's arms and legs would be broken. His father replied, "Let him die, or become a crack rider". The said son was also skilled in letter writing, and in the etiquette of the society. He lived as a Mīrzā and was pious. Khān Daurān Governor of the Deccan on account of his friendship with the father took the son with him. After Khān Daurān's death Islām Khān also recognized his ability and took him to the Deccan. He was appointed *Faujdār* of Pāthrī. Later, when Shāh Nawāz Khān came to the Deccan, he made him *Faujdār* of Dhōndāpūr. He had the rank of 500 with 500 horse. He died in the 25th year. The second son is Faqīr Ullāh Ṣaif Khān¹ whose account will be included in its proper place.

¹ His name was Saif-ud-Dīn Muḥmūd alias Faqīr Ullāh Khān and his biography is given under Saif Khān—*Māathir-ul-Umara*, Text, II, pp. 479-485, translation *antea* pp. 683-687.

TARBIYAT KHĀN MĪR ĀTISH

(Vol. I, pp. 498-503).

His name was Mīr Muḥammad Khalil, and he was the eldest son of Dārāb Khān¹ Banī Mukhtār. He was distinguished above his peers in the later years of Emperor Aurangzib's reign for his stoutness of heart and hazarding his life. In the 40th year he was promoted to the rank of 2,000 foot with 1,200 horse, and was deputed from Brahmapūrī²—which was then the royal residence—to chastise³ the rebels of the Mahādēo hills⁴. On his recommendation Dandī Rāo—who was his accountant (*āwardah*⁵)—was granted the rank of 1,500, and appointed *Thānadar* of those hills. After that he was appointed head of the artillery (*Mir Ātish*). In the 42nd year he was sent off to dispose⁶ of (*bar-dāsbān*) the Maratha camp, and granted an increase of 500. After that he was continually employed in pressing and chastising the banditti of the Deccan, and was always safe and successful (*sālim u ghānim*). In the capture of the Maratha forts he became well known for the bastions and batteries which he constructed. When in the 43rd year, 5th Jummāda I, 1111 A.H. (19th October, 1699 A.D.), the Emperor after halting for four years at Islāmpūrī set out on a holy war to conquer the forts of Sīvā (Sivājī) Bhōnsle, and after passing Miraj⁷ or Murtadābād encamped in the

1 *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, II, pp. 30-32; Beveridge's translation, I, pp. 448-450.

2 In Shōlāpūr district, Bombay, cantonment of Aurangzib's Grand Army from 1695-1700, see *Imperial Gazetteer*, IX, p. 10 *et seq.* It was renamed Islāmpūrī by Aurangzib.

3 *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgiri*, p. 382.

4 Probably the Mahādēo Hills in Central provinces, *Imperial Gazetteer*, XIII, p. 179.

5 See Wilson's *Glossary*, p. 40 under *Āwardah-nāvis*.

6 *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgiri*, pp. 395, 396. The Marhatta camp was in Berār.

7 Mirich in text, but should be Miraj, a State in the Bombay Presidency, see *Imperial Gazetteer*, XVII, p. 361.

thana of Masūr¹, the Khān Mīr Ātish in accordance with orders proceeded to invest the fort of Basantgarh², which is a fortress in a mountainous defile three *kos* from Masūr. By his energy he accomplished the work of two years in two days, and brought his artillerymen under the wall of the fort. As the garrison of the fort did not desist from discharging their cannon, the royal advance camp was set up on the bank of the Kishnā (Krishna) river which flows at the foot of the fort at a distance of one *kos*. On the same day the besieged thought it an advantage to escape with their lives, and went away, and the fort became known as *Kalid-i-Fath* (the Key of Victory). Mīr 'Abdul Jalil Bilgrāmī³ found the chronogram: *Kōb kufr shikast*: 1111 A.H.; 1699 A.D. (the hill of the unbelievers was broken). From there the royal army proceeded towards Satāra⁴ fort, which is situated on a sky high hill, and was the greatest and strongest of Sivā's forts; accordingly it is today the capital and residence of Rāja Sāhū. On 25th Jummādā II (8th December, 1699 A.D.) the royal tents were set up half a *kos* from the foot of the fort, and the Khān Mīr Ātish proceeded to extend bastions for the purpose of taking the fort, and discomfiting the enemy. Wonderful performances were enacted. At a distance of thirteen cubits from the fort wall the said Khān erected an out-work (*damdama*⁵)

1 Maisūr of text is Masūr about 21 miles south of Satāra.

2 *Bombay Gazetteer*, XIX, p. 238. The place is some 7 miles north-west of Karad which is 8 miles south of Masūr. For the account of its conquest see *Maāthir-i-Ālamgiri*, pp. 410, 411.

3 For his account see *Maāthir-ul-Karām* alias *Saru-i-Āzād*, II, (Haidarabad edn., 1913), pp. 253-286.

4 For accounts of the siege of Satāra see *Maāthir-i-Ālamgiri*, pp. 412-421, and Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, V, pp. 161-166; in the latter work the dates are according to the Old Style, and 11 days must be added to get the New Style dates. For a very detailed account also see the same author's exhaustive paper in the *Proceedings Ind. Hist. Records Commission*, II for 1922, pp. 2-11 (1922). A translation of *Maāthir-i-Ālamgiri* account of the siege was published as an appendix by Stewart in his *Descr. Cat. Oriental Library of the late Tippoo Sultan of Mysore*, (Cambridge, 1809).

5 Translated as cavalier by Stewart.

twenty four yards high in front of a bastion. What an amount of money was spent on it. When, however, he saw that it would be of no avail for taking the fort, he ran an approach (*zīna*) from the foot of the outwork. It was constructed of strange¹ materials. Then a mine was driven to under the fort, and over it wooden steps (*zīna*) were erected. But as the wall (of the fort) was all rock (*kōhī*), and was thirty yards high, above which was a slope² six yards long, heaped with stones (*sang-chīn*), the attack failed. Thereupon the Emperor ordered that Fath Ullāh Khān³ under the command of Rūh Ullāh Khān should push forward other batteries. Tarbiyat Khān did not wish that some one else should compete with him in this affair. He, therefore, to make good his ineffectual efforts in the matter of approaches (*zīna*) devised a proper plan, namely that he excavated in the wall (*sang-chīn*) of the fort a recess⁴ (*tāqē*) fourteen yards long in one direction and ten yards long in another, and created a big gap in the wall(?). There was thus no obstruction between the besieged and the brave besiegers, who were on guard in the recess, but no one on either side dared to traverse the intervening space of barely one cubit in length. He arranged to fill up the entire tunnel with gunpowder, so that the wall should be blown up, and a passage for attack made available. Accordingly on 5th Dhul Qa'da (13th April, 1700 A.D.) when the siege had lasted for 4 months and some days, one of the charges was set on fire. The wall fell

¹ Camel litters, cotton and hemp clothes etc., see *Maāthir-i-Ālamgiri*, p. 415.

² جو (dawr) in text, but جو جو (mazawwar) in *Maāthir-i-Ālamgiri*, p. 414, whence the account is taken. I believe it means that there was a slope of six yards over the 30 yards high wall for rolling down stones.

³ For Fath Ullāh Khān see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, III, pp. 40-47. Beveridge's translation I, pp. 537-542. Rūh Ullāh Khān is the Rūh Ullāh Khān Khānazād Khān for whom see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, II, pp. 315-317, translation *antea* pp. 616, 617.

⁴ According to Khāfi Khān, II, p. 465, there were two recesses, and this seems to be correct.

inside, and a large number of garrison were burnt. When the other mine was fired the idea was that the wall this time also would fall inwards, and in addition to the sappers and miners Mukhlīs Khān and Ḥamid-ud-Dīn Khān with some thousand troopers were standing ready to rush in. Suddenly the wall collapsed towards them. In addition to the large numbers of *Baksariyas*¹, and the men of Karnātik and Māvlēs, 2,000 experienced heroes were killed. A more surprising thing was that during the uproar some footmen got out on the top of the wall and raised the cry "Come here, there is no one in this place." Fear, however, had so undermined the soldiers' determination that no one went forward. At last the garrison getting wise to the situation rushed on to their head, and washed out the picture of those brave lives with the water of their swords.

A more extraordinary² thing was that after the outwork had been destroyed and the batteries had fallen, and the besieging force withdrawn from the attempt, the Māvlē³ footmen became disheartened by the deaths of their brothers, sons and friends, and were enraged with the *Mīr Ātish*. When they saw that it would be difficult to bring away the corpses from under the stones and earth—and cremation is most essential according to their religion of evil principles—they the same night set fire to the batteries which were constructed entirely of wooden logs. This fire raged for seven days and nights. In fine, the *Mīr Ātish* employed such devices in the taking of this fort as could hardly be imagined. Man proposes, and God disposes! By the grandeur of the Emperor's fortune, nine days after this occurrence, on

1 See Irvine, *Army of the Indian Moghuls*, p. 168; they were foot soldiers not necessarily Rājpūts. In *Maathir-i-Ālamgiri*, p. 416, it is جماد غربی (Kurnātik) but in Khāfi Khān, II, p. 465, it is wrongly copied as غزی و کرناتکی with the variant غزی، while Stewart apparently has read it as غربی for he translates it as jews.

2 Khāfi Khān, II, p. 468.

3 *Babliya* is apparently a mistake for Māvlē, see Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 165.

13th Dhul Qa'da of the 44th year (21st April, 1700 A.D.), after 4 months and 18 days' siege the fort was captured. Accordingly a detailed account of it has been included elsewhere¹. In the batteries against Panhāla (Parnāla in text) and Pavangarh—which were contiguous to one another—Tarbiyat Khān exhibited such skill that the spectators were astonished. He tunneled out several *jarībs* of the land, and thus created a passage along which three (armed) men could pass abreast, and at distances of some paces made shelters in each of which twenty workmen could sit. On either side there were ventilators and passages for sunlight. In these shelters he placed musketeers who by their shooting prevented the besieged from putting their heads over the wall. He extended these passages to under the tower, which was planted with cannon, and destroyed its foundations so that a number of brave men took up posts there, and received no hurt from the *buqqabs*² and *matwālas*³ fired by the enemy. Finally the tunnel was extended under the rampart (*diwār fāṣil*)⁴ and inside the fort. Although Muḥammad Murād Khān one day through a lucky chance would have taken possession of the fort, but the other leaders out of respect for the *Mīr Ātish*—who in this matter publicly unfurled the flag of: “I and none else”—did not give heed to him; a reference to this has been made in the account⁵ of Muḥammad Murād Khān. Later before the plans of the *Mīr Ātish* had been completed, the

1. Apparently the reference is to Fath Ullāh Khān's account referred to in footnote 3, p. 936.

2. See Irvine, *op. cit.*, pp. 131, 182. These were some type of a hand grenade.

3. Apparently the stones that were rolled down. This is confirmed by Khāfi Khān, II, p. 464, where the expression is *sang-i-matwāla* or drunken stones, so called, apparently because they rolled along and from side to side like a reeling drunkard.

4. See Irvine, *op. cit.*, p. 264, who is inclined to consider *fāṣil* as “a platform running round the inside of the wall, on which the guns were mounted, or from which the defenders fired”.

5. *Māathir-ul-Umarā*, Text, III, pp. 682-692, translation *antea*. His part in the Panhāla siege is detailed on pp. 688, 689. of the text.

besieged were reduced to extremities and surrendered the fort. In the 46th year after the conquest of the fort of Khēlna (Vishālgarh) he was granted an increase of 500¹. In the 47th year through his skill and valour the fort of Kondāna (Singhgarh) known as *Bakhshanda Bakhsh* (The gift of the Giver) was conquered². In the 48th year, as a reward for his conquest of the fort of Rājgarh he was granted an increase of 500 foot with 200 horse, and his rank thereby was advanced³ to 3,500 foot with 1,800 horse. In the 49th year in addition to his appointment of the *Mīr Ātish* he was appointed Superintendent of the Artillery of the Deccan in succession to Mansūr Khān. As he was later also made *Dila'dār* of Banī Shāhgarh and Muhyiābād up to the river Bhīmra (Bhīma), Muhammad Ishāq his son was appointed as his deputy in-charge of the artillery. Afterwards he was granted the title of Bahādur, and after the conquest of Wāgingēra he received an increase of 200 horse, and the gift of a drum. In the 50th year he was sent to punish the sedition-mongers in the direction of Rahmān Bakhsh⁴. After the death of Emperor Aurangzib Muhammad A'zam Shāh also left the charge of the artillery to him. It is stated that when on the day of the battle it appeared that Bahādur Shāh would be victorious inasmuch as he was unrivalled as a marksman, he drove his elephant forward, and fired both the barrels of a double-barreled gun at Muhammad 'Azīm-ush-Shāh. Both misfired. He threw away the gun and at the same time a ball hit him in the chest, and he was killed. His son Muhammad Ishāq distinguished himself in his father's life-time. Later he received the title of Tarbiyat Khān, and became 1st *Mīr Tuzuk* (Chief Master of Ceremonies) in the time of Emperor Muhammad Shāh. In the commotion of Nādir Shāh his honour and property was wantonly plundered by the Emperor's armed police (Nādir Shāh's *Nasaqchis*⁵). At the time of writing he was alive.

² *Maathir-i-'Alamgiri*, p. 460.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 474.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 516.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 485.

⁵ See Irvine, *op. cit.*, p. 227.

TARDI BEG KHAN TURKISTANI

(Vol. I, pp. 466-471).

He was distinguished for his long and constant service under Emperor Humayun. After the conquest of Gujarat he was appointed Governor of Champañer¹. When Mirza Askari, who had been appointed Governor of Gujarat, was defeated by Sultan Bahadur, and proceeded to Agra with evil designs, and Sultan Bahadur crossing the Mahindri river advanced to Champañer, Tardi Beg Khan in spite of the strength of the fortress, and its abundant stores and means of defence, lost courage, and joined² Emperor Humayun at Mandu. But notwithstanding all the confidence reposed in him and his long association, Tardi Beg Khan was in reality void of the true materials of loyalty and of the fair coin of devotion—than which there is no better capital in the realm of service. During the period of commotion he behaved in a manner which honest people regard as disgraceful, and which others also disapprove, and regard when practised towards them as exceedingly base and shameless. For instance, one day when they were marching through the territory of Rao Maledo, there was no special horse for the Emperor to ride. When they asked Tardi Beg Khan for a horse he raised difficulties. Nadim Koka proffered the horse on which his mother was riding, and had to seat that old lady on a camel³. Afterwards when the august standards reached Umarkot, and there was great distress, he, when a demand was made, refused to give the property that he had acquired through royal patronage. The Emperor in concert with Rai Parshad, the ruler of the place, arrested him and others who had wealth, but immediately out of equity returned most of it to them. He only took a certain portion as a loan which he distributed in a fitting

¹ *Akbarnama*, Text, I, p. 130, Beveridge's translation, I, p. 316. Champañer is some 60 miles east-south-east of Ahmadabad.

² *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 144, translation, p. 321.

³ Elliot's *History*, V, p. 212, also *Akbarnama*, I, translation, p. 391.

manner amongst his servants¹. At the time of going to Irān Tardī Bēg Khān and other faithless servants left the Emperor near Qandahār and joined Mīrzā 'Askarī. The Mīrzā on the suspicion of their having property made over every one of them to his servants, and took them to Qandahār. He killed most of them by tortures, and took a large sum from Tardī Bēg².

When Emperor Humāyūn returned from Irān, Tardī Bēg Khān came forward full of penitence and remorse, and was again restored to his position of an *Amīr*. In the year 955 A.H. (1548 A.D.) on the death of Mīrzā Ulugh Bēg son of Mīrzā Sultān he was given the fief of Zamīn Dāwar, and was sent there to administer that area. As in the expedition to India he rendered valuable services, he received³ Mēwāt as his *Jāgīr*, and his power and influence increased materially. On 7th Rabī' I⁴, 963 A.H. (24th January, 1556 A.D.) Emperor Humāyūn in the Capital city of Delhi slipped from the flat surface of the mosque and fell to the ground, and departed from this world, according to the chronogram:

Hemisticch

Hymāyūn Pādshāh az bām uftād

(Emperor Humāyūn fell from the roof: 962)

Tardī Bēg Khān, who was the Amīr-ul-Umarā, recited⁵ the *Khuṭba* in the name of Emperor Akbar, and sent the insignia of sovereignty through Mīrzā Abūl Qāsim⁶, son of Mīrzā Kāmrān to

2 *Akkarnāma*, Text, I, p. 182, translation, pp. 375, 376.

2 *Op. Cit.* Text, pp. 192, 193, translation, p. 393.

3 *Akkarnāma*, Text, II, p. 14, Beveridge's translation, II, p. 25.

4 See Banerji, *Humayun Badshah*, II, pp. 254, 255 for a detailed account of Humāyūn's death. Also see Beveridge's long note No. 3 on pp. 654-656 of his translation of Vol. I of *Akkarnāma* where various authorities are cited and the question is discussed at length. The chronogram, as noted in the text is short by one year, as Humāyūn died in 963 A.H. (1556 A.D.).

5 *Akkarnāma*, Text, I, p. 364, translation, p. 658.

6 The insignia was sent through Ghulām 'Alī, but Mīrzā Abūl Qāsim was also sent to do homage, *op. cit.*, text, p. 365, translation, p. 660.

Akbar who was then administering the Panjāb. As a reward for this signal service, which was greatly approved, he was raised to the rank of 5,000. With the other Delhī officers he took charge of that territory, and in a proper manner marching against Hājjī Khān—who was one of the trusted slaves of Shér Shāh, and who had raised the head of disaffection near Nāraul, and was enjoying the income from round about that area—took that territory from him. He pursued him into Mewāt, and punished many of the recalcitrants, and returning to Delhī¹ managed its affairs with great skill.

At this time Hēmū Baqāl (came into the forefront). He had neither nobility nor lineage (*hasb u nasb*), and in the beginning was an object of contempt; he used to sell salt in the back lanes of the town of Riwārī. By his chicanery he became enrolled among the purveyors (*bagqālān*) of Salīm Shāh, and became known by his talk and slander about other people. When Mubāriz Khān 'Adali came to power, he made Hēmū his *vakil* and Commander-in-chief. By his audacity and scattering of gold he performed great feats. He first called himself Basant Rāī, and afterwards assumed the title of Raja Bikramājīt. As he did not know riding on horseback, he always used to go about on an elephant. Having collected a large number of elephants, he had 500 war-like elephants with him. On hearing of the inevitable event of Emperor Humāyūn he advanced against Delhī with 50,000 cavalry, 1,000 elephants, 51 guns and 500 culverines, and encamped at Tughlaqābād. The plan of most of the officers—who on account of Hēmū's disturbances had come from all round and joined Tardī Bēg Khān—was that while waiting for the arrival of Emperor Akbar they should strengthen the towers and bastions of the fort. Tardī Bēg Khān greatly heartened and encouraged them all, and made them ready for the battle. On the 2nd of Dhul Hijjah of the said year (7th October, 1556 A.D.) he engaged the enemy, and by his manful endeavours repulsed the opposing forces. Most of the imperialists pursued the fugitives, and others addressed themselves to

¹ *Akbarnāma*, Text, 11, p. 20, translation, p. 36.

plundering. Tardī Bēg Khān with a limited number of men had halted, and was watching the situation, when suddenly Hēmū came out of ambush and fell upon him. Afḍal Khān, Khwāja Sultān 'Alī, and Ashraf Khān *Mir Bakhsī* out of cowardice, and Mullā Pīr Muhammad Shīrwānī—who was Bairām Khān's man, and wished for the Commander-in-chief's (Tardī Bēg Khān's) defeat—took to flight. Tardī Bēg Khān preferred life with dishonour to death with honour, and also fled, and thus what had begun as an achievement ended in being the opposite¹. At Sirhind he joined the imperial army which was on its way for the extirmination of Hēmū. Bairām Khān regarding him as a rival was apprehensive of him, while Tardī Bēg Khān in view of his assumed position of the leader of the army was always after overthrowing Bairām Khān; and in addition each regarded bigotry as the basis of religion. At this time, when as a result of defeat Tardī Bēg Khān was feeling humiliated and disgraced, Bairām Khān affected friendship and invited him to his quarters. He left him in his tent, and went out on the pretence of purification. His subordinates in his absence put Tardī Bēg Khān to death.

Verse

If you see anyone's back in battle,

Kill him if the enemy did not do so during engagement.

On that day Emperor Akbar had gone out hawking in the Sirhind plains. When he returned Bairām Khān sent him the message, that he had taken this audacious step for no other reason than loyalty. Tardī Bēg Khān had deliberately run away from this battle. His insincerity and hypocrisy were known to all. If such offences were overlooked, no enterprises could be accomplished. He (Bairām Khān) was ashamed at not having obtained the Emperor's permission, but he knew that owing to the latter's innate graciousness, he would never sanction the execution. Emperor Akbar in view of the prevailing circumstances accepted Khān Khānān's excuses, but as Tardī Bēg Khān

¹ *Op. cit.*, Text, pp. 28-30, translation, pp. 47-50.

was an old and accomplished officer, he was displeased¹. The Chaghtāi officers also cherished rancour against Bairām Khān, and grew afraid and alarmed.

TARDĪ KHĀN

(Vol. I, p. 478).

He was the son of Qiyā Khān Gung². After his father's death he became a favourite of Emperor Akbar, and was appointed to a suitable *Mansab*. Later, he was deputed to the Deccan under Prince Sulṭān Dāniyāl, and rendered valuable services in that area. Afterwards as a result of some improper actions he fell into disgrace, but in 49th year was restored to favour, and was exalted by appointment to the rank of 2,000 foot with 500 horse³, and received a gift⁴ of five lakhs of *dāms*.

TARSŪN MUHAMMAD KHĀN

(Vol. I, pp. 471-475).

He was the sister's son of Shāh Muḥammad Saif-ul-Mulūk, who had become the ruler of Ghanjistān next to the territory of Khurāsān. Shāh Tahmāsp Ṣafavī in the year 940 A.H. (1534 A.D.) made Herāt his winter quarters, and deputed an army for extirpating Shāh Muḥammad, and to conquer that territory. Tarsūn Muḥammad Khān at first joined the service of the celebrated Muḥammad Bairām Khān, and soon outstripped all his colleagues both in rank and trustworthiness. When Emperor Akbar became alienated from Bairām Khān, and went towards Delhī on the pretext of hunting, Bairām Khān, in spite of

¹ *Op. cit.*, Text, pp. 32, 33, translation, pp. 51-53.

² *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, III, pp. 54-56, translation, *antea*, pp. 530, 531; also see Blochmann, *A'īn*, I(2nd edn.), pp. 366, 367. Qiyā Khān was killed in 989 A.H. (1581 A.D.).

³ *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 827; Beveridge's translation, III, p. 1239.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 836, translation, p. 1252.

his wisdom and ability, did not perceive that the dice had fallen the wrong way, and the scheme of times had taken another turn, and unconcernedly went on beating his drum of power. If any report of the state of affairs came to his ears, he did not believe it, till the orders of recall were issued to the officers. He now realized that the Emperor's hunting this time was of another type. He sent Tarsūn Muḥammad Khān with other confidential officers to the Court, and conveyed messages of his humility and submission. When Tarsūn Muḥammad Khān arrived at the Court, he heard weighty replies and was unable to make any rejoinder. He was also not permitted to leave the Court. Bairām Khān found that the road he had taken was closed. He wished to come to the Presence weeping and wailing. His opponents becoming aware of this plan impressed on Emperor Akbar, that Bairām Khān's coming in whatever form it might be, would involve deceit and treachery. Consequently Tarsūn Muḥammad Khān was sent with Ḥabīb Ullāh Khān to forbid Bairām Khān from coming, and not permit him to come even in the garb of friendship¹. After many events, some of which are detailed in the account of that *Amīr*² (Bairām Khān), Emperor Akbar gave permission to Bairām Khān for proceeding to the Hijāz, and gave him as companions Tarsūn Muḥammad Khān and Hājī Muḥammad Khān Sīstānī. They guided him to the confines of the imperial territory, and returned from the borders of Nāgōre³. Thereafter Tarsūn Muḥammad Khān was always in the service of the Emperor and being raised to the rank of *Amīr* was exalted by the high rank of an officer of 5,000. For a time he was the Governor of Bhakkar⁴, and of Patan⁵ in Gujarāt.

¹ *Akbarnāma*, Text, II, pp. 96, 97, Beveridge's translation, II, pp. 145, 146, whence the above account of Bairām Khān is taken.

² *Māthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, I, pp. 371-384, Beveridge's translation, I, pp. 368-378.

³ *Akbarnāma*, Text, II, p. 118, Beveridge's translation, II, p. 181.

⁴ *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 91, Beveridge's translation, III, p. 129.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 190, translation, p. 267.

In the 23rd year he was removed¹ from there, and the next year was appointed as *Faujdār* of Jaunpūr². Mullā Muḥammad Yazdī—who was celebrated as a learned man of the times—was sent with him as *Sadr* of the province. When some of the fief-holders in Bengāl and Bihār *Shūbas* became insubordinate, and raised high the dust of disaffection, Tarsūn Muḥammad Khān went to Bihār³ with other loyal officers, and made great efforts to punish Bahādur Khān Badakhshī and ‘Arab Khān who belonged to the rebellious faction. When Ma’sūm Khān Farrānkhūdī ungratefully went astray, Tarsūn Muḥammad Khān⁴ with Shāhbāz Khān adorned the field of battle. When in the 27th year Mīrzā ‘Azīz Kōka was appointed to liberate Bengāl and retake it from the unfaithful officers, Tarsūn Muḥammad Khān was deputed with him, and behaved with great energy and bravery in subduing that country.

Later when the Qāqshāl *Amīrs* separated from Ma’sūm Khān Kābulī—who was the ringleader of the malcontents—and joined the imperial army, Kōkaltāsh sent Tarsūn Muḥammad Khān towards Ghōrāghāt, the abode of the Qāqshāls lest that country be plundered by the enemy. Tarsūn Muḥammad Khān⁵ engaged himself in settling their territory and took up his residence at Tājpūr (probably Dīnājpūr) until the rebel Ma’sūm Khān having collected a large number of rebels arrived from the country of Bhātī (Āssām), and ravaged the imperial dominions up to within seven *kos* of Tānda. He also sent a body of men to plunder the neighbourhood of Tājpūr. Tarsūn Muḥammad Khān entrenched⁶ himself in the fort, and Shāhbāz Khān Kambū courageously marched from Patna to chastise the malcontents. The Bengāl officers and Tarsūn Muḥammad Khān joined him, and there was a hot engagement with the enemy. In a short time the imperia-

1 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 264, translation, p. 382.

2 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 281, translation, p. 410.

3 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 287, translation, p. 422.

4 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 307, translation, p. 453.

5 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 319, translation, p. 467.

6 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 416, translation, p. 619.

lists were victorious, and Ma'sūm Khān again sought shelter in the Bhātī country. Shahbāz Khān now proceeded towards that quarter with the idea that if 'Isā—the ruler of Bhātī, who was always expressing his loyalty—delivered up Ma'sūm Khān, his sincerity would be established, otherwise he would be punished for his duplicity. When the bank of the river Ganges (really the river Lakhra) near Khidrūpūr—which was the ferry for entering the Bhātī country—became the imperial camp, there were engagements, Sōnargāon was captured and the country was ravaged up to Katrāpūr, in which was 'Isā's home. Ma'sūm Khān after a short fight took to flight; he was nearly captured. At this time 'Isā, who had gone to the Kūch country (Cooch Bihār), arrived with a large and well-equipped army. The imperial officers stood firm on the bank of the Brahmaputra, which is a great river that comes from Cathay, and built a fort there. There were river battles, and hot contests. Tarsūn Muḥammad Khān was deputed to arrange the army to come from behind so that the enemy would be surrounded from both sides. As it happened he selected a road which was close to the enemy, and Ma'sūm Khān hearing about it came upon him with a large force. Shahbāz Khān sent Muhibb 'Alī Khān with some brave men to help Tarsūn Muḥammad Khān, and sent an urgent message asking Tarsūn Muḥammad Khān not to engage till reinforcements arrived; rather he was to take up some strong position. He did not trust the message, and said that deceitful persons had by this stratagem separated a body of men from their leader. But at last after many endeavours on the part of his companions, who represented the wisdom of caution and the folly of carelessness, he began by taking up a strong position. But as he placed little credence in the message, he did not stay there, but proceeded towards the camp. Just then an army appeared, and Tarsūn Muḥammad Khān dropping the thread of foresight from his hand concluded that it was the body of auxiliaries, and prepared to welcome them. He had advanced only a short distance when hostile cries filled the plain with the dust of contention. Though the well-wishers urged that he must retire to the strong position till the men from the army

and the auxiliaries would arrive to help him, he did not agree. With a stout heart he advanced to give battle. Some of his men went away on the pretext of bringing the necessary materials for fighting. Although he had not more than fifteen men, he fought bravely, but as it was the dictate of Fate, he was wounded and taken prisoner. Ma'sūm Khān entered by the door of friendship, and wished him to come over to his side. He in his loyalty replied with abuse and reproaches, and gave good advice. That light-headed man became angry, and put the grey-beard of dominion to death¹. This catastrophe occurred in 992 A.H. (1584 A.D.) in the 29th year of the reign.

TĀSH BEG TĀSH KHĀN

(Vol. I, pp. 482, 483).

He was one of the single-fighters of Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm. After the death of the Mīrzā, he in the 30th year was gratified by enlistment² in the service of Emperor Akbar. He became an object of favour, and received a *Jāgīr* as his *tankhwāb* in the Pānjāb Śāba. In the 31st year he³ was deputed with Rāja Birbar (Birbal) to assist Zain Khān Kōka, and in 32nd⁴ year under 'Abdul Maṭlab Khān in the campaign against the Tārikīs (Raushānīs). In the 40th year he was sent independently to chastise⁵ the 'Isā Khail tribe, and although he exerted himself bravely, the affair, owing to his illness, could not be executed properly. In the 42nd year he was⁶ deputed with Āṣaf

¹ *Op. cit.*, Text, pp. 432-434, translation, pp. 645-651. Beveridge has discussed the localities in a series of very valuable notes on the pages cited.

² *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 473, Beveridge's translation, III, p. 713.

³ *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 478, translation, p. 720.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 520, translation, p. 794. For 'Abdul Maṭlab Khān see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, II, pp. 769-771, Beveridge's translation, I, pp. 40, 41 and Blochmaun, *A'in*, I (2nd edn.), pp. 441, 442.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 671, translation, p. 1031.

⁶ *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 726, translation, p. 1084. For Āṣaf Khān see *Maāthir-*

Khān for the capture of the fort of Maū'—which was one of the great strongholds of the *Zamīndārs* of the northern hills in the Panjab province—and rendered valuable service. As a reward he was granted the title of Tāj Khān. In the 47th year, when the rebellion of Bāsū, the *Zamīndār* of the same hills, broke out afresh, and Khwāja Sulaimān¹ was appointed *Bakhshī* of the province, and sent off to collect in one place an army from Qulij Khān Sūbahdār and other fief-holders of the territory, such as Hasan Bēg Shaikh 'Umri, Tāj Khān and Ahīmad Bēg Khān Kābulī, and chastise the presumptuous chief, Tāsh Khān did not wait for others, but by successive marches reached the *Pargana* of Pathan (Pathānkōt) their *Thānagāh*. It chanced that while his men were pitching the tents, an army of that bandit arrived. Jamīl Bēg, his son, and others immediately attacked it, and a severe engagement took place. Jamīl Bēg and fifty of his father's retainers were killed². After the accession of Emperor Jahāngīr he was promoted³ to the rank of 3,000. In the 2nd year when the Emperor returned from Kābul to India, and the governorship of that province was assigned to Shāh Bēg Khān—who on being removed from Qandahār was on the road—Tāsh Bēg was ordered that till the arrival of the said Khān he should take care⁴ of Kābul. Later his rank was increased, and he was appointed⁵ Governor of Tatta (Sindh). In the 9th year, corresponding to 1023 A.H. (1614 A.D.) he died⁶ there.

TĀTĀR KHĀN KHURĀSĀNĪ

(Vol. I, p. 471).

He was one of the officers of Emperor Akbar's reign, and reached the rank of 1,000. His name was Khwāja Tāhir Muhammad. For

ul-Umarā, Text, I, pp. 107-115, Beveridge's translation, pp. 282-287, and Blochmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 451-454.

1 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 803, translation, pp. 1206, 1207.

2 *Op. cit.*, Text, pp. 804, 805, translation, pp. 1208, 1209.

3 Rogers & Beveridge's translation of *Tuzuk-i-Jahāngīr*, I, p. 31.

4 *Op. cit.*, p. 121, 5 *Op. cit.*, p. 261, 6 *Op. cit.*, p. 267.

a long time he was included among the *Vazirs*. In the 8th year he was deputed with Shāh Budāgh Khān to pursue Shāh Abūl Ma‘alī¹, who passing near Hīssār Fīruza was proceeding towards Kābul. Later, for a long time he was in-charge of the government² of Dēlī. In the year 986 A.H. (1578 A.D.) he died.

TĒGH BĒG KHĀN MĪRZĀ GUL³

(Vol. I, pp. 504, 505).

He and his two elder brothers Mīrzā Faqīr Ullāh and Mīrzā Gadā were sister's sons of Bēglar Khān Mīrzā Ahmād, who was the *Dīvān* of Sultān Bēdār Bakht. In the time of Emperor Muḥammad Shāh he was the commandant of the Sūrat port. Their father was an officer of small rank. After his death Mīr Na‘mān Khān, the second son of Khwāja ‘Abdur Rahīm the *Khān-i-Buyūtāt* supported them. When the said Khān died, they were supported by their maternal uncle. Mīrzā Faqīr Ullāh died young. Mīrzā Gadā at first had the title of Gadā Bēg, and when the said Bēglar Khān (his maternal uncle) died, and as he also was his son-in-law, he was granted the title of Bēglar Khān, and appointed Commandant⁴ of the fort of Sūrat. Later, Mīrzā Gul through his good fortune received the title of Tēgh Bēg Khān during the reign of Emperor Muḥammad Shāh, and was appointed Superintendent (*Mutṣadī*) of that port, and was for a long time in complete charge of its affairs. He made a name for himself there by his charitable acts (*nān-dībī*, lit. bread giving) and magnanimity. When he left the world in 1159 A.H. (1746 A.D.) the Superintendence of the port was assigned to Mu‘īn-ud-Dīn Khān Bahādūr alias Miyān Achhan, son of Shāh Makhan, who was related to the said Khwāja ‘Abdur Rahīm Khān, on account of his being the

¹ *Akbarnāma*, Text, II, p. 200, Beveridge's translation, II, p. 311.

² *Op. cit.*, Text, pp. 280, 288, translation, pp. 415, 424.

³ Mea Atchund of Mill's *History of India*, III, p. 327.

⁴ For a detailed account of Tēgh Bēg Khān's independent governorship of Sūrat see *Gazetteer Bombay Presidency*, II (1887), pp. 116-122.

son-in-law of the elder Bēglar Khān. At the time of writing though the port has come into the possession of the hat-wearing English, but Muīn-ud-Dīn's son, who has the title of Qāim-ud-Daulah; has his name entered (as superintendent). *Gul ba khāk uftād*: The flower fell to dust, is the chronogram of Tēgh Bēg Khān's death (1159 A.H., 1746 A.D.).

(RĀJA) TŌDAR MAL

(Vol. II, pp. 123-129).

Rāja Tōdar Mal was a Lāhōrī¹ Khattrī. He was an able accountant, and a courageous administrator. Through Emperor Akbar's patronage he rose to a high office, and attained the rank of an officer of 4,000² and was made an *Amīr* and leader. In the 18th year when by the Emperor's arrival Gujarat territory was cleansed of sedition-mongers, the Rāja³ was left there to investigate the fiscal⁴ assessment of the territory, so that an equitable and just tariff for revenue assignment of the area might be enforced. In the 19th year after the conquest

1 In the text it is not stated that Rāja Tōdar Mal was born at Lāhore in the Panjāb, and the statement that he was a Lāhōrī Khattrī is correct for it is admitted by the people of Lōhārpūr in Oudh that his father was a Panjābī Khattrī. In this connection reference may be made to the letter of Mr. Ferrar of Sitāpūr, Oudh, published on p. 178 of the *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* for 1871, and Mr. Blochmann's remarks on it. According to this letter Tōdar Mal's father, who was Panjābī Khattrī, came to Lōhārpūr, and married the daughter of a Chēpāri Khattrī, and that Tōdar Mal was born there. Lōhārpūr is, 17 miles north of Sitāpūr, and is mentioned in *Aīn*, II, p. 177 (Jarrett's translation). Mr. Ferrar states in his letter that there is a place called Rājapūr, near Lōhārpūr, where a fair is held in the Rāja's honour. For Rāja Tōdar Mal's account see Blochmann, *Aīn*, I (2nd edn.), pp. 376-379, and Muhammad Husain Azād, *Darbār-i-Akbarī* (Lāhore, 1939), pp. 519-534.

2 He was raised to the rank of 4,000 in the 30th year, *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 457, Beveridge's translation, p. 687.

3 *Akbarnāma*, Text, p. 65, translation, III, p. 91.

4 جمِع دامی *Jamā'dāmī*, see Wilson's *Glossary*, pp. 120, 228.

5 تکوہ *Tankhwāb* or assignment, see Wilson, *op. cit.*, p. 509.

of Patna he was honoured by the grant of a standard and a drum, and was deputed¹ to help Mun'im Khān in Bengāl. Though in this campaign the leadership and planning were Khān Khānān's share, yet in the actual campaigning, encouraging the soldiers, making dashing marches, chastising the recalcitrants and the opposing forces, the Rāja played a more distinguished part. In the battle with Dā'ūd Khān Karārānī, when Khān 'Ālam the leader of the vanguard was killed, and Khān Khānān after he was severely wounded turned the rein, the Rāja stood firm, and continued his efforts till defeat was turned into victory. On the battle-field while the enemy were exulting over their victory, an unpleasant report about Khān 'Ālam and Khān Khānān was brought to him. The Rāja becoming angry said, "If Khān 'Ālam be dead, what harm? If Khān Khānān has left, what fear? The Emperor's good fortune is with us²." After settling that country he returned to the Court, and was, as previously, engaged in financial and political duties.

When Khān Jahān was appointed Governor of Bengāl, Rāja Tōdar Mal was deputed³ with him, and by his excellent arrangements the territory which had been lost was recovered⁴. He captured and killed Dā'ūd. In the 21st year he brought to the threshold of the Caliphate from that area glorious spoils which included three to four hundred elephants⁵. As the province of Gujārāt had not been properly settled, and owing to the neglect of Wazīr Khān affairs were in confusion, the Rāja was deputed⁶ to rectify matters in that territory.

1 *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 71, translation, p. 98.

2 *O.p. cit.*, Text, pp. 118-126; translation, pp. 169-179. Rāja Tōdar Mal's reply on hearing of the death of Khān 'Ālam and the Khān Khānān being forced to leave the battlefield is differently worded there (translation, p. 178).

3 *O.p. cit.*, Text, p. 162; translation, p. 229, and text, pp. 179-182, translation, pp. 251-255.

4 *O.p. cit.*, Text, p. 183; translation, p. 256.

5 *O.p. cit.*, Text, p. 196; translation, p. 277. The number of elephants brought by Rāja Tōdar Mal was 304.

6 *O.p. cit.*, Text, p. 198; translation, p. 280.

He by his skill, understanding, courage and bravery made proper arrangements from Sultānpūr and Nandurbār to Barōda and Chāmpānēr, and after his arrival at Ahmādābād, he in conjunction with Wazīr Khān lighted the lamp of justice. Suddenly the disturbance of Muṣaffar Husain Mīrzā instigated by Mihr ‘Alī Kōlābī broke out. Wazīr Khān wanted to take shelter in the fort. Rāja Tōdar Mal by his determination made him prepare for battle, and in the 22nd year an engagement took place near Dhōlqa. As a result of the flight of his soldiers Wazīr Khān was in a very tight corner, and was about to lose his life. The Rāja who was the leader of the left wing, drove off the opposing forces, and went to his help. Immediately the warp and woof of the proud rebels were severed to bits, and the Mīrzā fled towards Junāgarh¹. In the same year he returned to the Court, and resumed² his duties as a Vazīr.

When in that year the Emperor went from Ajmēr to the Panjāb, one day in the bustle of the march the Rāja's idols were lost, and as he never transacted any other business until he had performed their worship according to special rites, he forswore food and sleep. The Emperor by his advice made him give up some of his superstitious devotion³. He had to perform the duties of Vazīr, but he could not satisfactorily complete the task owing to fear and the predominance of double-faced ten-tongued men. In the beginning of the 27th year, 990 A.H. (1582 A.D.) he was honoured by appointment as the chief *Divān*. In fact he was the *Vakīl* with absolute powers, and all business was transacted under his direction. The Rāja began to reconstruct the financial and political edifice, and laid down definite regulations which were adopted by royal order. Details of these are given in *Akbarnāma*⁴. In the 29th year his house was glorified by the

¹ *Op. cit.*, Text, pp. 207-209; translation, pp. 292-294.

² *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 213, translation, p. 300.

³ *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 221, translation, p. 310.

⁴ His appointment as chief *Divān* is recorded on p. 381 of the text and p. 581 of the translation. His eleven regulations are detailed on text pp. 381-383; translation, pp. 561-566.

Emperor's visit, and in gratitude he arranged a grand feast¹. In the 32nd year a wicked Khattrī on account of enmity struck him in his palanquin at night with a sword. The attendants of the Rāja killed the assailant². When Rāja Bīrbār was killed in the hills of Swāt, Rāj Tōdar Mal³ and Kanwar Mān Singh were sent to punish the Yusufzāīs. When in the 34th year the Emperor went to Kashmīr, the Rāja was appointed with Muḥammad Qulī Khān Barlās and Rāja Bhagwant Dās Kachwāha to the charge of Lāhōrē⁴. During this year while the Emperor was proceeding from Kashmīr to Kābul, the Rāja wrote a petition to the effect that as age and sickness had overcome him, and apparently his death was near at hand, he begged that he be relieved from all business, and be allowed to the bank of the Ganges and spend his last breaths in prayer and meditation. Leave was granted, and he left Lāhōrē for Hardwār. Suddenly another order came to the effect that no worship of God was equal to taking care of the weak. It was, therefore, better that he should look after the affairs of the oppressed⁵. He was obliged to return. Eleven days after the beginning of the year 998 A.H., corresponding to the 34th year of the reign he died⁶ (21st November, 1589 A.D.).

The learned Abūl Faḍl writes about him that for uprightness, straightforwardness, service, kind nature, freedom from avarice, arranging expeditions, courage, capacity for putting heart into cowards, knowledge of details, zeal and administration of Indian affairs he was the unique of the age. But he was spiteful and vindictive. Small

1 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 440, translation, p. 661.

2 *Op. cit.*, Text, pp. 519, 520; translation, pp. 792, 793.

3 *Op. cit.*, Text, pp. 487, 488; translation, pp. 736, 737.

4 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 537, translation, p. 817.

5 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 567, translation, p. 858.

6 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 569; translation, p. 861. Beveridge gives 8th November, 1589, as the date of his death; this must be according to the Old Style for 11 days from the beginning of 998 A.H. would be either 21st or 20th of November, 1589, as the 1st of the year was Friday, 10th November.

differences flourished in the garden of his mind—this has been considered by wise men as the worst of all traits, especially in government where the affairs of all people are entrusted to a person who is the *Vakīl* of the master of a kingdom. If the face of his nature were not tarnished by religious bigotry, this mean personality would not have been so contemptible. The fact, however, is that if he were not bigoted, conventional and spiteful, and did not stick to his own opinions, he would have been a spiritually great man. In spite of all this and considering the prevailing state of affairs in regard to generosity and liberality—the market of which is generally flat—he was for service, diligence and understanding unrivalled. (His death) was a great blow to disinterested service, and the market of business lost its briskness. It is accepted that an honest person may be found, though probably he would be a fellow nestling of the phoenix ('anqā), but by what charm could he acquire that influence (*i'timād*) which so seldom falls to the share of mortals²¹.

Emperor Aurangzib used to say that he heard from Emperor Shāh Jahān, that Emperor Akbar had one day remarked, "Tōdar Mal is very wise and prudent in financial and political affairs, but his unconcern and conceit cannot be approved." Abūl Fadl, who was not on good terms with him, brought up several charges against him. Emperor Akbar replied, "I cannot dismiss one whom I have nurtured." The rules and regulations of Rāja Tōdar Māl for developing the country and in regard to military affairs are current throughout India, and have been the bases for several royal rescripts. In India in the days of the earlier sovereigns and rulers they used to take one sixth (of the produce) from the cultivators. The Rāja classified land as *pōlaj*, *parauī*, *chachar* and *banjār*²², and measurements were carried out of all tilled

1 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 569, translation, pp. 861, 862. In this connection also see Blochmann, *op. cit.*, p. 377, regarding "the change in the language and the character used for revenue accounts", and which Blochmann rightly considers "as the most important reform introduced by Tōdar Mal."

2 See Jarrett's translation of *A'in*, II, p. 63, where these four classes of land are defined.

and uncultivated land—this was called *Ragba*⁴—on the basis of *bighas* and *biswas*. The assessment on cultivation of vegetables and pot-herbs, and all kinds of corn etc., was fixed in cash per *bigha*, and in some cases on a division of the produce which was designated *batāī*. As in the earlier days the salaries of the soldiery were reckoned in black copper coins, Tōdar Mal fixed the value of the rupee—which was reckoned previously at 40 *falūs*—at forty *dāms*, and fixed the assessment (*jama'*) on the basis of the actual produce (*hāl-bāsil'*), and granted it in feudal tenure as an assignment—this was called *Jāgīr*². And areas of the estates—whose revenue was paid directly into the imperial treasury, were called *Khālsā*—to the value of one *kror* (ten million) *dāms*—which on the basis of collections for 12 months amounted to 2,500 for every lac of rupees, keeping in view the good and bad yield of the crops—were each assigned to one experienced officer, who was called the *krōri*³ and the extra revenue charges for the irregular troops (*siwāi sibbandī*) to be collected were fixed at rupees five per hundred. In the earlier days no coins other than *falūs*⁵ (copper coins) were current. In granting rewards to officers, ambassadors and poets the procedure adopted was to mint coins of silver alloyed with copper of the weight of *falūs*, and designate these silver *tankahs*⁶. The Rāja had *ashrafis* of unadulterated gold weighing eleven *māshas*⁷, silver rupees weighing eleven and a half *māshas* coined. Many other reforms which were introduced by him,

4 Wilson's *Glossary*, p. 196.

2 For *Jāgīr* and *Khālsā*, see P. Saran, *Provincial Government of the Mughals*, p. 79.

3 Wilson's *Glossary*, pp. 297, 298, and P. Saran, *op. cit.*, pp. 296, 297. The *krōris* were first appointed in the end of the 19th year of Emperor Akbar's reign after his return to Fathpur Sikri in January, 1575 (*Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 117, translation, p. 167). Though the name *krōri* is not used in *A'in*, the office is defined on Text, I, p. 10, Blochmann's translation, p. 13, as "zealous and upright men were put in charge of the revenues, each over one *kror* of *dāms*".

4 Wilson's *Glossary*, pp. 481, 486.

6 Wilson's *Glossary*, p. 538.

5 Wilson's *Glossary*, p. 155.

7 Wilson's *Glossary*, p. 333.

cannot be detailed here. And in fact the disposition of Emperor Akbar—who was the founder of the state and government—was prolific in all affairs. He introduced valuable innovations in all arts and crafts. During his prosperous reign, as wise and clever men of all the seven climes were collected round him, all these expert masters by their clever instincts and correct understanding suggested marvellous practices, and useful innovations for approval by the Emperor. Even artisans and authors in their own trades and profession made marvellous advances.

Verse

When the King is a master of learning,
He makes experts of all workers.

The Rāja had a number of sons. The eldest of them was Dhārū, who had the rank of 700 in Emperor Akbar's days. He performed great deeds under Khān Khānān in the Tatta (Sindh) campaign, where¹ he was killed. It is stated that his horses were shod with gold and silver.

(RĀJA) TŌDAR MAL SHĀH JAHĀNĪ

(Vol. II, pp. 286, 287).

At first he was an associate of Afdal Khān². After his death, he, in the 13th year, received the title of Rāī, and was appointed Dīvān, Amīn and Faujdār of the Sarkār of Sirhind³. In the 14th year the charge of the Faujdār⁴ of Lakhī Jangal was added to it. As the Emperor was pleased with his development of the territory, in the

¹ This was in the 37th year in Khān Khānān 'Abdul Rahīm's campaign in Sindh against Mirzā Jānī Bēg, see *Akbarnāma*, III, Text, pp. 608-610, translation, pp. 929-932. Dhārū's death is recorded on p. 60 of text, and 930 of the translation.

² *Māthbir-ul Umara*, Text, I, pp. 145-151, Beveridge's translation, I, pp. 149-153.

³ *Badshāhnāma*, II, p. 206.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 236.

15th year he was awarded a robe of honour, a horse and an elephant¹, and in the 16th year, as a reward for his valuable services his rank was increased to 1,000 foot with 1,000 horse, two-horse three-horse troopers². In the 19th year his rank was further increased by 500 foot with 200 horse, two-horse three-horse troopers, and he was posted to Sirhind³. In the 20th year he again received an increase of 300 horse⁴, two-horse three-horse troopers. Gradually the charge for the management of the *Sarkār* Dīpālpūr, and *Parganas* Jalāndhār and Sultānpūr was added to it; the annual revenue of these areas amounted to fifty lacs of rupees. He took proper measures for the collection of this amount. As a result in the 21st year he was exalted by promotion to the rank of 2,000 with 2,000 horse, and the grant of the title of Rāja⁵. In the 23rd year he was awarded a standard. After the battle of Sāmūgarh when Dārā Shikōh during his flight reached Sirhind, Rāja Tōdar Mal as a precautionary measure had retired to the Lakhī Jangal. Dārā Shikōh took 20 lacs of rupees of the Rāja's property which were buried in various places⁶. During the reign of Emperor Aurangzib he was for a time in charge of the *Faujdārī* of Itāwah⁷ (Etāwah). In the 9th year, corresponding to 1076 A.H. (1665-66 A.D.) he died. ✓

TŪLAK KHĀN QŪCHĪN

(Vol. I, pp. 475-478).

He was one of the servants of Emperor Bābur⁸. Later he joined the stirups of Emperor Humāyūn. After that monarch returned from Irān, and took Kābul, and when Mīrzā Kāmrān, on a pretence

1 *Op. cit.*, p. 247.

2 *Op. cit.*, p. 319.

3 *Op. cit.*, p. 473.

4 *Op. cit.*, p. 627.

5 'Amal Ṣāliḥ, III, p. 7.

6 'Alamgīrnāma' pp. 142, 143.

7 His removal from Sirhind is mentioned in 'Alamgīrnāma', p. 220, while his appointment as *Faujdār* of Etāwah in the 3rd year is recorded on p. 604.

8 Though the text seems to imply that he was one of Bābur's servants but it is hardly likely that a man who died in 1596 could have served Bābur, who died in 1530. Here the word *Bāburī* probably means an old servant.

of service but with a heart full of guile, came near Kābul, and was joined by treacherous officers, Emperor Humāyūn was compelled to turn his reins towards Duhhāk and Bāmiyān, where he had many faithful followers. He sent Tūlak Khān with some other servants to look after Kābul, but except for Tūlak Khān not one returned to him¹. His good services were approved, and he was appointed Keeper of the Arsenal (*Qūrbēg*). In the expedition to India he followed² the royal stirrups, and rendered good service. After the death of Emperor Humāyūn when Shāh Abūl Ma'ālī went astray, Akbar's well-wishers were anxious to arrest him. One day he was invited to a feast, and when he stretched out his hands for a wash, Tūlak Khān—who was well known for the quickness of his movements—came behind him and seized both his arms. Others helped, and the work of arrest was carried out³. Later, he was for a long time attached to the Kābul administration. In the 8th year of the reign of Emperor Akbar, Ghānī Khān, the son of Mun'im Bēg Khān Khānān, was supreme in Kābul. Light-headedness and turbulence were natural to him, while he had become intoxicated by youth and his high office. One day, he, without any cause seized Tūlak Khān who was a man of position, and put him and a number of his relatives into confinement. Tūlak Khān by the help of some sensible men made his escape. After this affair he resided in the village of Bābā Khātūn, which was his *Jāgīr*, and waited for an opportunity for retribution. One day Ghānī Khān left Kābul for seizing a caravan from Balkh, and arranged a wine party at the stage of Khwāja Sih Yārān, which is a delightful spot. Tūlak Khān with a body of his relations and servants fell upon him while he was drunk, and captured him and Shagūn the son of Qarācha. He relieved his angry feelings by abusing Ghānī Khān, and set off with his men to take Kābul. He

¹ *Akbarnāma*, Text, I, p. 297, Beveridge's translation, I, p. 560.

² *Op. cit.*, translation, p. 623, note 1, no. 24.

³ *Akbarnāma*, Text, II, p. 16, Beveridge's translation, II, pp. 19, 20.
Also see note 2 about the picture of Abūl Ma'ālī's arrest in the Bodleian Library, Oxford.

halted at the village of Khwāja Awāsh which is two *kos* from the city. When Fudāil Beg, the brother of Mun'im Khān, and his son Abūl Fath prepared to fight against him, he agreed to make peace on condition of several estates being assigned to him, and released Ghanī Khān. The latter as soon as he was released marched against Tūlak Khān with a large army. Tūlak Khān did not think it advisable to remain there and so started for India. Near Ghōrband river the Kābul army caught him up, and there was a battle. Bābā Qūchīn and some other of his servants were killed, but he and his son Isfandi-yār, and a few of his relations and servants manfully fought their way out¹. In the same year he took up service under Emperor Akbar, and gathered the materials of tranquility through the grant of a fief in the province of Mālwa. In the 28th year when the Mālwa army was ordered to assist Mīrzā Khān Khānān ('Abdur Rahīm) he also went with it, and according to the orders of the Khān Khānān went against Saiyid Daulat², who was creating a disturbance in Cambay. He punished him, and was victorious. Later he joined the imperial army, and in the battle against Sultān Mužaffar Gujrātī was in the left wing³, and took an active part in the action. Later he went with Qulīj Khān to take Bahrōnj (Broach). In the 30th year when the Mālwa army was deputed to assist Khān Ā'zam (Mīrzā 'Āzīz Kōka) for the conquest of the Deccan, he⁴ also hurried there. In the course of the disagreement between Khān Ā'zam and Shihāb-ud-Dīn Aḥmad Khān he fell under suspicion on account of the talk of the babblers, and was imprisoned⁵. On being released he was appointed as an auxiliary of the Bengāl and Bihār forces, and in the 37th year he was with Rāja Mān Singh in the battle with Qutlū's

¹ *Op. cit.*, Text, pp. 184, 185, translation, pp. 285-287.

² *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 429, Beveridge's translation, III, p. 640.

³ *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 430, translation, p. 642.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 465. His name is not mentioned in the translation on p. 701.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 489, translation, pp. 739, 740, and note 5.

sons, and assisted the left wing¹. He died in the beginning of the 41st year² corresponding to 1004 A.H. (1596 A.D.).

TURKTĀZ KHĀN

(Vol. I. pp. 503, 504).

His ancestors were from Tūrān. His father came to India during the time of Emperor Aurangzīb, and joined the royal service. He was granted a suitable rank, and the title of Yakkahātāz³ Khān, and deputed to chastise the Marathas. His uncle Khwāja Khān⁴, who was the son-in-law of Siyādat Khān Saiyid Oghlān, was in the 51st year granted the rank of 1,600. Turktāz Khān was born in the Deccan, and adopted Maratha customs. In dress and even food he did not distinguish himself from them, and in battle also he adopted their cossack-type of fighting which the Deccanis call *Bargīgīn*⁵. He was on the roll of the Deccan auxiliary officers. In the battle⁶ with 'Ālam 'Alī Khān although he was with him, yet on account of his being a fellow country man, he colluded with Āṣaf Jāh, and did not at all exert himself. After the victory he met⁷ Āṣaf Jāh with respect, and the old associations were renewed and strengthened. Throughout his life he lived honourably. In the year 1149 A.H. (1736 A.D.) he died. He had three sons. The eldest Khwāja Muḥammad during the time of Āṣaf Jāh had the title of Khān and in Nāṣir Jang's time the title of his father, and in the days of Ṣalābat Jang was styled Qawī

1 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 611, translation, p. 935.

2 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 711, translation, p. 1060. He apparently died in the end of June, 1596.

3 He is often mentioned in 'Ālamgīrnāma and *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīrī* as one of the officers who took part in several campaigns.

4 *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgīrī*, p. 518.

5 *Bargī* according to Irvine, *Army of the Indian Moghuls*, p. 171, is a name for Maratha Soldiery.

6 Battle near Bālāpūr, Akōla district, 6th Shawwāl, 1132 A.H. (11th August, 1720).

7 *Khāfi Khān*, II, p. 895.

Jang. He reached the rank of 5,000, and was for a long time the commandant of the Ahmadnagar fort. For some reason he delivered the fort to the Marathas. In 1187 A.H. (1773 A.D.) he died of some illness. He was a friendly man, of pleasant disposition, and a patron of the learned. He was very fond of good calligraphy. He never let fall the thread of friendship with the writer of the pages. Of the other two sons (of Turkāz Khān), one was Ḥamīd Khān, and the other Khwāja Sharīf Khān. Both had ranks and *Jāgīr*. They died before their elder brother.

TĀHIR KHĀN*

(Vol. II, pp. 751-754).

His name was Tāhir Shaikh. In the 20th year of Emperor Shāh Jahān's reign he came from Balkh, and kissed the royal threshold. He was awarded a robe of honour, a jewelled dagger and Rs. 10,000 in cash,¹ and later a sword with golden and enamelled accoutrements, and the rank of 800 foot with 400 horses². Later he was exalted by the grant of a jewelled *jīghā'*, and his rank was increased to 1,000 with 500 horse. He was also awarded the title of Khān, and a horse with silver saddle.³ He hurried to Balkh in attendance on the stirrups of Prince Muḥammad Aurangzib Bahādur. In the 21st year he received an increase of 500 foot with 100 horse, and on his return from there he placed his brow of loyalty on the threshold of faith. In the 22nd year his rank was increased to 2,000 foot with 700 horse⁴, and he was deputed to the Qandahār campaign in attendance on Prince Muḥammad Aurangzib Bahādur. After reaching there he proceeded towards Bust in the company of Qulīj Khān, and attacked the fort of Khānsī, which is on the borders of Sistān, and acquired

* This and the next biography are of officers whose names begin with the letter **ب**.

1 *Bāds̄hbānāma*, II, pp. 608, 609.

3 *Op. cit.*, pp. 627, 628.

2 *Op. cit.*, pp. 610, 611.

4 *'Amal Sālib*, III, p. 69.

much booty. In the battle against the Irānians he greatly distinguished himself, and in the 23rd year he received as a reward the rank of 2,500 foot with 1,000 horse¹. Later, on arriving at the Court an order was issued to the officers of the *Buŷūtāt* that the *pēshkashes* received on Thursdays should for a period of one year be sent to the said Khān². In the 25th year he was again deputed to the Qandahār campaign in attendance on the said Prince. In the 26th year he accompanied³ Prince Dārā Shikōh on the same enterprise, and with Rustam Khān reached Qandahār before the arrival of the Prince. From there he in company with the said Khān proceeded towards Bust. In the 28th year he was granted an increase of 500 horse, and sent with Jumlat-ul-Mulk Sa'ad Ullāh Khān to the Chitor fort. In the battle near Samūgarh he was⁴ with Dārā Shikōh. After the latter's flight, when Aurangzib's army arrived near Agra, Tāhir Khān waited⁵ upon Aurangzib, and was granted a robe of honour. Later he was deputed⁶ with Khalil Ullāh Khān for the pursuit of Dārā Shikōh. In the second battle against Dārā Shikōh he received a quiver⁷, and acted with the body of scouts. Apparently after that he was appointed Governor of Multān, for the author of *Maâthir-i-'Alamgiri* records his return from Multān in the 11th year⁸ after he had been removed from that office. In the 22nd year, when after the death of Mahārāja Jasvant Singh, the confiscation of his territory was decided upon, he was appointed⁹ *Faujdār* of Jōdhpūr. The servants of the said Rāja with his sons after leaving Kābul reached the capital, and disobeying the royal orders fought with the force—which had been deputed against them—and then fled to their own country. As Tāhir Khān did not stand in the way and oppose their flight, he in the same year was dismissed and deprived of his title of Khān¹⁰. He

1 *Op. cit.*, p. 100.

2 *Op. cit.*, p. 110.

3 *Op. cit.*, p. 157.

4 *'Alamgirnāma*, p. 95.

5 *Op. cit.*, p. 113.

6 *Op. cit.*, p. 147.

7 *Op. cit.*, p. 304.

8 *Maâthir-i-'Alamgiri*, p. 74.

9 *Op. cit.*, p. 172.

10 *Op. cit.*, p. 179.

died at his appointed time. His son was Mughal Khān ‘Arab Shaikh, of whom a separate account¹ has been included.

TAIYIB ḲHWĀJA JŪIBĀRĪ

(Vol. II, pp. 750, 751).

He was the son of Hasan Ḳhwāja, elder brother of ‘Abdur Rahīm Ḳhwāja, son of Kalān Ḳhwāja, who was married to the aunt of Nadhar Muḥammad Khān, and sister of Dīn Muḥammad Khān. ‘Abdur Rahīm Ḳhwāja came to India as an ambassador of Imām Qulī Khān during the reign of Emperor Jahāngīr, and was treated with such respect that he had a seat in the Emperor’s assemblies. In the first year of the reign of Emperor Shāh Jahān he died. Afḍal Khān in accordance with orders went to his son Ṣadīq Ḳhwāja, and after conveying condolences brought him to the Court. Hasan Ḳhwāja, the father of Taiyib Ḳhwāja, died of plague which broke out before Balkh was captured, and Yūsuf Ḳhwāja his second uncle took the place of his ancestors. Taiyib Ḳhwāja was married to the daughter of ‘Abdur Rahīm Ḳhwāja. In the 20th year of Emperor Shāh Jahān’s reign he started for India after the conquest of Balkh. When he reached near (the imperial seat), Qādī Muḥammad Aslam and Ḳhwāja Abūl Khair Mir ‘Adal went forward to welcome him, and brought him to the Emperor. He presented 18 horses and 15 camels, and received a robe of honour, and a gift of 1,000 gold *mūbars*². Later, he was exalted by the grant of a jewelled dagger³. Afterwards he received a present of 500 *Dhan* which were equal to 150 *ashrafis*⁴. The

¹ *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, III, pp. 513 625, translation ante, pp. 109-111.

² *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p. 611.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 627, where his appointment to a rank of 4,000 and the gift of 1,000 *mūbars* is recorded. The grant of the jewelled dagger is noted on p. 632.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, pp. 678, 679. The text has 150 *ashrafis* with 250 as a variant. The latter is the figure in *Bādshāhnāma*, and has been adopted. This would be correct as the value of *Dhan* which was an innovation of Emperor Akbar’s reign was “half a *La’l-i-Jalāli*” vide Blochmann, *A’īn*, I (2nd edn.), p. 31.

Dhan is a gold coin which was invented in the time of Emperor Akbar. In the 21st year he was granted a horse, and 5,000 rupees. When in the same year the Emperor returned from Kābul to India, he in accordance with orders remained in Kābul till the arrival of his children whom he had sent for from Balkh. Later, he in company with his sons Khwāja Mūsā and Khwāja ‘Isā, and the daughter's sons of Khwāja ‘Abdur Rahīm, came and did homage¹. In the 22nd year he received the gift of a horse with gilded saddle and two horses for his two sons. After a short time he and his sons received Rs. 5,000. In the 26th year he received 1,000 *asbrafis* out of the weightment money. Afterwards when Yūsuf Khwāja his elder brother—who was in the place of his ancestors—died, and as no one was left except him to succeed, he in the same year was accorded permission to return² to his homeland. It appears from the end of the second volume of the *Bādshāhnāma*³ that he had the rank of 4,000 foot with 400 horse.

THANĀ* ULLĀH KHĀN AND AMĀN ULLĀH KHĀN (Vol. I, pp. 506-507).

They were the sons of Diyā Ullāh Khān son of ‘Ināyat Ullāh Khān⁴ of Emperor Aurangzib's reign. Diyā Ullāh Khān was known personally to Emperor Aurangzib, and in the 47th year⁵ was appointed *Divān* of Akbarābād (Āgra). Of his two sons the first (Thanā Ullāh Khān) became distinguished as a result of a marriage connection with ‘Imād-ul-Mulk Mubāriz Khān⁶. When the governorship of Haidarābād

1. *‘Amal Sāliḥ*, III, p. 22.

2. *Op. cit.*, p. 153.

3. *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p. 722.

* This and the next account are of officers whose names begin with the letter ٹ Th.

4. For ‘Ināyat Ullāh Khān's account see *Maathir-ul-Umarā*, Text, II, pp. 828-832, Beveridge & Prashad's translation, I, pp. 680-682.

5. *Maathir-i-Ālamgiri*, p. 472.

6. *Maathir-ul-Umarā*, Text, III, pp. 729-746, translation *antea* pp. 90-102. He married ‘Imād-ul-Mulk's daughter, *vide* text, p. 746. Also see Irvine, *Later Mughals*, II, pp. 138, 139.

was assigned to 'Imād-ul-Mulk, the two brothers went there, and led a life of pleasure, and obtained offices according to their desires. The first was appointed *Faujdār* of Sīkākūl (Chicacole). After 'Imād-ul-Mulk was killed in the 6th year of Emperor Muḥammad Shāh's reign, he took up service under Nīzām-ul-Mulk Āṣaf Jāh, and was first appointed Governor of Bijāpūr. After being signally defeated there by Audā Chūnān (a Maratha general) he was appointed commandant of Parenda. He was very gay-natured and a confirmed drunkard. He died at his appointed time. The second lived idly for a long time in Haidarābād till he died. He had a very Mīrzā-like (gentle) disposition.

THĀNĪ KHĀN HARAVI¹

(Vol. I, pp. 505, 506).

He was an officer of the rank of 500 during Emperor Akbar's reign. His native place was Herāt, and belonged to the Arlāt clan. He had long been in imperial service, and was well known for his ability, knowledge, and pleasant temperament. If anyone was introduced to him, the very first thing he said to him was, "My love and friendship are conditional on the fact that you pay no heed to the remarks of the vulgar about me, for such people are a hindrance to mutual friendship, and productive of strife". Later, when he was deputed with the royal forces for the extermination² of 'Alī Qulī Khān Zamān, he wrote the following couplet in a petition to the Emperor: —

¹ For a more detailed account see Blochmann, *A'in*, I (2nd edn.), pp. 531-532. He was originally in the service of Mirzā Hindāl, and after his death was taken into imperial service by Emperor Humāyūn. See also *Muntakhab-ut-Tawārikh*, Text, III, pp. 206, 207, Haig's translation, III, pp. 286, 287, on which the above account appears to be based. His name is there given as 'Ali Akbar.

² Apparently the reference is to the expedition against Khān Zamān in the 12th year, *vide Akbarnāma*, Text, II, p. 289, Beveridge's translation, II, p. 426.

Verse

O royal cavalier, adorn the field on the day of battle,
The battle has begun, put your foot into the stirrup.

He prepared a versified treatise¹ on accident. The following quatrain is his composition. There are six words in each line, and every two of them are antithetical.

Quatrain

At night he showed repentence, next day he broke his vow.
He entered a wise man, and came out drunk.
Auspicious is approach, unlucky within and without,
My sorrow rose up (departed), your cheerfulness remained.

UDĀJĪ RĀM

(Vol. I, pp. 142-145).

He was a Brahman from the Deccan. Through his prudence and intelligence he became distinguished, and acquired the *Zamindāri* extending from Māhōr to Mahkar². By his good fortune, ability and zeal he gained the confidence of Malik 'Ambar, and became possessed of power and glory. In the time of Emperor Jahāngīr he was enlisted among the imperial servants, and received the rank of 4,000 *Dhāt* and horse³; he was included among the auxiliaries of the Deccan. As he was possessed of influence and skill, all the governors of Deccan honoured and respected him. Whenever the victorious (imperial) armies came to the Bālāghāt in the Deccan, they relied on his local

¹ See *Muntakhab-ut-Tawārikh*, translation, III, Sir Wolsely Haig's note 5 on page 287.

² Jarrett's translation of *Ā'in*, II, pp. 235, 237.

³ *Ādshāhnāma*, I, pt. i, p. 182. In *Tuzuk-i-Jahāngīr*, Rogers & Beveridge's translation, I, pp. 398, 399, his name is wrongly given as Uda Ram, and his rank as 3,000 with 1,000 horse. In Beni Prasad's *History of Jahangir* he is Uday Ram.

knowledge of the territory which proved very helpful in the campaigns, and he honestly did his best for the success of their undertakings. In the 17th year of Emperor Jahāngīr's reign the heir-apparent Prince Shāh Jahān resolved to go to Bengāl, and came from Burhānpūr to Māhōr. As he did not get the assistance he expected from the officers of the Deccan, he sent them away, and left the superfluous paraphernalia and his elephants with Udājī Rām in the Māhōr fort. As Udājī Rām exerted himself fully in the Emperor's service, Mahābat Khān honoured him above all other officials.

In the 19th year the imperial officers with the assistance of 'Ādil Shāh's forces fought a battle with Malik 'Ambar at the village of Bhātūrī, 5 *kos* from Ahmadnagar. When Mullā Muhammād Lārī the commander of Bijāpūr forces was killed, his forces became disarranged, and Jādū Rāi and Udājī Rām fled. By their disgrace¹ the imperial army was heavily defeated. Lashkar Khān Abūl Hasan, Mirzā Khān Manūchehr, 'Aqīdat Khān the *Bakhshī* of the Deccan forces, his son Rashīdā and 42 *Mansabdārs* were made prisoners by Malik 'Ambar. Though the chief blame for the defeat was assigned to Jādū Rāi Kāntiya, yet the part played by Udājī Rām was also commented upon, and men talked about his evil planning and his flight. His reputation suffered, and the market of his solidarity became flat. When in the 3rd year Burhānpūr was made glorious by the advent of Emperor Shāh Jahān, and an all conquering force was deputed to extirpate Khān Jahān Lōdi, Udājī Rām received a gift of Rs. 40,000, and by increase of 1,000 with 1,000 horse his rank was advanced to 5,000 with 5,000 horse², and the water that had left its course again began to flow in the stream of his hopes. In the 6th year, 1042 A.H. (1632-33 A.D.), while he was besieging the fort of Daulatābād with Khān Khānān Mahābat Khān, an old disease from which he was suffering became virulent, and he died³.

¹ *Iqbālnāma-i-Jahāngīrī*, p. 237. In this work his name is Aūda Rām.

² *Bādsbāhnāma*, I, pt. i, pp. 293, 296.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 510.

Though Udājī Rām was notorious for trickery and plotting, he also was famous for his ability and liberality. He never failed in charity to mankind, and in this respect was at the head of the Deccan officers. In spite of a weak body he even in his old age was addicted to venery and whoredom. He had a wife known by the name of Rāī Bhāgnī, who after his death skilfully managed the *Zamīndārī* affairs. As she had skilled servants in her employment, the Commander-in-Chief, after the death of Udājī Rām, in accordance with the necessity of the time and to prevent her men from deserting, proposed for her son Jag Jīvan, in spite of his tender age, the rank of 3,000 foot with 2,000 horse, and got for him the title of Udājī Rām¹. When he came to the years of discretion, he acquired a full acquaintance with Persian prose and poetry, and calligraphy. He also abandoned the ways of the Deccanīs, and led a life like that of the officers of Upper India. He conducted himself with honour and dignity, and held Māhōr in fief. After him every one of his successors called himself Udājī Rām. A strange coincidence was that all of them were childless. The line was kept up by adoptions. Indeed Jag Jīvan is also believed to have been an adopted son. When after him succession came to Wankat Rāo, that position, rank, and prosperity did not abide. He subsisted on his fees as a *Dēshmukh*². After him there were his adopted sons, Mādhū Rāo and Shankar Rāo. They held small offices, and divided between them the estates of Māhōr and Bāsim³. Gradually as they grew old, and the officers became oppressive, they lost even the position of the *Dēshmukhs*. If now and then a *gumāshṭā* gets possession of a place, nothing reverts to them. During the time of writing the elder of them died after losing his *Mansab* and *Jāgir*. The other is in possession of the Bāsim *Pargana*, and levies fees.

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 510.

² See Wilson's *Glossary*, p. 132, for the duties of and fees levied by *Dēshmukhs*.

³ Jarrett's translation of *A'in*, II, p. 230.

ULUGH KHĀN ABYSSINIAN

(Vol. I, p. 87).

He was a slave of Sultān Muḥammad of Gujārāt. He rose to a position of trust during his reign and was made a *Sardār*. In the 17th year of the reign when Emperor Akbar went to Ahmādābād, Ulugh Khān¹ with his followers, and Saiyid Hāmid Bukhārī came before all other officers, and did homage. In the 18th year he was rewarded with a suitable rank². In the 22nd year he was deputed with Ṣādiq Khān to chastise³ Rāja Madhukar Bundēla, the *Zamindār* of Orcha, and on the day of battle distinguished himself by his valour. In the 24th year, when Rāja Tōdar Mal and others were appointed to quell 'Arab—who later was styled Niyābat Khān—who was stirring up strife in Bihār, Ulugh Khān along with Ṣādiq Khān was deputed as an auxiliary of the said Rāja. He with the said Khān took part in various engagements, and in the battle in which Khabīta⁴ the rebel was killed he was in command⁵ of the left wing. He was a long time attached to the province of Bengal, and remained there till his death. His sons received fiefs, and spent their lives in that province.

ÜZBEG KHĀN NADHAR BAHADUR

(Vol. I, pp. 195-198).

Yūlam⁶ Bahādur Üzbeg was his elder brother. At first both the brothers were in the service of 'Abdullāh Khān Firūz Jang,⁷ and were

1. *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 6, translation, III, p. 9.

2. *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 142, translation, p. 201.

3. *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 210, translation, p. 295. Ondcha of the text should be Orcha.

4. It is Chīta in the text, but following *Akbarnāma* Khabīta has been adopted.

5. See *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 387, translation, III, p. 574.

6. From Yāl a Turkish word meaning a hero.

7. For his account see *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, II, pp. 777-789. Beveridge's translation, I, pp. 97-105.

very prosperous. They were enlisted in the service of Shāh Jahān while he was at Junair. When the Saturn-like throne of Hindūstān was embellished by this unique jewel (*i.e.* Shāh Jahān ascended the throne), these two brothers received royal favours, and each of them received a suitable *Mansab*. At the time of Mahābat Khān Khān Khānān's appointment by the Emperor as the Governor of the Deccan, they also were seconded for service with him. The Emperor personally directed Mahābat Khān to take care of them, and arranged out of regard for their feelings and to enable them to keep up their position that they be provided with sufficient income from properly developed assignments. Yūlam Bēg died a natural death. Nadhar Bēg was exalted with the title of Üzbeg Khān, and in the 14th year at the recommendation of Prince Muḥammad Aurangzīb Bahādur was raised to the rank of 2,000 with 2,000 horse by an increase of 1,000 with 1,000 horse. He was also appointed Commandant of the Āusa fort in succession to Mubārak Khān Niyāzī¹. In the 22nd year he received the gift of a drum. After spending a long time as the Commandant of the said fort he returned to the Court, and was appointed to the Šūba Ahmādābād Gujarat. In the 30th year corresponding to 1066 A.H. (1656 A.D.) the morning of his life changed to evening, and he went to everlasting sleep, *i.e.* died. He was fond of society and pleasure. He used to quaff fragrant wine, and was devoted to music. In addition to keeping his soldiers in good trim he was lavish, and extravagant. Till the end of his life he saved nothing out of the produce of his fief. He always said that if after his death he was found to have any property besides two suits of clothes, he would be a sinner. When Prince Muḥammad Aurangzīb unfurled the standards of his design for taking possession of the Kingdom, he in his camp some half a *kos* from Burhānpūr gratified many by the gifts of *Mansabs* and titles. Tātār Bēg² the son of Üzbeg

¹ *Bādsbāhnāma*, II, p. 221. His name, however, is given there as Nazar Bēg Üzbeg Khān.

² *Ālamgirnāma*, pp. 52, 53. The grant of the title is curiously enough mentioned on both the pages.

Khān was also favoured by an increase of his allowance and the conferment of his father's title on him. He accompanied the royal stirrups in all the battles. When the garden of the realm and religion was freed from the thorñs and rubbish of the opponents of sovereignty Tātār Bēg was appointed to the Deccan, and was with Shāista Khān Amīr-ul-Umarā, Governor of that province, at the siege of the fort of Chākna (Chakan), which was in the possession of Sivājī Bhōnsle. He did good service on this occasion. When in the 3rd¹ year this strong fort was conquered as a result of the strong attacks, and the good fortune of the Emperor, its charge was assigned to Tātār Bēg. Later he went to Kōkan (Kōnkan) which is the abode of the Marathas. He had repeated conflicts with those robbers, and won an honourable name by sacrificing his life. His brother Muḥammad Wālī received the hereditary title, and was for a time the *Bakhshī* of the forces of Muḥammad A'zam Shāh, and later was promoted to the post of Commandant of Fathābād Dhārwar, and A'zamnagar Bankāpūr. When he died, his son Abul Ma'ālī received his father's title, and was for a time *Faujdār* of Bīr, and later was in charge of the fort of Dhārwar. When Aṣaf Jāh first arrived in the Deccan, his affairs were in a very critical condition. He died without these being improved. At present no one is left to uphold this family.

(MIR) WAIS GHILZI

(Vol. III, pp. 701-706).

The Ghilzīs are an Afghān tribe who inhabit the territory round Zamin Dāwar. In the reign of Sultān Shāh Husain Ṣafavī, when Gurgīn Khān the ruler of Georgia (Gurjistān) was the *Bēglar-*

¹ This was in the 4th and not the 3rd year, see '*Ālamgīrnāma*, p. 588. The charge, according to the work cited, of the fort of Chākna (it is Chakan in Grant Duff, Kincaid & Parasnus, and Sir Jadunath Sarkar) 18 miles north of Pōona, was assigned to Uzbeg Khān.

Bēgī (prince of princes or chief) of Qandahār, he and his Georgian companions oppressed the Afghāns. Wīr Wais, who was the leader of his tribe, hastened to the Shāh's court and complained against their oppression. The disposition of the Shāh was mild and pacific, and he did nothing except to associate with the learned day and night. He abstained from inflicting punishment—which is essential for government—and would not make over a murderer to a complainant, but would pay the compensation money from his own treasury. Consequently with the disappearance of fear slackness ruled in his government, and no one obeyed the royal orders, still less did they behave justly to one another. Mīr Wais on seeing this state of affairs took the road to holy Mecca, the rallying place of the pious, and after his return to his native country he waited for an opportunity. In 1120 A.H. (1708 A.D.) when Gurgīn Khān had gone to a place called Dahsanj outside of Qandahār to chastise the Kākars, he fell upon him, and taking him a prisoner put him to death. He established himself in Qandahār, and sent a petition with a golden key to Emperor Bahādur Shāh, and begged for his support. The Emperor—who wished to remain on friendly terms with the Shāh of Iran, and remove the cloud that had arisen between Emperor Aurangzib and Shāh 'Abbās II owing to the lack of skill on the part of Tarbiyat Khān, the ambassador from India²—had recourse to diplomacy. He conferred on Mīr Wais the rank of 5,000, the title of Pādshāh Nawāz Khān, and sent him a letters-patent for the Gover-

¹ The reason for including this account of Mir Wais and his successors among the biographies of the officers of the Timurid Sovereigns of India is not clear. None of them held any office from any of the Indian Mughal Emperors, nor did they owe any allegiance to them. The account is based mainly on *Tarikh Jahān-Gushā-i-Nādirī* (As. Soc. text edition, 1845), pp. 8-87. An interesting book on Mir Wais was published in London entitled "*The Persian Cromwell*" in 1742. According to this work he was the son of Amir Muhammad Bāqir and was born in 1687.

² See *Māthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, I, pp. 495, 596. The ambassador's name was Tarbiyat Khān Barlās. Also see *Muntakhab-ul-Lubbāb*, II, p. 325.

norship of Qandahār. He also sent a message through traders to Sultān Husain to the effect that the Afghāns, who had become disloyal should have quick retribution inflicted on them. He should rest assured about the latter not assisting the Afghāns. The Shāh deputed Sultān Kaikhusrū Khān, the brother's son of Gurgīn Khān, with a force to Qandahār. He came and besieged it, but as a result of mismanagement was killed. Later Muḥammad Zamān Khān Shāmlū Qūrchi Bāshī was appointed to the task. It so happened that before reaching there he died on the way.

Mīr Wais was the sole arbiter of the affairs of Qandahār for eight years, and then died. After him his brother 'Abdul 'Azīz succeeded him as the ruler. After a year Maḥmūd the son of Mīr Wais intrigued with some of his people, killing 'Abdul 'Azīz and himself became the ruler. When the power of the Abdālis, who are an Afghān tribe, became supreme in Herāt, 'Abdullāh Khān Abdālī and his son Asad Ullāh—who, out of suspicion, had for some time been imprisoned in Herāt by 'Abbās Qulī Khān Shāmlū, the Governor of the place—escaped from imprisonment; and having collected a force first took possession of the fort of Isfārār. In the year 1129 A.H. (1717 A.D.) they took Herāt. Asad Ullāh attacked the fort of Farāh—which was in the possession of Ghilzis—while they were off their guard, and took it. After a time Maḥmūd Ghilzī hurried to reconquer Farāh, and a battle took place between Farāh and Zamīn Dāwar in which Asad Ullāh was killed.

Hemistich

The dog of the King of Irān tore off the lion

(*Asad ra sag Shāh Irān darīd*, 1132 A.H., 1720 A.D.)

is the chronogram of the event. As the fort was strong, he was contented with killing Asad Khān, and returned to Qandahār. Thinking that he had performed a glorious service, he reported about it to Shāh Sultān Husain. He further requested that the royal army might march (from Ispahān) to Khorāsān, and that he also would march towards Herāt. The ministers regarded his proposal as sincere, and designated Maḥ-

mūd as Ṣūfī of the clean heart (*Sūfī ṣafī dāmīr*) and gave him the title of Husain Qulī Khān. The government of Qandahār was conferred on him, and they sent him a robe of honour, and a sword. Maḥmūd on the pretext of chastising the Abdalīs of Herāt reached Sistān, and from there went to Kirmān, and spent nine months in subduing that country. Later, on hearing of the disturbance of Bījan Sultān Lakzai—an inhabitant of Farāh, whom he had left as his deputy in Qandahār, and who finding an open field had in collusion with some persons killed the Afghāns inside Farāh, and had in turn been killed by the outside Afghāns—he returned to Qandahār. Next year he proceeded against Kirmān, and killed many and took much plunder. The garrison of the fort being helpless paid a tribute, and left the disposal of the fort to be decided with the issue of Ispahān. Maḥmūd Ghilzī being encouraged started for Ispahān, and at four leagues from it he had an engagement with the royal forces, and defeated them. He took possession of all the artillery and the army equipment. Then arriving opposite Ispahān he besieged it in 1134 A.H. (1722 A.D.). He reduced the inhabitants of the place to such a state that they were forced to eat carrion. The ministers, therefore, decided to surrender the city, and on 11th Muḥarram, 1135 A.H. (11th October, 1722 A.D.) they produced the Shāh before him, and placed on his head Khusrav's crown. Maḥmūd immediately appointed men to take charge of the treasures and magazines, and after entering the city had the *Khuṭba* recited and coins struck in his own name. He put to death several of the leading officials and all the sons and grandsons of the Ṣafavī family. He also took possession of Shirāz, and for nearly two years ruled in Ispahān etc. After that he became mad, and paralytic, and could not attend to anything. On 12th Sha'bān 1137 A.H. (15th April, 1725 A.D.) Ashraf, the son of his uncle, came out of retirement, and putting Maḥmūd to death assumed the sovereignty. He conquered Kirmān, Yezd, Banāwārd, Qum, Qazwīn and Tehrān up to Pūlkarbī, which forms the boundary between Irān and Khurāsān. In the 3rd year of his reign an ambassador came from Turkey with harsh messages on behalf of the Sultān, and made a demand that

he should quit the sovereignty. He replied by the tongue of the sword, and cutting off the head of Shāh Sultān Ḫusain, who was in Ispahān, sent it to the ambassador. Consequently the Turkish armies marched against him, but were defeated in battle and had to make peace. . Later, he thrice¹ fought with Nādir Shāh, but was defeated every time. At last he went towards Shirāz, but being unable to gain a footing he came near Qandahār. But he could not go there on account of his having killed Maḥmūd, and so proceeded towards Baluchistān. Husain the brother of Maḥmūd Ghilzī on hearing about it sent his slave Ibrāhīm with a force against him. Ibrāhīm came up with him, and Ashraf was killed by a bullet of Ibrāhīm's gun in 1242 A.H. (1729-30 A.D.). Husain was for a time in Qandahār. At last the fort came into Nādir Shāh's possession.

(MĪRZĀ) WĀLĪ

(Vol. III, pp. 456-460).

He was the son of Khwāja Hasan Nashqbandī, who having settled down in Kābul for a long time was spending his days there. When Mīrzā Sulaimān, the ruler of Badakhshān, freed the yet young Mīrzā Hakīm, the ruler of Kābul from the oppression of Shāh Abūl Ma'ālī, and awarded him the due punishment for his deeds; he gave his daughter in marriage to the young Mīrzā, and made over many of the Kābul lands to Badakhshān. Under the guise of friendship he acted the part of an enemy, and was aiming at taking possession of Kābul². After Mīrzā Sulaimān returned to Badakhshān, a number of people of whom Khwāja Hasan and Bāqī Qāqshāl were the leaders, impressed the true state of affairs on the Mīrzā, and set about expelling the Badakhshīs. Mīrzā Sulaimān on hearing of this development returned to Kābul. Mīrzā leaving the fort in the charge of Bāqī Qāqshāl retired towards Peshawar, and after crossing the Indus river, begged

¹ See Fraser, *History of Nadir Shāh*, pp. 95-192.² Based on *Akbarnāma*. Text, II, pp. 205-207, Beveridge's translation, II, pp. 318-322.

for help from Emperor Akbar. The officers of the Atka Khaiil and the fief-holders of the Panjāb in accordance with the royal orders accompanied him, and replaced him on the *Masnad*, and in accordance with the hint from Emperor Akbar Mīr Muḥammad Khān Atka undertook the management of the affairs of Kābul. Mīrzā Muḥammad Hakīm gave his sister Najīb-un-Nisā Begam—whom his mother had previously given in marriage to Shāh Abūl Ma'ālī—to Khwāja Hasan without taking permission from Emperor Akbar or consulting Mīr Muḥammad Khān. The Khwāja, having contracted so great an alliance, became haughty, and proceeded to manage the Mīrzā's affairs, and did things which were highly improper. He paid no regard whatsoever to Mīr Muḥammad Khān. The said Khān being too proud to endure such indignity returned to Lāhōre¹. The Khwāja finding himself established as the chief minister set about cultivating his own interests (*lit.* opened out the shop of his own glorification), and behaved with harshness and strictly scrutinized the details. The wits of the time composed the following verse:—

Verse

If our master was Khwāja Hasan²
We should have neither sack nor rope.

When Mīrzā Sulaimān became assured that none of the royal officers was in Kābul, he in the 11th year of the Divine Era corresponding to 973 A.H. (1565-66 A.D.) led an army to Kābul to redress his past failures. The Mīrzā left the city to his foster brother Ma'sūm Kōka, and himself went with Khwāja Hasan to Ghōrbānd. As Mīrzā Sulaimān could not reduce Kābul by force, he sent his wife Wali Ni'mat Begam to Qāra Bāgh which is twelve *kos* from Kābul, and proposed a false peace. The Mīrzā was deceived by the clever tactics

¹ *Op. cit.*, Text, pp. 237-242, translation, pp. 359-365.

² Taken from *Muntakhab-ut-Tawārikh*, Text, II, p. 72. Lowe's translation, II, p. 72.

of the Begam, and agreed to an interview. Mīrzā Sulaimān, on receiving a hint from his wife, had made a rapid march to Kābul and was waiting for the opportunity. Mīrzā Hakim becoming aware of their intentions fled. When he reached the pass of the Hindukush, Khwāja Hasan wanted to take the Mīrzā to Pīr Muḥammad Khān of Balkh, and ask his assistance. Bāqī Qāqshāl would not permit this, and the Mīrzā, therefore, started for Jalalābād with the intention of asking assistance from Emperor Akbar. Khwāja Hasan with a party of his followers separated from them and hastened towards Balkh¹. In Mirāt-ul-Ālam it is recorded that he died there².

Verse

Heart gone, life lost, faith disappeared;
O Hasan! worse than this what shall I have to hear!

It is not clear as to what is the intention and meaning of this verse, for the Khwāja after this catastrophe was for a long time minister, as is mentioned in the *Akbarnāma* and *Tabaqat-i-Akbarī*.

The Mīrzā at the instigation and persuasion of the Bengal rebels came to Lāhōrē for stirring up strife, but returned to Kābul on hearing the news of Emperor Akbar's march against him³. The Emperor in the year 990 A.H. (1582 A.D.) in the 26th year of his reign with the intention of pursuing him crossed the Indus. In reply to Mīrzā's excuses he wrote that if his representations were true, and if out of shame he could not make up his mind to wait on him, he should send one of his sons along with his sister. Should his heart not agree to this also, he should send Khwāja Hasan with some of the leading

1 *Op. cit.*, Text, pp. 273-275, translation, pp. 407-409.

2 Apparently the statement in *Mirāt-ul-Ālam* was based on *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*. It is not stated in either *Akbarnāma* or *Tabaqat-i-Akbarī* that Khwāja Hasan was a minister for a long time after the catastrophe. The verse is from *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, Text, II, p. 89, Lowe's translation, II, p. 91,

3 *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, pp. 345, 346, Beveridge's translation, III, pp. 507, 508.

nobles to arrange treaties and take oaths¹. Although the Mīrzā tried hard that his sister should go to the Presence and apologize, the Khwāja would not agree, and taking his wife with him left for Badakhshān². And probably he died about this time. The Khwāja had two sons from his chaste wife. One was Mīrzā Bādī'-uz-Zamān, who was possessed of ability and energy. When an unknown person gave himself out as Humāyūn, son of Mīrzā Sulaimān, and raised a rebellion in the hills of Badakhshān, Bādī'-uz-Zamān in the 46th Divine Year went off with a few men from Hisār Shādmān, and in a fight with that miscreant defeated him. Bādī'-uz-Zamān made the pulpit and gold and silver glorious by the name of Emperor Akbar, and sent a report to this effect. He was gratified by favours at the hands of the Emperor³. The other was Mīrzā Wālī who migrated to India and was graciously received⁴. Emperor⁵ Jahāngīr gave him in marriage Bulāqī Bēgam the daughter of Prince Dāniyāl, and in his reign he attained the rank of 1,500 with 750 horse⁶. At the accession of Shāh Jahān he had an increase of 500 with 250 horse, and so his rank was advanced to 2,000⁷ with 1,000 horse. At last he was

1 *Op. cit.*, Text, pp. 352, 353, translation, pp. 517, 518.

2 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 359, translation, pp. 517, 518.

3 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 792, translation, p. 1187. See also text, pp. 813, 814, translation, p. 1221. He was killed by Bāqī Khān in the 47th year, see translation, p. 1225, note 4.

4 The year and date of his arrival are not mentioned in *Akkarnāma*, but on p. 817 of the text and p. 1225 of the translation it is mentioned that Payinda Khān the brother Bulāqī Khān was handed over to him, and that he out of vengeance for his brother Bādī'-uz-Zamān murdered the innocent man.

5 It was not Emperor Akbar as stated in the text, but Jahāngīr who, in the 14th year of his reign, gave to him in marriage Bulāqī Bēgam, the daughter of Prince Dāniyāl, see *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīr* (Rogers & Beveridge's translation, II, p. 91).

6 This is also incorrect, as he was promoted to the rank of 2,000 with 1,000 horse in the 14th year of the reign of Jahāngīr, *vide* Rogers & Beveridge, *op. cit.*, p. 94.

7 He was granted an increase of 500 with 250 horse in the first year of

Faujdar of the *Sarkār* of Māndū. He died in the 22nd year, 1058 A.H. (1648 A.D.). He held the *Pargana* of Anhal¹ in Ujjain as his residential fief. He did not rise in life as his relationship would have warranted. He was of a mean disposition. A separate account has been given of his son Mīrzā Abūl Ma'āli Mīrzā Khān².

WAZIR JAMIL

(Vol. III, pp. 928, 929).

He was one of the *Mansabdārs* of Emperor Akbar³. He had attained the rank of 700, and was admitted to the Presence both on journey and at headquarters. After the death of 'Alī Quli Khān Khān Zamān, he was granted a fief in the eastern districts, and in the 19th year was deputed⁴ to the Bengal campaign with Khān Khānān Mun'im Beg; he did good service in that province. Suddenly the juggling heavens raised a storm of disturbance, and clouds of discord rose up between Muzaffar Khān, the Governor of the province and the Qāqshāls. As instability was part of Wazīr Jamīl's nature, he in the 25th year ignoring what was due to the master, who had nurtured him, joined the rebels⁵, and spent some time in creating disturbances. In the 28th year the Qāqshāls separated from Ma'sūm Khān Kābulī, and submitted. Ma'sūm Khān started to plunder the territory of the Qāqshāls. Khān Ā'zam Kōka the Governor of the province thereupon

Shāh Jahān's reign, *vide Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. i, p. 187, but his rank at the end of 10th year is given as 2,000 with 1,000 horse, *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. 2, p. 302.

¹ See Jarrett's translation of *A'in*, II, p. 198.

² *Māathir-ul-Umarā*, Text, III, pp. 557-560. Beveridge's translation, I, pp. 136, 137.

³ See Blochmann *A'in*, I (2nd edn.), pp. 527, 528 where it is stated that his correct name was Wazir Beg Jamīl.

⁴ *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 104. Beveridge's translation, III, p. 145.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 291, translation, p. 419. He was styled Khān Zamān, and appointed to the office *Tūzuk-Bēgi* by the rebels, text, p. 304, translation, p. 449.

sent Tarsūn Muḥammad Khān with a force to help the Qāqshāls. Wazīr Jamīl came to Tarsūn Muḥammad¹ Khān. In the 29th year he arrived at the Court², and was again admitted into service. From this time up to his death he rendered faithful service.

WAZIR KHĀN HAKĪM 'ALĪM-UD-DĪN
(Vol. III, pp. 933-936).

His native town was Chiniot³ in the Panjab. He was a skilled physician. While at the height of his youth he obtained service under Prince Shāh Jahān, and because of his skill in medicine and tactful understanding of the moods of his master, the Prince very graciously appointed him Superintendent of his Camp Court. He distinguished himself by his skill and honesty in deciding disputes, and gained a place for himself in the Prince's estimation. In the campaign against the Rānā, when he was the *Dīvān-i-Buyūtāt*, he performed valuable services and was promoted to a high rank. During the days of commotion of affairs (the quarrel between Shāh Jahān and his father) he was attached to the stirrups. He never asked for anything, on the contrary he spent ten to twelve lacs of rupees, which he had saved up to this time, in necessary expenses for the Prince. When the Prince was at Junair, Wazīr Khān was appointed to the high office of the *Dīvān*, and at that time no one except Mahābat Khān had a higher office among the followers of the Prince.

On the day of accession of Emperor Shāh Jahān to the throne of Caliphate and government he was exalted by appointment to the rank of 5,000 foot with 3,000 horse; a flag, a drum, and a lac of rupees in cash were also granted to him⁴. In the 5th year, when Fath Khān of Daulatābād in spite of his professions of obedience delayed to pay the tribute, the Emperor by granting Wazīr Khān an increase in the

¹ *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 401, translation, p. 593.

² *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 431, translation, p. 645.

³ In the Shāhpur District, Punjāb.

⁴ *Bādsbāhnāma*, I, pt. i, p. 117.

number of horse raised his rank to 5,000 foot with 5,000 horse, and sent him from Burhānpūr with a force of 10,000 brave cavalrymen¹. He was to take the fort of Daulatābād, and to rouse Fath Khān from his imprudent sleep to a sense of duty. On receiving this news Fath Khān lost heart, and sent his eldest son to the Court with the tribute. Consequently Wazīr Khān in accordance with orders returned to the Court. As he had collected a large force for the Deccan campaign, he was favoured more than hitherto, and, in the year of his return from Burhānpūr he was appointed Governor² of the Panjāb. This province was in the fief of Yamīn-ud-Daula, and the Crown lands there, which were of greater value than in the other provinces, and which were managed by this official's deputy ('Ināyat Ullāh Khān), this charge also was assigned to Wazīr Khān who was an experienced loyal officer. He held charge of the province for more than 7 years, and during this period on the occasions of the Emperor's visits he presented suitable tributes. In the 14th year he was appointed Governor of Akbarābād³ (Āgra), but held the appointment for barely ten months. In the year 1050 A.H. (1640-41 A.D.) he died⁴ of colic.

It is stated that one day he was entering the fort from outside the city. When he reached the Hartāpūl⁵ gate, his horse stumbled and fell. His condition became critical. In this condition he detailed his movable and immovable properties, without elimination or suppression, in a list, and sent it to the Emperor. He left many memorials of his beneficence. In Lāhōre he built baths, markets and other buildings.

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 410.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 425.

³ He was removed from the Panjāb in 1649-50 A.D. in the end of the 12th year for some improper actions, *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p. 158, and was appointed Governor of Āgra in the 14th year, 1650-51 A.D., *vide op. cit.*, p. 215.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 241.

⁵ Spelt as Hatyā Paul and shown in sketch plan of the fort on p. 167 of Nur Husain's article on *The Agra Fort and its Buildings* in *Annual Report Arch. Surv. Ind.* for 1903-4 (Calcutta, 1906). It was an entrance which led up a paved ascent from Dehli Gate, and was so named because of "two stone elephants with their riders stood on the two sides of it." It was built in 1565 A.D..

His Jāma' Masjid¹ (mosque) will keep his name in remembrance for ages. He founded Wazīrābād near Lāhōre. He built a brick fort in Chiniot, and other substantial buildings, and handed the latter over to the inhabitants. He also made roads and streets, shops, mosques, rest-houses, a school, a hospital, and wells there for the public, and freed the tradesmen from all difficulties in the way of buying or selling. He adorned his native place in a way which no other Amir in Hindustān had been able to do. But he never saw his home again; this desire always remained ungratified. It is stated that he was a quiet man, and of an even disposition. All his life he lived simply and without ostentation. His expenses for the household and dress were very moderate. As in Lāhōre everything that was bought or sold appertained to his establishments (*Sarkār*), he accumulated much wealth. But the pity is that he was neither kind nor liberal. He was easily offended, but the anger soon subsided. In his loyalty and devotion he regarded the service of the Emperor as akin to religious worship. His son was Ṣalāḥ Khān, who for long was *Mīr Tūzuk* in the reign of Emperor Aurangzib. In the 29th year he received the title of Anwar Khān² and was appointed Superintendent of the Pages. He died in the 36th³ year.

¹ The mosque was completed in 1044 A.H. (1634 A.D.). For a detailed description of this beautiful mosque see G. C. Walker, *Gazetteer Lahore District*, pp. 291, 292 (Lahore, 1894). The chronograms of completion of the mosque inscribed on its walls are *Banī Masjid Wazir Khān* and *Sajda gāh-i-abl-Fadl*. See also Percy Brown, *Cambridge History of India*, IV, p. 561.

It appears as if the above biography of Wazir Khān is partly based on what Ṣamsām-ud-Daula had heard in Lāhōre during his early youth. He was born at Lāhōre on 29th Ramaḍān 111 A.H. (20th March, 1700) see *Maāthir-ul-Umara*, Text, I, pp. 17, 18.

² *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgiri*, p. 271. His name there is Ṣalāḥ Khān instead of Ṣalāḥ Khān.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 352.

WAZĪR KHĀN HARAVI

(Vol. III, pp. 929-932).

He was the brother of Āṣaf Khān 'Abdul Majid¹ in whose account the slow-moving pen has detailed an account of the affair that when the two brothers escaping from Khān Zamān and Bahādur Khān Shai-bānī came to Karrā Mānikpūr, Wazīr Khān hastened to Āgra. While Emperor Akbar was in the Panjab, and Muẓaffar Khān according to orders was carrying on as the *Dīvān*, Wazīr Khān at Delhi joined the latter. Muẓaffar Khān took him to the Emperor on receiving the good news that he would be forgiven. When he reached the Presence, he prayed for forgiveness for the offences of the two brothers. The Emperor forgave their misbehaviour, and Wazīr Khān once again received favours, and an order of forgiveness was also issued for Āṣaf Khān. When Mīrzā Kōka Governor of Gujarat was censured in the 21st year, though the governorship nominally remained with Mīrzā Khān, the real authority for the management of that territory was transferred to Wazīr² Khān. Later, when Mīrzā Khān was summoned to the Court, Wazīr Khān was also appointed Commander of the Army (*Sipāh Sālār*). When in the 22nd year it became apparent that owing to Wazīr Khān's carelessness Gujarat was in confusion, Rāja Tōdar Mal—who was unique for skill and bravery—was deputed³ to that area. By chance in the same year Mihr 'Alī Kōlābī, who was a servant of Ibrāhīm Ḥusain the rebel, brought Ibrāhīm's young son from the Deccan and set up a commotion. Although Wazīr Khān did not have the courage to fight, but through the bravery and courage of the Rāja the rebels were dispersed⁴, as has been detailed in the latter's account⁵. After the Rāja returned to the Court, Mihr 'Alī

1 *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, I, pp. 77-83, Beveridge's translation, I, pp. 3640.

2 *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 166, Beveridge's translation, III, p. 236.

3 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 198, translation, p. 280.

4 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 207, translation, pp. 292, 293.

5 *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, II, pp. 124, 125, translation, *antea*, pp. 952, 953.

renewed the disturbance. Wazīr Khān started from Ahmedābād to fight, but most of his men deserted him and joined the enemy. Consequently he was obliged to return to the city and shut himself up there. Mihr 'Ali the miscreant becoming emboldened started to besiege him. One day by conspiracy with the inhabitants of the city he had placed rope ladders and was about to scale into the city, when a lucky shot hit him and he was killed. Muẓaffar Ḥusain Mīrzā, who was inexperienced lost heart¹ and retired. As, however, Wazīr Khān could not properly manage the affairs of Gujarāt, and in addition to disturbances injustice also became rampant there, he was suspended², and returned to the Court. In the 25th year he was³ appointed Vazīr in place of Shāh Maṇṣūr of Shirāz, and about the same time he was made Governor of Oudh⁴. In the 28th year when Khān Ā'zam was deputed to put down the sinner Ma'ṣūm Khān, and to release Bengāl from the hands of the dominant rebels, Wazīr Khān also was sent with him as an auxiliary. When Mīrzā Kōka after Ma'ṣūm Khān's defeat returned to Bihār owing to the unhealthy climate, the command of the royal forces was assigned to Wazīr Khān till the arrival of the new Governor from the Court. He out of his zeal proceeded with an army against Qutlū Khān Lōhānī—who had established himself in Orīssa—and drove him away from there. Consequently Qutlū Khān sent a tribute in the 29th year, and agreed to submit and be loyal. Wazīr Khān left Orīssa to him and returned to Tānda⁵. He co-operated whole heartedly with Ṣādiq Khān and Shahbāz Khān Kanbu in maintaining order in that territory.

In the 31st year when each province was put in charge of two experienced officers so that if one of them became ill the other would be able to look after his duties, the charge of Bengāl was assigned to

¹ *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 214, translation, III, pp. 301, 302.

² *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 217, translation, p. 306.

³ *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 316, translation, p. 462.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 328, translation, p. 480.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 436, translation, p. 654.

Wazīr Khān¹ and Muhibb ‘Alī Khān. In the 32nd year, 995 A.H. (1587 A.D.) he died of dysentery². He was an officer of the rank of 4,000. After his death Shahbāz Khān, who was the *Bakhshī* of the forces of the area in those days, made over his men to his son Muḥammad Sāliḥ. He did not realize that in matters of leadership and generalship, relationship and the services of ancestors are of little avail; they cannot be accepted in place of discretion, capacity, loyalty and knowledge. In a short time that wicked person through his association with evil sycophants, and banting for power imbibed evil thoughts. During this time Mīr Murād was appointed by the Emperor to bring Wazīr Khān's forces and his son to the Court. Muḥammad Sāliḥ on the way behaved with violence, and Mīr Muḥammad was forced to take shelter in Fathpūr Hanswa, till the fief-holders round about collected and imprisoned Muḥammad Sāliḥ.³ When he arrived at the Court, the Emperor put him into prison for a time.

WAZIR KHĀN MUHAMMAD TĀHIR KHURĀSĀNĪ (Vol. III, pp. 936-940).

He came from the sacred soil of the holy Mashhad; May the peace of God be on its inhabitants! He was the most trusted and the leader of the loyal companions of Emperor Aurangzib while he was a prince and was for a long time his *Dīvān*. He rendered good service and made excellent arrangements for campaigns. In the 10th year of the reign of Emperor Shāh Jahān, Aurangzib after his marriage took leave of his worthy father to return to the government of the Deccan and set about the conquest of Baglāna lying between Gujarāt and the Deccan and known as the Sair Hāsalī—which had been granted to

1 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 511, translation, p. 779.

2 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 525, translation, p. 801. See also Stewart, *History of Bengal*, p. 179, where his death at Tānda is recorded.

3 *Op. cit.*, Text, pp. 534, 535, translation, pp. 813, 814.

him as his fief (*altamghā*). The Prince on arrival in that area appointed Muhammād Tāhir and Mālūjī Deccanī for the conquest of the country. The aforesaid officer (Muhammād Tāhir) skilfully and valiantly attacked with three forces the *Bāri* or the lower fort of Mulhair—which was the capital and residence of Bahrjī, the ruler—from three sides, and occupied it. The ruler becoming afraid took refuge in the upper fort which is on the top of a hill. Thereupon the brave leader arranged to cut off supplies of corn, and arranging batteries made determined attacks. The *Zamīndār* was overcome, and becoming afraid came to terms in the 11th year. The settlement of the conquered territory and the command of the fort of Mulhair—which is the capital of that territory—were entrusted to Muhammād Tāhir¹. When in the year 1062 A.H. (1652 A.D.) the government of the Deccan² was assigned to the Prince for the second time, Muhammād Tāhir was appointed his deputy for the province of *Khāndesh*.

When on 25th Jummāda II, 1068 A.H. (20th March, 1658 AD.) the victorious standards left Burhānpūr for exterminating Dārā Shikōh, Aurangzib out of consideration for his past services, close associations and great regard appointed Muhammād Tāhir, as before, the Governor of *Khāndesh*, and exalted him by the grant of a standard, a drum and the title of *Wazir Khān*.³ After his successful campaigns when

¹ Adapted from *Bādshāhnāma*, II, pp. 105-108. The conquest of Mulhair, which is situated on the river Mosam 20.46 N. 74. 7 E., took place in 1047 A.H. (1638 A.D.). In the text بارہ is a misprint for بارہ. *Bāri* in *Bādshāhnāma*; this is the lower fort known as *Pettah* or further South, see Wilson's *Glossary*, p. 415 and Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, I, p. 45. According to the latter author the name of the chief was Bairam Shah and not Bahrji.

² 'Amal Ṣālib, III, p. 149, but the exact date is not mentioned. It was in the month of Sha'bān, and Sir Jadunath Sarkar gives 17th July (Old Style) or 28th July, 1652 (New Style), *op. cit.*, p. 151.

³ 'Alamgīrnāma, pp. 50, 51. There is no mention of the grant of a standard and a drum, but the grant of the title of *Wazir Khān*, a robe of honour and an elephant are noted.

the throne of the Indian Empire was adorned by Aurangzib's accession, the province of Khāndesh was assigned¹ to Mu'azzam Khān Mīr Jumla who in view of the exigencies of circumstances of the time had been kept under surveillance in Daulatābād. The said Khān in obedience to orders hurried to Prince Muḥammad Mu'azzam at Aurangābād, and later in company with the said Prince arrived at the Court. In the 3rd year he was appointed² Governor of the province of Āgra. In the 6th year when Prince Muḥammad Mu'azzam was deputed as Governor of the Deccan in place of Shāista Khān Amīr-ul-Umārā, the said Khān³ was deputed in attendance on the Prince from Āgra. He was also reappointed independently Governor of Khāndesh. In the 7th year on the death of Najābat Khān he was made Governor of Mālwa,⁴ and was promoted to the rank of 5,000 foot with 5,000 horse, of which 2,000 were with two-horse and three-horse troopers. He spent a long time in that territory. In the 15th year⁵ 1083 A.H. (1672-73 A.D.) he died there. He laid out a garden in the centre of the town of Aurangābād, and though it is not well tended at present, it still bears his name. Maḥmūdpūra outside the city, which lies between the small tank and the tomb of Islām Khān Mashhadī, was founded by his elder brother Mīrzā Maḥmūd. The latter's son Muḥammad Taqī was, in the 6th year, appointed Bakhsī and recorder of Aurangābād, and in the 10th year⁶ died a natural death. He built an excellent house in the said quarter on the bank of the small tank which was a place of recreation. Prince Bidār Bakht son of Muḥammad Ā'zam Shāh used to stay there. Wazīr Khān's son Mīrzā 'Abdur Rahīm had a minor rank, and passed his days in this elegant house in enjoyment. He left a son, but none of the family are now left. But the building still exists. Another nephew of Wazīr Khān Rafī' Khān

¹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 218, 219.² *Op. cit.*, p. 481.³ *Op. cit.*, p. 819.⁴ *Op. cit.*, pp. 873, 880.⁵ *Maāthbir-i-Ālamgiri*, p. 120. His name is wrongly printed there as Wazīr Khān and Muḥammad Tāhir.⁶ 'Ālamgirnāma, p. 820.⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 1057.

had Bādhil as his *nom-de-plume*. He was for a long time the *Faujdār* of Bāns Barēlī. He versified the account of the holy wars of the Prophet (May the blessings and peace of God be on him and his family!) on the style of the *Shāhnāma* of Firdausī under the title of *Hamla' Haidarī*.¹ I examined it and found that it consists of nearly 40,000 verses.

WAZIR KHĀN MUQIM

(Vol. III, pp. 932, 933).

In the end of Emperor Akbar's reign he had the title of Wazīr Khān and a suitable rank². When the coin of the realm was illuminated by the name of Emperor Jahāngīr, he was raised to the rank of 1,500, and made³ co-Vazīr with Vazīr-ul-Mulk Jān Bēg, who was one of the Emperor's body-guard (*Wālā-Shāhī*). Later he was appointed *Dīvān* of Bengāl⁴, and deputed to that province. Ghīyāth Bēg I'timād-ud-Daula was appointed to succeed him as the Vazīr. In the 3rd year he returned⁵ in response to summons, and was attached to the Court⁶. Later, when Prince Sultān Parvīz was nominated to the Deccan campaign, he girt up his loins to accompany him. Afterwards he was always in the Prince's service. In the 11th year he was promoted to the rank of 2,000 foot with 1,000 horse. In the 12th year he was exalted with the grant of a standard, and received an increase of 500. Nothing further is known about him⁷.

¹ See W. Ivanow, *Descr. Cat. Persian Manuscripts As. Soc. Bengal*, pp. 377, 378 (1924).

² *Tāzuk-i-Jahāngīri*, Rogers & Beveridge's translation, I, p. 13. His name was Muqīm.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 20.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 22.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 139, where it is stated that he was dismissed from his office in Bengāl.

⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 147.

⁷ He was again appointed *Dīvān* of Bengāl in the 14th year, *vide* Vol. II of *Tāzuk*, p. 94, and died in the 15th year, *op. cit.*, p. 167.

YA·QŪB KHĀN BADAHKHSHĪ

(Vol. III, p. 958).

At first he held the rank of 900 with 50 horse, and was deputed with Khān Khānān 'Abdur Rahīm¹ in the Deccan. In the campaign in which Shāh Nawāz Khān² Mīrzā Iraj defeated 'Ambar the Abyssinian, and performed outstanding service, Khān Khānān had entrusted the affairs of his son to Ya'qūb Khān. As he rendered good service, his rank in the 8th year³ of Jahāngīr's reign was raised by promotion to 2,000 with 1,500 horse. Later he was appointed⁴ to Kabul. In the 1st year of Shāh Jahān's reign, when Nadhar Muhammād Khān the ruler of Balkh came to Kabul and besieged it, and later by threatening messages tried to obtain possession of Kabul, Ya'qūb Khān was in the city. He preserved his fidelity and sent straight and rough replies⁵. He died at his appointed time.

YĀQŪT KHĀN ABYSSINIAN

(Vol. III, pp. 958-963).

As he was a slave of Khudāwand⁶ Khān, he was generally known as Yāqūt⁷ Khudāwand Khān. He was noted for his bravery and

¹ *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, I, pp. 693-713, Beveridge's translation, I, pp. 50-65.

² *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, I, pp. 645-648, translation *antea* pp. 765-771. Khān Khānān's entrusting of the affairs of Shāh Nawāz Khān in the Deccan to Ya'qūb Khān is mentioned on p. 646 of the text. The campaign against Malik 'Ambar is also detailed in this account.

³ This is incorrect. In the 8th year at the time of Shāh Nawāz Khān's deputation to the Deccan he was granted the title of Khān, and his *Manṣab* was increased from 150 to 1,500 with 1,000 horse, see Rogers & Beveridge's translation of Jahāngīr's *Memoirs* I, pp. 243, 244; while in the 12th year his rank was raised to 2,000 with 1,500 horse, *loc. cit.*, p. 372.

⁴ *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. i, p. 190.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, pp. 209, 210.

⁶ Khudāwand Khān Deccani, *Mathir-ul-Umarā*, Text, I, pp. 659, 660, Beveridge & Prashad's translation, I, pp. 816, 817.

⁷ *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. i, p. 195.

rectitude, and was one of the principal Nizām Shāhī officers. After Malik 'Ambar's time no other officer had a higher rank than Yāqūt Khān. In fact during Malik 'Ambar's lifetime also leadership and arrangements in connection with the army were assigned to his charge. He several times devastated the imperial territories by his rapid incursions, and even laid siege to Buthānpūr. Later Nizām Shāh appointed Ḥamid Khān, an Abyssinian slave, his Chief Officer, and left all financial and political affairs in his hands. This was due to the clever intrigues of Ḥamid Khān's wife¹, who every day used to entice other people's wives for Nizām Shāh's enjoyment. The latter was so greatly influenced by her that he was content with merely the name of power, and left the disposal of all affairs of state to that procuress. For instance, when once 'Ādil Shāh sent an army to the borders of Nizām Shāh's dominions, that wretched woman (*zanaka*), out of the excess of her audacity and bravery, begged for the command of the army, and casting off her veil mounted a horse. She hurried to meet the enemy, and having killed and captured many of the leaders of the enemy returned safe and triumphant. As she used to present large sums of money to people, things gradually came to such a pass that the leaders of the army and the chief men of the country attended her retinue on foot, and proffered their requests to her. Yāqūt Khān who was a well known officer with a following, was so disgusted at this state of affairs that he left Nizām Shāh's service, and perceived that service under the Emperor would be his asylum. In the 21st year of the reign of Emperor Jahāngīr he came with 500 horse to Jālnapūr, and wrote to Rāo Ratan Hārā—who was guarding the Bālāghāt—that he with Fath Khān son of Malik 'Ambar and other Nizām Shāhī leaders had determined to be loyal to the Emperor, and was the leader of these officers who had agreed to take up service. Rāo Ratan conciliated and encouraged him in this determination, and

¹ The account of the influence of Ḥamid Khān's wife is taken almost verbatim from *Iqbālnāma-i-Jahāngīr*, pp. 284, 285. See also Elliot's *History*, VI., p. 433 note.

informed Khān Jahān Lōdī who at that time was the Governor of the Deccan. Khān Jahān proposed and had the rank of 5,000 Dhāt and horse sanctioned for him, and also suitable ranks for his companion to the extent of 20,000 with 15,000 horse, and enrolled them amongst the imperial servants. In the beginning of his reign Emperor Shāh Jahān exalted him by the grant of a flag and a drum¹. As he was the head of the Deccan chiefs, he was treated with great courtesy by the imperial officers, and the governors of the Deccan did nothing without consulting him. When in the 6th year Mahābat Khān Khānān besieged with a strong force the mighty fort of Daulatābād, and began to fix up batteries, and applied himself to laying up mines and making subterranean passages² (*kūcha'-i-salāmat*) and other measures for reducing it. Yāqūt Khān the dotard (*fariūt*)—who in spite of his being in imperial service was still a well-wisher of Nizām Shāh—realized that the fort was about to be taken, and that after this the Nizām Shāhī family would be completely ruined and the whole of that territory would come into the possession of the imperial officers. He, therefore, secretly supported the besieged. Though he tried to convey food, muskets³ and other articles of defence to the besieged, the vigilance of the officers in charge of the entrenchments prevented him from succeeding in his designs. As supplies of corn, which were being sent from his markets, were repeatedly seized, his evil designs became patent. This pusillanimous traitor took to flight, as is usual with slaves, and joined 'Ādil Shāh's forces. As the Emperor's good fortune was daily in the ascendant, this desertion, which might have proved an impediment, really became the source of defeat of the enemy. The traitor in his arrogance as a military expert passed some censures⁴ on the Bijāpūr officers. One day after the taking of

1 *Bādsbāhnāma*, I, pt. i, p. 195.

2 *Op. cit.*, pp. 502, 503.

3 The word in the text and *Bādsbāhnāma*, from where the passage is taken, is *tafangobi*, but it should in this place be *tafang* or muskets.

4 *Op. cit.*, p. 504. The implication appears to be that his reproaches led to their attacking active steps which resulted in their defeat.

'Ambar Kōt—which means the wall (*shahr-paṇāh*) of Daulatabād—Randaulah Khān and Sāhū Bhōnsle were confronting Khān Zamān who was stationed at Kāghdhīwārah Ghāt, when Yāqūt Khān arrived with Murārī Datt the general of 'Ādil Shāh and a large force. Khān Khānān sent his son Mīrzā Lahrāsp with a force, and himself started with a small body of brave men. Before he could arrive to help Lahrāsp, a battle with a force of the enemy took place on the way. Those fox-like warriors took to flight, but meanwhile another band appeared from a ravine, and it was found that the traitor Yāqūt was with this force. Murārī had kept that force in the background and sent on the vanguard against Lahrāsp in order that by its retreat he might be driven on to Yāqūt Khān's forces. The Commander-in-Chief (Mahābat Khān) saw that the only thing to do was to give battle, and in spite of the smallness of his force he in his reliance on the Divine protection unfurled the standards of courage. Drawing the sword of revenge from its scabbard he with his force attacked the enemy's centre, and being hard pressed by the brave warriors the enemy losing courage took to flight. It happened that there was a bridge on the way, and its narrowness threw their forces into confusion. The brave imperialists reached the doomed Yāqūt, and though the Abyssinians bravely withstood the attack in the defence of their leader, but the undaunted gallant warriors slew most of that band, and others attacking Yāqūt Khān put an end to him by inflicting twenty seven wounds with lances and swords. The Abyssinians gathered together like ants and locusts, and tried to carry away that unfortunate symbol of infamy, but the gallant imperial warriors exerted themselves greatly to foil their attempts, and got hold of his dead body¹. The death of such a leader, who was unequalled in his knowledge of military technique and arranging the forces, proved very disheartening to the leaders of the enemy's forces and the besieged, and was the prologue to the taking of the fort. His son Fakhr-ul-Mulk also was an imperial officer and had the rank of 3,000 foot with

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 508.

2,000 horse. He died a natural death in the 5th year before the desertion of his father. Hasan Khān and other sons of Fakht-ul-Mulk after Yāqūt Khān's death took up service under 'Ādil Shāh. Hasan Khān's son guided by his lucky star humbly offered his submission to the august sovereign Shāh Jahān, and was enlisted in his service. In the 9th year he¹ was exalted by a promotion of 1,000 foot with 500 horse to the rank of 3,000 foot with 2,000 horse; and was gratified by the grant of a fief in the Deccan.

(SIDI) YĀQŪT KHĀN ABYSSINIAN

(Vol. II, pp. 496-499).

During the reign of Emperor Shāh Jahān when the Kōkan² (Kōnkan) Niżām Shāhī was conquered by the imperial forces, lands in the newly conquered territory pertaining to the Bijāpūr area were in exchange given to the ruler of Bijāpūr. He sent an Afghān named Fath Khān to take possession of the lands, and the latter made the fort of Dandārajpūrī—which was situated half on land and half in the sea—as his residence. In Emperor Aurangzib's time Sivā (Sivājī) Bhōnsle, realizing the weakness of the Bijāpūris, stretched his arm of oppression, and first made the fort of Rajgarh (Rajgad) his residence, but later strengthened the fort of Rāhīrī (Rāirī)—which is 20 *kos* from Dandārajpūrī—and settled there. He also by strenuous efforts took possession of other forts in the neighbourhood. Fath Khān becoming frightened left Dandārajpūrī, and took refuge in the island fort of Janjira³ which lies one *kos* off in the sea. He was even thinking of surrendering the fort, and saving his life. Sidi Sambal, Sidi Yāqūt and Sidi Khairū

¹ His name also was Hasan, *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. ii, p. 209. The increase in rank granted to him is mentioned on the same page.

² *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. ii, pp. 203, 204; *Khāfi Khān*, II, p. 113.

³ Elliot's *History*, VII, p. 289, *Khāfi Khān*, II, p. 224, states that it was a gun-shot distance, but in the *Imperial Gazetteer*, XIV, p. 61, it is stated that Janjira is half a mile from the mainland on the east, and a mile from the mainland on the west.

(Khairiyat), who all three were the slaves of the Afghān, becoming aware of his intention seized him¹ and put chains on his legs. They also wrote about his plans to the ruler of Bijāpūr and Khān Jahān Bahādur Governor of the Deccan. The said Bahādur sent a gracious reply, a robe of honour and Rs. 5,000 in cash, and arranged for the rank of 400 foot with 200 horse for the first, 300 with 100 horse for the second, and 200 foot with 100 horse for the third. He also assigned them a fertile fief near the port of Sūrat. They were encouraged, and set themselves to put down Sivījī. Sīdī Sambal died after reaching the rank of 900. Sīdī Yāqūt, who succeeded him, exerted hard to collect boats, and addressed himself for the recapture of Dandārājpūrī. One night² during the *Holi* when the Hindus were carelessly enjoying themselves, he on one side (the seaside) and Sīdī Khairiyat on the other scaled the wall by rope-ladders and entered the fort. Meanwhile the powder magazine of the fort caught fire and blew up together with the commandant of the fort. As Sivājī's army had been sent to attack distant places, and he could not send any reinforcements, they were able to take possession of other forts in the neighbourhood. When a report of this occurrence was sent to Sultān Muḥammad Mu'zzam, the Governor of the Deccan, he rewarded Sīdī Yāqūt and Sīdī Khairiyat by promotion in their ranks and the grant of the title of Khāns. When in the 39th year³ Sīdī Khairiyat Khān died, his property was given to Sīdī Yāqūt Khān, and the salary of the soldiers of the deceased was made a charge upon him. In the 47th year, 1114 A.H. (1702-03 A.D.) he died, and Sīdī 'Ambar⁴, whom he had nominated his successor, was confirmed in the *ta'līq*, and received the name of Sīdī Yāqūt. The tribe (of Abyssinians) acquired a name in that area as collectors ('Amaldārs), and facilitated the passage of ships to Mecca. At the time of writing the successors of the tribe hold Dandārājpūrī, and

1. Khāfi Khān, II, p. 224. It was in the 14th year of Aurangzib's reign. Also see Kincaid & Parasnis, *History of the Maratta People*, p. 83.

2. *Op. cit.*, p. 226, Kincaid & Parasnis, *op. cit.*, pp. 88, 89.

3. *Op. cit.*, p. 483.

4. *Op. cit.*, p. 515.

behave towards the Marathas on the principle of "slant the jar but do not spill."

The Khān was distinguished for his bravery and for his furthering the interests of the peasantry, and was very judicious. From morning¹ till one watch of the night, he used to sit wearing armour in the hall of audience. Then he went into the harem and spent another watch in the same fashion. After that he ungirt himself and attended to necessary things². In the end of the reign the Emperor summoned him to the Court. As formerly Sīdī Khairiyat Khān had gone to the royal *Darbār*, and found himself unequal of the men there in appearance and glory, and feeling small had feigned illness and got away by the exertions of Sīdī Yāqūt, the Khān (Sīdī 'Ambar) was apprehensive about going to Court. At last he got out of the difficulty by tact and by agreeing to send a tribute.

(MIRZA) YĀR 'ALI BĒG

(Vol. III, pp. 660-662).

He was an honest and a straightforward man. He was not at all given to taking bribes, and for this reason was held in high regard and greatly relied upon by Emperor Aurangzib. At first he was an assistant (*pēshdast*) of Rūh Ullāh Khān Bakhs̤hī, and became well known for his acuteness and severity. Later he became Superintendent of posts and of the civil courts (*kucherry*), and exerted himself in serving the public. In the 30th year³ he had the rank of 400 with 40 horse, and in the 31st year he was granted an increase of 15 horse⁴. AL

¹ Khāfi Khān, II, p. 454.

² See Khāfi Khān, II, pp. 453, 454, where there is a long story about his doings. The purport appears to be that he carried out his ablutions, etc., and after saying his prayers went to sleep.

³ *Maāthir-i-Alamgiri*, p. 283, where it is stated that in the 30th year he was transferred from the post of *pēshdast* of *Mir Bakhs̤hī* to that of the 2nd *Bakhs̤hī*.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 303.

though the Emperor wanted to increase his rank he did not agree to it. In his representations he was somewhat presumptuous. It is stated that he presented a youth (*lit.* a smooth-faced boy) for an office. The Emperor said he was (too young). He replied that he would be *Nimtar*¹ (more than half) by the time he received a *Jāgīr*; and *Nimtar* in the language of the people of India means one declining in years. It is stated that one day food was sent to him from the royal kitchen. When he went to pay his respects he forgot about it. The Emperor reminded him by asking about its taste. He remembered, and made four bows (*taslīm*) for the present of food, and again another four as the bows for forgetfulness of the prostration (*sajdah*). It is also stated that one day in some connection Tūrānī evidence was given on a question of Shari‘at Law. He represented that as it was Tūrānī evidence, little reliance could be placed on it. He did not remember that the Emperor also was a Tūrānī². During the siege of Gōlkanda (Gōlconda) there was a severe famine and prices rose very high. The Emperor taking his probity into consideration wished to appoint him Superintendent of provisions (*rasad*). Fearing approbrium he refused the appointment. As Ā‘zam Shāh disliked him, he represented that Yār ‘Alī Bēg had behaved insolently by refusing to carry out the Emperor’s orders. The Emperor was extremely annoyed, and ordered that he should be beaten and turned out of the *Divān-khāna*³. After Emperor Aurangzib’s death he took leave from Muḥammad Ā‘zam Shāh and went to holy Mecca⁴. In the 3rd year of Emperor Bahādur Shāh’s reign he returned from the holy places and rejoined service. In the same year⁵, corresponding to 1121 A.H. (1709 A.D.) he died.

1 A satire on the very slowness of promotions during the reign.

2 Aurangzib considered himself to be a Tūrānian as a descendant of Timūr. The account is taken from *Khāfi Khān*, II, pp. 378, 379, where his appointment in the post office and civil courts are also noted.

3 *Op. cit.*, II, pp. 337, 338.

4 *Op. cit.*, II, p. 572.

5 *Op. cit.*, II, p. 662.

(HĀJI) YŪSUF KHĀN

(Vol. I, pp. 557, 558).

At first Hājī Yūsuf Khān was a protege of Mīrzā Kāmīrān. In the 12th year of the reign of Emperor Akbar he was appointed¹ with Qiyā Khān for assisting Mīrzā Yūsuf Khān who was shut up in Qanauj while 'Alī Quli Khān was stirring up the dust of strife in that neighbourhood. In the 17th year after the conquest of Gujerāt he was deputed with Khān 'Alam for chastising Ibrāhīm Husain Mīrzā. When an order was sent by the Emperor recalling the force, the said officer came, and was in attendance on the victorious stirrups in the battle of Sarnāl². In the 19th year he was deputed to Bengāl as an auxiliary to Khān Khānān Mun'im Khān and did good service in the battle against Gūjar³. In the 20th year he was in Gaur, in Bengāl, which is notorious for its unhealthy climate. Khān Khānān Mun'im Khān had established his camp there. A pestilence broke out, and several of the leading officers died. He also died there⁴ in 983 A.H. (1575 A.D.). His rank was 500.

YŪSUF KHĀN SON OF HUSAIN KHĀN TUKRIYA⁵

(Vol. III, pp. 957, 958).

After his father's death he was favoured by Emperor Akbar and appointed to a suitable rank. In the 50th year he had the rank of 2,000 foot with 300 horse. After Jahāngīr's accession 500 horse were added to his rank⁶. In the 5th year he was deputed⁷ with Khān

¹ *Akbarnāma*, Text, II, p. 290, Beveridge's translation, II, p. 426.² *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 14, Beveridge's translation, III, p. 19.³ *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 125, translation, p. 177.⁴ *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 160, translation, p. 227.⁵ *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, I, pp. 551-554, Beveridge & Prashad's translation, I, pp. 644, 645.⁶ Rogers & Beveridge's translation of *Tuzuk-i-Jahāngīr*, I, p. 146.⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 184.

'Azam to the Deccan campaign. As he distinguished himself there, he was rewarded with a flag¹ in the 8th year. In the 12th year at the recommendation of Prince Sultān Khurram his rank was increased to 3,000 foot with 1,500 horse²; he was appointed *Faujdār* of Gōndwāna, and presented a robe of honour and an elephant³.

YŪSUF KHĀN KASHMĪRĪ (Vol. III, pp. 954-957).

His father was 'Ali Khān Chak, the ruler of Kashmīr. The latter died of an injury received from the pommel of his saddle while playing polo. His people raised Yūsuf Khān to the throne. He first surrounded the house of Abdāl his uncle who was aiming at sovereignty. In the fight the said Abdāl was struck by a musket shot and was killed. His people raised Saiyid Mubārak, and a battle took place in the compound of the 'Idgāh. The leader of Yūsuf Khān's van was killed in the battle, and the latter fled before reaching the place of contest. In the end of the 24th year of Emperor Akbar's reign he came to the Court, and was graciously received⁴. As previously, two months had not elapsed when the wicked men of Kashmīr killed Mubārak, and raised Lōhar Chak, Yūsuf Khān's cousin, to the throne. In the 25th year the latter took leave from the Court. An order was issued to the Panjāb chiefs to send an army with him. On hearing this news the Kashmīris had recourse to fawning, and requested Yūsuf Khān to come by himself. He without informing the chiefs started for Kashmīr, and without a fight got hold of Lōhar Chak, and took charge of the

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 255.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 375, but 1,000 is a misprint for 3,000 on that page.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 404. He died suddenly in the 16th year of Jahāngīr's reign, see Rogers & Beveridge's translation of *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīr*, II, p. 202. He had become very fat. He had a son 'Azīz Ullāh Khān for whose account see *Māt̄bir-ul-Umarā*, Text, II, pp. 789, 799, Beveridge's translation, I, pp. 334, 335.

⁴ Adapted from *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, pp. 279, 280, Beveridge's translation, pp. 408, 409.

government¹. When Sālih Dīwāna reported to the Emperor the story of Yūsuf Khān's constancy, the Emperor in the 27th year sent Shaikh Ya'qūb Kashmīrī, one of his confidential servants, with Yūsuf Khān's son Haidar for comforting² him. In the 29th year Yūsuf Khān sent³ to the Court his son Ya'qūb with presents of the country. When in 30th year the imperial Court was located in the Panjāb, the Emperor summoned Yūsuf Khān. Ya'qūb becoming suspicious took to flight. Hakīm 'Alī and Bahā'-ud-Dīn Kambū were deputed to give him good advice. If he could not come himself he was to send his foolish son⁴. When the ambassadors returned and reported his presumptuousness, Mīrzā Shāh Rukh was sent off with a large force to conquer the country. After the army came by the Pakhlī route and arrived near Būlyās, Yūsuf Khān saw no other course open to him except to submit. He consequently came and waited on the officers. They wanted to return taking him with them, but the Emperor did not approve of it, and peremptory orders for the conquest of the country were sent. On this the Kashmīris first raised Husain Khān Chak, and later Ya'qūb Khān son of Yūsuf Khān to the throne, and began the fight. They were defeated. They sent a message that the ruler was proceeding to the Court, and that *Dinārs* and *Dirhams* would henceforth be coined in Emperor Akbar's name. Also that mint, saffron, silk and game would belong to the State. As the officers were troubled by the heavy falls of snow, they appointed superintendents in the above-mentioned concerns⁵, and in the beginning of the 31st year returned to the Court with Yūsuf Khān. The latter was handed over to Rāja Tōdar Mal⁶. As Ya'qūb and other Kashmīris showed signs of acting against the terms of peace, Qāsim Khān was sent off with a suitable

1 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 318, translation, pp. 465, 466.

2 *Op. cit.*, Text, pp. 389, 390, translation, p. 576.

3 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 450, translation, p. 676.

4 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 469, translation, p. 707.

5 *Op. cit.*, Text, pp. 480, 481, translation, pp. 722-725.

6 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 488, translation, pp. 738, 739.

force. He by good arrangements conquered the country. He fought several battles with Ya'qūb Khān, son of Yūsuf Khān, and other Kashmīris, and was victorious. In the 32nd year Yūsuf Khān was released from his imprisonment, given a *Jāgīr* on the borders of Bihār¹, and appointed to the *Šūba* of Bengāl. Up to the 37th year he performed good service. His son Ya'qūb Khān, after his father went to the Court, was made an instrument of strife by the Kashmīris, and for a time he was the ruler of the country. When Qāsim Khān *Mir Bahr* was deputed for the annexation of that territory, the good fortune of the Emperor caused dissensions to break out amongst the people. By this means Qāsim Khān entered Srinagar. Even then Ya'qūb Khān exhibited signs of rebellion. In the 34th year when the Emperor was in Kashmīr, attempts were made to conciliate him. He submitted and was exalted by kissing the royal threshold².

(MIRZA) YŪSUF KHĀN RADAVĪ³

(Vol. III, pp. 314-321).

He was one of the true Saiyids of Mashhad. He attained high rank and influence during the reign of Emperor Akbar. In the 30th year⁴ he was promoted to the high rank of 2,500. When Shahbāz Khān hastened from Bihār to Bengāl, the Mirzā was ordered⁵ to proceed from Oudh and to guard Bihār. In the 32nd year, 995 A.H.

¹ *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 525, translation, p. 801.

² *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 557, translation, p. 846. He is again mentioned on pp. 582 and 649 of the text. According to a Kashmīr chronicle Ya'qūb was eventually poisoned by a poisoned robe sent to him by Akbar, see Rieu, *Cat. Brit. Mus. MS.* I, 300c, but according to Bada'oni, *Muntakhab-ut-Tawārikh*, Text, II, p. 354, Lowe's translation, II, p. 365, both he and his father died in prison from melancholy and spleen.

³ For his earlier life see *Akbarnāma*, III. The account in Blochmann, *A'īn*, I (2nd edn.), pp. 369-372, is almost a verbatim translation of the *Māābir* account.

⁴ *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 457, Beveridge's translation, III, p. 687.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 465, translation, p. 701.

(1587 A.D.) when Qāsim Khān, the Governor of Kashmīr, becoming disgusted with the continual commotion there resigned, the Mīrzā was appointed¹ to administer the country. He by his excellent arrangements succeeded in winning the hearts of the people. He conciliated Shams Chak, who claimed the sovereignty of the country, and sent him to the Court². In the 34th year, 997 A.H. (1589 A.D.) Emperor Akbar visited Kashmīr, the like of which as a land for holiday globe-trotters has not found anywhere in the world. He ordered that skilled officers³ should carry out a survey of the Marrāj and Kāmrāj, i.e., the upper and lower valleys of the river Bhit (Jhelum). In that territory every piece of land is designated as a *pattah*, and this equals one *bigba* and one *biswab* of the Ilāhī yard (*gaz*). The Kashmīris reckon a little more than $2\frac{1}{2}$ *pattahs* to be equal to a *bigba*. With the government they reckon on the basis of three heaps of produce. Accordingly every village is assessed on the basis of a certain number of *kharwārs* of rice. Every *kharwār* is equal to three maunds and eight seers Akbarshāhī. Some reckon by *taraks* which is equal to eight seers. For the Rabi' (spring) crop they take for every *pattah* of wheat or pulses two *taraks* as the ruler's share. At this time the experienced assistants went into details, and found several irregularities. But as a result of the importunity of the land-holders who did not disclose all the facts, of the farmers chiefly being soldiers, and of the Emperor being desirous of sight-seeing, and careless (about taxation), and also in view of the fact that an increase in the revenue would cause confusion among the peasantry—specially in a newly conquered country—the revenue was not fixed on the basis of statistics. Two *lakhs* of *kharwārs* of rice were added to the twenty *lakhs* (formerly taken), and each *kharwār* was reckoned

¹ *Op. cit.*, Text, pp. 521, 523, translation, pp. 796, 798.

² *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 523, translation, pp. 798, 799.

³ The account is based on *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, pp. 548, 549, translation, pp. 830-832. The *Maāthir* account is somewhat confused, and for details reference may be made to the original and the detailed notes by Beveridge in the translation cited.

at sixteen *dāms*. On the basis of this estimate a settlement was fixed with Mīrzā Yūsuf Khān.

In the 36th year it so happened that one of the confidential servants of the Mīrzā ran away and came to the Court. He represented that the number of *kharwārs* should be increased by 50 per cent, and the rate for each *kharwār* should be 28 *dāms*. On an enquiry being made, the Mīrzā did not agree to this increased assessment. Accordingly Qādī Nūr Ullāh and Qādī 'Alī were deputed for carrying out an investigation¹. The Mīrzā's agents out of dishonest motives proved refractory. Qādī Nūr Ullāh returned and reported to the Emperor. Husain Bēg Shaikh 'Umri was sent to help. The former worked energetically at the office arrangements, and the latter at making collections. Some of the Mīrzā's servants combined together and stirred up sedition-mongers, who made Yādgār, Mīrzā's cousin, the pivot of disturbances. There were one or two encounters, and then peace was made. But through the slackness of the two men (Qādī 'Alī and Husain Bēg Shaikh 'Umri), sedition in a short time rose to a great height². Consequently Qādī 'Alī and Husain Bēg were forced to leave the city and start for India. As the rebels had already taken possession of the passes, Qādī 'Alī was seized after slight resistance and put to death. Husain Bēg escaped half alive. It is stated that when Yādgār *Kal* (the bald) took the idea of sovereignty into his head, and sent for an engraver to make a ring in his name, a splinter of steel came off while engraving and struck him in the eye. At the time of reciting the *Khuṣba* he trembled³, and when an assembly was arranged and he sat on the throne, a *farāsh* (servant), who was standing with a fan in his hand, at once recited the couplet:

¹ *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 595, translation, pp. 906, 907. The confidential clerk's name is given there as Ṭōṭa.

² *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 618, translation, pp. 944, 945.

³ *Muntakhab-ut-Tawārikh*, Text, II, p. 382, Lowe's translation, II, p. 395.

Verse

You cannot by boasting place a cushion on the seat of the mighty,

Unless you also prepare the paraphernalia of might.

Yādgār was astonished, and asked the man whether he had composed it. He replied in the negative. Then (he asked) "Where did you learn this couplet?" He replied, 'I do not know.' Stranger still¹, Emperor Akbar had received no news of the disturbance, when —inasmuch as kings and fortunate princes are inspired—in the 37th year, 1000 A.H. (1591-92 A.D.) he unexpectedly ordered a march from Lāhōre to Kashmīr. Though men held back on account of difficulties of the journey, and some thought it improper that the Emperor should go to such a remote quarter and hilly country, the journey to which by any route would take a year, the Emperor in the height of rainy season set off unattended (*jarīdah*). It so happened that it was the very day on which Yādgār Kal had rebelled in Kashmīr. Still stranger was that while crossing the river Rāvī the Emperor asked to which did this verse refer:—

Verse

The crown of the empire, and the diadem of the Shāh²,
How shall they come to a baldman? God forbid!

They had not proceeded many stages when the news of the Kashmīr disturbance was received, and the hidden knowledge of the Emperor thus became manifest. Shaikh Farīd *Bakhshī-Bēgī* was sent ahead with a force, and the Emperor himself pushed on rapidly. Mīrzā Yūsuf Khān was placed under care of Shaikh Abūl Fadī³. When, however, Mīrzā Lashkari son of Mīrzā Yūsuf Khān, becoming aware of the doings of the rebel (Yādgār) brought away his family and children

1 *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 617, translation, p. 943.

2 *Muntakhab-ut-Tawārikh*, Text, II, p. 382, Lowe's translation, II, p.

395.

3 *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 619, translation, p. 947.

towards Lāhōre, and Yādgār on hearing of Mīrzā's imprisonment hurriedly sent away the Mīrzā's family, these happenings became the means of saving the Mīrzā's honour and he was released¹. Yādgār on hearing the news of the Emperor's expedition sent a large force to guard the passes. The brave imperialists, however, easily defeated the enemy, and entered the country. Yādgār left Srīnagar the capital of the country and hurried to Hirāpūr. A party of Mīrzā's men, who were lying in wait, came at midnight, and raising a cry "The King" fell on his camp and plundered it. He was amazed and leaving his tent fled into the fields. Except for Yūsuf he had no attendant with him. He sent him to fetch a horse. The men, who were astonished at not finding Yādgār, seized Yūsuf and tortured him. At last through his indiscretion Yādgār was captured, and his shoulders were relieved of the weight of his head.

Quatrain

In the garden the pumpkin raised its head beside the Cypress.
 Forsooth this head raising is for the empire (*sarwari*).
 Heavens know out of the Cypress and the pumpkin,
 Which one is worthy of the empire.

It is stated that on the day when the Emperor heard of the sedition of the wretch, and as Yādgār's mother, Nuqra by name, was unrivalled for her lack of modesty amongst the prostitutes (*lūlis*), he repeated the verse:

Verse

The bastard is envious; I am what my fate is.
 The bastard-slayer has come like the star of Yemen.

He also remarked that the fall of this worthless fellow and the rising of Canopus would take place about the same time. Astrologers represented that Yādgār would receive his punishment in two to three months. The Emperor said: "It will not be in less than 40 days or more than two months." Accordingly it all happened in 51 days.

¹ *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 619, translation, p. 247.

And on the day on which Yādgār was killed, Canopus rose¹. After the Emperor reached Kashmīr, Mīrzā Yūsuf Khān did not agree to take the province at the increased rental. Consequently it was made Crown-land, and Khwāja Shams-ud-Dīn Khawāfī with 3,000 horse was appointed to the charge. But at the request of Prince Sultān Salīm Kashmīr was again assigned to Mīrzā Yūsuf². In the 39th year the Mīrzā was promoted to the post of the Superintendent of Artillery. In the same year, 1002 A.H. (1593-94 A.D.) he was in succession to Qulīj Khān appointed to the charge of Jaunpūr³. In the 41st year he was granted a *Jāgīr* in Gujarāt⁴, and appointed an auxiliary of the Deccan. When Shādiq Khān of Herāt died in the 42nd year, the Mīrzā was appointed the guardian of Prince Sultān Murād⁵, and hastening from his *Jāgīr* to Bālāpūr in Berār, he took up his duties with the Prince. After Prince Murād's death he rendered valuable services with 'Allāmī Shaikh Abūl Faḍl in the administration of the Deccan. In the siege and later the conquest of Ahmadvārā he, in attendance of Prince Dāniyāl, contributed more than any other officer towards the successs of the campaign. As he always disliked the Deccan, he in the beginning of the 46th year in response to the summons waited on Emperor Akbar at Burhānpūr. When the royal standards returned towards Āgra, Prince Dāniyāl with other officers was permitted to leave at the Narbadā, and the Mīrzā also was deputed with him⁶. In the same year, which was 1010 A.H. (1601 A.D.) the Prince sent the Mīrzā with Mīrzā Rustam Safāvī to assist Shaikh Abūl Faḍl and Khān Khānān in the Bālāghāt area. The Mīrzā died in the month of Jummāda II (December, 1601) of a bubo

¹ *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 623, translation, pp. 953, 954. Beveridge's excellent notes may be consulted in regard to Canopus etc.

² *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 627, translation, pp. 959, 960.

³ *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 654, translation, p. 1004.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 714, translation, p. 1064.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 724, translation, p. 1081.

⁶ *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 790, translation, p. 1184.

at Jālnāpūr¹. His body was conveyed to Mashhad. He regarded Sultānpūr as his home, and had many Rohillas among his infantry men, and he paid their salaries month by month. Whenever he granted an increase in pay, he called it a month and a half's pay. This he paid out at once in addition to the monthly salary during the whole year. Among his sons was Mīrzā Ṣafshikan Khān Lashkari² of whom a separate account has been given. Another Mīrzā ‘Iwād was a good writer of prose. He wrote a history of the world under the name *Chaman*. Another Mīrzā Aflātūn lived with his brother. At the end of his life he was appointed incharge of the tomb (of Emperor Akbar) at Bihishtābād Sikandra, and died in that capacity. His son-in-law Mīr ‘Abdullāh in the reign of Emperor Shāh Jahān received the rank of 1,500 with 800 horse³. For some time he was Commandant of the fort of Dhārwar. He died in the 8th year of the reign⁴.

YŪSUF MUHAMMAD KHĀN KŌKALTĀSH

(Vol. III, pp. 952-954).

Yūsuf Muḥammad Khān was the eldest son of Khān Ā‘zam Atga⁵, and foster-brother of Emperor Akbar. When his father² was deputed with a force by the Emperor to obstruct Bairām Khān who was proceeding to the Panjab, Yūsuf Muḥammad, who was twelve years old,

1 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 800, translation, p. 1198.

2 *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, II, pp. 736-738, translation *antea*, pp. 671, 672.

3 *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. i, p. 296.

4 *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. ii, p. 306.

5 Shams-ud-Din Muḥammad Atga Khān for whose account see Blochmann, *Ā’īn*, I (2nd edn.), pp. 337, 338.

6 *Akbarnāma*, Text, II, p. 110, Beveridge's translation, II, p. 168. It is not clear on what authority the author of *Maāthir* states that Yūsuf Muḥammad was 12 years old in 1560, for on p. 675 of the text of volume I of *Maāthir* (Beveridge's translation, I, p. 319) his younger brother ‘Aziz Kōka is described as *hamsan* i.e. of the same age as Akbar. He must have been, therefore, more than 18 years of age, for Emperor Akbar was then 18 years old.

was also sent with his father. On the day of the battle he was stationed with other gallant men between the centre and the *Alt mash*, and when Atga Khān, after his right and left had been disorganized, saw safety in attacking Bairām Khān's force, Yūsuf Muḥammad was in front of his father and did great deeds¹. He was rewarded with the title of Khān. When his father was killed by Adham Khān Kōka, Yūsuf Muḥammad Khān armed himself and his companions, and barred the path of Adham Khān and Māham Anaga till he was satisfied by hearing of the punishment that Emperor had inflicted on Adham Khān². After this event the said Khān and his brother 'Azīz Muḥammad Kōkaltāsh were encompassed with royal favours, and were always close associates of the Emperor both in assemblies and in battles. In the 10th year when the disloyalty and rebellion of 'Alī Quli Khān Zamān, Bahādur Khān and Iskandar Khān was reported the Emperor himself marched from Āgra for chastising this band. After crossing the Ganges it was reported to the Emperor that Iskandar Khān was still at his headquarters in Lucknow. The Emperor turned in that direction, and ordered that Yūsuf Muḥammad Khān with Shujā'at Khān and some other reliable officers should go forward as the vanguard³. Under the benevolent patronage of Emperor Akbar he had attained the high rank of 5,000, when in the height of his youth he fell ill as a result of excessive indulgence in drinking. In the 11th year of the reign, corresponding to 973 A.H. (1565 A.D.) he died⁴.

Circumspection

As a result of careful experiments physicians have found grape juice (wine) to have very potent properties as a tonic in various human ailments. In regard to its use they have, however, prescribed strict

1 *Op. cit.*, Text, pp. 112, 113, translation, pp. 170-172.

2 *Op. cit.*, Text, pp. 174-176, translation, pp. 269-273.

3 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 252, translation, p. 379.

4 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 272, translation, p. 405, where the date of his death is given as 5th *Dhul Qa'da* corresponding to 24th May, 1566.

dosages and specified exact times and occasions. Excessive indulgence, which destroys intellectual faculties and is the harbinger of a number of ills, has been strictly prohibited and strongly condemned. This is also clearly laid down in the holy book of religion. While the *Shari'at* of Muṣṭafā, May he be blessed and have peace! in which are revealed the most appropriate rules of conduct and dealings in regard to all affairs, no differentiation has been made in regard to its injurious effects when used in smaller or larger quantities. Rather its use has been entirely and strictly prohibited. The injunction "their¹ sin is greater than their profit" explicitly explains this dictum.

YŪSUF MUHAMMAD KHĀN TĀSHKANDĪ
(Vol. III, pp. 963-967).

Tāshkand is a city in the Farghāna country, which is situated in the fifth climate, and forms the limit of settled habitations. On its east is Kāshghar, on its west Samarqand, on the south the mountains of the Badakhshān border, and on the north—though in former times there were towns such as Almāligh, Almātū and Yāngī also known as Tarāz—but at the present time owing to the migrations of the Uzbegs no traces of their habitations or ruins even are left. Except on the west side, where there are no mountains, it is not possible for an enemy to enter the country. The river Saihūn, generally known as the *Āb-i-Khujand*, entering the country from the north-east runs westwards, and after passing along the north of Khujand and to the south of Fanākat, now known as Shāhrukhiya, enters Turkistān, and entering the sands disappears there. In this tract there are seven townships. The five in the south are Andijān, Aush, Marghīnān, Asfara and Khujand, and in the north Tarāz and Kāsān—which is an old city, formerly known as Niyākat and now known as Tāshkand and Tāshkaniyat. The tulip gardens of the area are as superb and famous as

¹ Vide Qurān, Sūra Al-Baqarah, verse 219 (in pt.), p. 99.

the red roses of Bokhāra, particularly the seven-coloured tulips which are a speciality of the country¹.

After Yūsuf Muḥammad migrated from his native country to India he spent some time in the companionship of 'Abdullāh Khān Firūz Jang². Later as a result of his outstanding personality and good fortune he became attached to Prince Shāh Jahān, and through his excellent services and constant attendance rose higher in position. He was constantly in attendance both during the journeys and in camp. After the accession he was appointed to the rank of 2,000 with 1,000 horse, and received as gifts a flag, a drum, a horse, an elephant, and Rs. 15,000 in cash³. He was also granted a fief near Māndū. In the 4th year while engaged in the Deccan campaign he was suddenly involved in a strange disaster. This was on a day while he and Bahādur Khān Rohila had gone to bring in forage that they encountered Randaula Khān and Bahlūl Khān 'Ādilshāhī. There was a great fight in which he fought valiantly, but was severely wounded and fell on the ground. The enemy regarding it as a great triumph carried him and Bahādur Khān⁴. For a time he was confined as a prisoner in Bijāpūr. When in the 5th year Yamin-ud-Daula Āṣaf Khān set about devastating Bijāpūr, and besieged it, 'Ādil Shāh sent both these officers to him⁵. After they arrived at the Court of the Emperor, who was well known for favouring his loyal officers, they were recompensed by the grant to each of them of a robe of honour, a sword, a shield with ornamented weapons, a horse and an elephant. Yūsuf Muḥammad Khān received the rank of 3,000 with 2,000 horse⁶ and the gifts of a

¹ Adapted from *Memoirs of Babur*, see the translation by Mrs. Beveridge pp. 1-10. — Atrār and Shāsh of the *Maāthir* should be Tarāz and Kāsān as in *Bāburnāma*, and these have been adopted in the translation.

² *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, II. pp. 777-789, Beveridge's translation, I. pp. 97-105.

³ *Bādsbābnāma*, I. pt. i, pp. 118, 119. In the 3rd year, p. 299, his rank was increased to 2,500 with 1,200 horse.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, pp. 380, 381.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 415.

⁶ *Op. cit.*, pp. 422, 423.

drum and Rs. 20,000 in cash, and was later appointed as the *Sūbahdār* of Tatta.

It is stated that previously he had many Mughal servants from Tūrān, but when on the occasion of this catastrophe he witnessed their unexpected faithlessness, in that they left their master in the hands of the enemy, and themselves went off in safety to his fief, and forcibly levied a large sum as pay from his father who had relinquished secular life and had become a dervish, he thought less of Mughals, and mostly employed Hindustānis. Afterwards he was appointed *Faujdār* of Bhakkar¹. In the 11th year when the Qandahār fort came into the royal possession, he was deputed² with the *Faujdār* of Sīwistān for settling that area. He performed valuable services in company with Qulīj Khān the Governor of the area in connection with the capture of the Bust fort. In the 12th year he was transferred from the *Faujdāri* of Bhakkar as *Sūbahdār* of Multān, and was granted an increase of 1,000 horse³. In the same year, corresponding to 1049 A.H. (1639-40 A.D.) he died⁴. He had two sons Mīrzā Rūh Ullāh and Mīrzā Bahrām. The first in the end of the 28th year was appointed as *Faujdār* and fief-holder of Māndū, and given the rank of 1,500 with 800 horse. After a time he was censured and his rank reduced to 1,000. Later he was appointed *Faujdār* and Commandant of Kāngra. In the beginning of Emperor Aurangzib's reign he was deprived of his rank and *Jāgir* for certain actions which did not meet with royal approval, and went into retirement. His sons, though they were *Khānāzāds*, did not owing to the Emperor's displeasure, succeed in getting any *Mansab*, and were for a time companions of Khān Jahān Bahādur Kōkaltāsh. Later Mīrzā 'Abdullāh succeeded in securing service under Prince Muḥammad Ā'zam Shāh. As a result of this appointment

¹ *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p. 22, where the increase of his rank to 3,000 with 2,500 horse is recorded.

² This was in the 11th year, *op. cit.* p. 35.

³ This is incorrect, the increase was of 500 horse, and his rank on being appointed *Sūbahdār* of Multān became 3,000 with 3,000 horse, *op. cit.*, p. 128.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 155.

as Keeper of the Arsenal (*Qurbēgī*) he was thus raised to a position of honour and respect. Afterwards he was appointed head of the artillery, and in the battle of Jajau having given full proof of his loyalty was killed with that gallant Prince. His son Mīrzā Fath Ullāh was young. Basālat Khān Sultān cast a favourable eye on him on account of acquaintance and school fellowship (*khwājatāshī*) and looked after his training. After Basālat Khān's death he found service under Āṣaf Jah Nizām-ul-Mulk as the Superintendent of the *Dwānkhanā* and of the messengers (*barkārās*). He received his ancestral titles. At the time of writing he is alive, and is a friend and companion of the author.

Z*

ZABARDAST KHĀN

(Vol. II, pp. 372, 373).

He was one of Emperor Shāh Jahān's body-guard. After Shāh Jahān's accession he was granted the rank¹ of 1,000 with 500 horse, and in the 2nd year² he had an increase of 500 with 100 horse, and again³ of 200 horse. In the 4th year he had reached⁴ the rank of 1,500 with 1,000 horse. He was for a long time deputed to Bihār province, and during this period he in collaboration with the governors of the province distinguished himself in the chastisements of the refractory *Zamindārs* thereof. During the governorship of I'tiqād

*In this section are included notices beginning with the letters ڏ and ڻ, while those beginning with ڙ are included at the end of the work in view of ڙ being transliterated as *Dh*. The only biography under the letter ڦ *D* has been dealt with under the letter M.

1 *Bādsahābnāma*, I. pt. i, p. 119.

2 *Op. cit.*, p. 253.

3 *Op. cit.*, p. 266, but his rank after this increase of 200 is given as 1,500 with 800 horse.

4 *Op. cit.*, p. 399.

Khān, he subdued Pratāp¹—the Zamīndār of Palāmau, who was the leader of all the refractory elements of the province—by his devoted exertions in the cause of the Empire, by stirring up one of his sons against him, and in the 17th year brought him before the Governor. Later he returned to the Court² and paid his homage. In the 18th year he was promoted³ to the rank of 2,000 with 1,000 horse. In the 19th year he was granted a robe of honour, and was sent for the settlement of Sīwistān in the province of Tatta (Sindh). In the 23rd year, 1059 A.H. (1649 A.D.), while holding the office of *Faujdār* of Sīwistān, the cup of his life became⁴ full (he died).

ZAFAR KHĀN

(Vol. II, pp. 755, 756).

He was the son of Zain Khān Kōka⁵. Probably his name was Shukr Ullāh⁶. In the 40th year of Akbar's reign he had the rank of 200, but after the death of his father he was raised to the rank of 700. Apparently in the end of Akbar's reign he received the title of Zafar Khān. After Jahāngīr's accession to the throne, as Zain Khān Kōka's daughter⁷ was married to the Emperor, Zafar Khān became the subject of additional favours. In the 2nd year⁸ when the Emperor started

¹ *Bādshāhnāma*, II, pp. 357-361. The sentence in the text is very involved. It seems to mean that Zabardast Khān subdued Pratāp by stirring up one of his sons against him, but according to *Bādshāhnāma*, it was Pratāp's uncles or cousins who imprisoned him and forced him to come to terms with Zabardast Khān.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 374.

³ *Op. cit.*, pp. 405, 406.

⁴ *'Amal Sālib*, III, p. 103.

⁵ *Ma'āthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, II, pp. 362-369, and Blochmann, *A'in*, I (2nd edn.), pp. 367-369.

⁶ Blochmann on pp. 588, 589 of the work cited published his account under the name Shukr Ullāh Zafar Khān based mainly on *Ma'āthir*.

⁷ Mother of Prince Parviz; she died in 1007 A.H., see Blochmann, *op. cit.*, p. 323, and *Ma'āthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, II, p. 363.

⁸ Rogers & Beveridge's translation of *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*, I, p. 100. See also the footnote in reference to the name of the village.

from Lāhōre to Kābul, he encamped enroute at the village of Ahrōhī near the Attock fort, the inhabitants of the place complained against the Khatars, who practised robberies and dacoities etc. Zafar Khān was granted Attock as fief in place of Ahmād Bēg Khān¹, and he was ordered that the Khatars should, by the time of the return of the Emperor, be removed to Lāhōre, that their headmen should be imprisoned, and whatever they had taken by force from anyone restored. Zafar Khān performed the duties assigned to him, and waited on the Emperor on his return² and was commended. In the 3rd year he was promoted to the rank of 2,000 foot with 1,000 horse, and later in the same year received a standard, a robe of honour and a jewelled dagger³. In the 7th year his rank was increased⁴ to 3,000 foot with 2,000 horse, and he was posted as Governor of Bihār. In the 10th year he was removed⁵ from there, but on returning to the Court received an increase of 500 foot with 500 horse, and was deputed to the Bangash⁶ campaign. His subsequent history has not been noticed⁷. His son was Sa'ādat Khān⁸ whose account is given separately.

ZAFAR KHĀN KHWAJA AHSĀN ULLĀH

(Vol. II, pp. 756-763).

He was the son of Khwāja⁹ Abūl Hasan of Turbat. In the 19th year of Jahāngīr's reign when Khwāja Abūl Hasan¹⁰ was appointed to succeed Mahābat Khān as the Governor of Kābul, Ahsān Ullāh was appointed as his father's deputy for the government of the area.

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 111.² *Op. cit.*, p. 127.³ *Op. cit.*, p. 147.⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 231.⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 306.⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 310.⁷ Rogers & Beveridge's translation of *Tāzuk-i-Jahāngīr*, II, p. . He died in the 16th year 1621-22 A.D. His son's name is given there as Sa'ādat Ūmēd.⁸ *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, II, pp. 461-463.⁹ *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, I, pp. 737-739, Beveridge's translation, I, pp. 128-130.¹⁰ *Iqbālnāma-i-Jahāngīr*, p. 238.

He was raised to the rank of 1,500 with 600 horse, granted the title of Zafar Khān, and received as gifts a standard, a dagger, a jewelled sword and an elephant. By the end of the reign of that Emperor he had attained to the rank of 2,500 with 1,200 horse. In the 1st year of Shāh Jahān's reign it was reported that he was besieging 'Abdul Qādir son of Ahd Dād in the valley of Kharmāna¹ in Tīrāh. On hearing of the death of Emperor Jahāngīr, however, he had sent the force to Kābul and himself retired to Peshawar. After dealing with the business there, according to the custom of the Governor spending the winter in Peshawar, and summer in Kābul, he had set out for the latter place. On the march he had neglected the rules of caution, and the tribes of Orakzāī and Afridī—who are the leading Afghān tribes of the Khaibar mountains—blocked his way, and so plundered his camp that he lost all hope and did not attempt to retrieve the situation. On this account Kābul was taken from his father, and he himself repaired to the Court. In the 2nd year he was appointed with Khwāja Abūl Hasan to pursue Jujhār Singh Bundēla. In the 3rd year, when the Emperor was encamped in the Deccan, he was sent with the above-mentioned Khwāja for the conquest of the territories of Nāsik, Trimbak and Sangamnēr. In the 5th year when his father was appointed Governor of Kashmīr in succession to I'tiqād Khān Shāhpūr, he was made³ his deputy, and received a *khilat* and a horse. In the 6th year after his father's death the Emperor confirmed him as the Governor of Kashmīr, increased his rank to 3,000 with 2,000 horse, and granted him a standard and a drum⁴. In the 7th year when the Emperor was going to Kashmīr,

¹ The account of Zafar Khān's failure against the Orakzāī and Afridi tribes is based on *Bādsbāhnāma*, I, pt. i, pp. 190, 191. Kharmāna of the text Kharmāna in *Bādsbāhnāma*, and this has been followed. His return to the Court is recorded on p. 245.

² This is apparently a reference to his defeat by 'Abdul Qādir, see *Māathir-ul-Umarā*, Text, II, p. 247, and translation, *ante* p. 598. in the notice of Rashid Khān Ansārī.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 432.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, pp. 473, 474.

he came as far as Bhimbar¹ to welcome him, and paid his respects. In the 10th year he was ordered to Tibet. There are two roads from Kashmir to Tibet, one is called Karaj and the other Lār. The first is four stages longer than the second, but the latter owing to of its remaining covered by snow for a long time, and of having two difficult passes across it (is a more difficult route). Zafar Khān went by the first. By his skilful arrangements he conquered the country, and having captured Abdāl, the ruler of the area, rapidly returned by the second route. The rapidity with which the expedition was executed was commended by the Emperor.²

Tibet consists of 21 *Parganas*³ and has 37 forts. Owing to the large number of hills and the restricted nature of the plains in the area very little of agriculture is possible. The chief agricultural products are wheat and barley. The yearly revenue is not more than a lac of rupees. Along one bank of one of its rivers particles of gold are found (in the sand), but the gold is of inferior quality and is not worth more than seven rupees a *tola*. This form of gold washings annually yields nearly 2,000 *tolas*. Fruits of colder climates such as peaches, apricots, melons and grapes are produced in the country. They are sweet and of a good quality, and are all available in one season only. There is (also) a type of apple which is of a red colour both inside and outside.

In the 11th year, Zafar Khān⁴, in compliance with the orders, came with Abdāl, the ruler of Tibet, and did homage. In the 12th year he was removed from the Kashmir Šūba, and was appointed with Khān Daurān Nuṣrat Jang for the chastisement of the Hazāras⁵. In the 13th year he was attached⁶ to Prince Muḥammad Murād Bakhsh, who had been ordered to make his headquarters at Bhēra.

1 *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. ii, p. 17.

2 *Op. cit.*, pp. 281-286. Karaj of *Maāthir* is Karach in *Bādshāhnāma*. بیغناہ has been printed as بیغناں in the text.

3 *Op. cit.*, pp. 287, 288.

5 *Op. cit.*, p. 149.

4 *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p. 93.

6 *Op. cit.*, p. 181.

After that he was censured for some reason, and was without an office or fief for two years. In the end of the 14th year he was¹ reinstated, and in the 15th year, when it was reported that Tarbiyat Khān, Governor of Kashmīr in spite of definite injunctions and cash sent to him for the relief of the people—who were suffering from the effects of a famine that year—was not acting as he should have done, Zafar Khān was appointed to the governorship of Kashmīr² for the second time. In the 18th year when the glorious territory of Kashmīr was honoured by the visit of the Emperor, the latter one day went to the Zafarābād Garden, which Zafar Khān had laid out, and as a reward for the excellent treatment of the inhabitants of the area, which had resulted in their pacification, he was granted an increase of 1,000 horse in his rank. Later some incident resulted in his suspension from service for some time, but in the 25th year he was reinstated and granted the rank of 3,000 foot with 1,500 horse³. In the 26th year on the death of Sardār Khān he was appointed Governor of Tatta (Sindh), and as a result of an increase of 500 horse his rank became 3,000 foot with 2,000 horse⁴. When in the 29th year Sultān Sipihr Shikōh was appointed Governor of that province, the said Khān returned in the 30th year to the Court from Tatta. In the first battle against Dārā Shikōh he with 5,000 brave tried cavalry men was in charge of the left centre. Inasmuch as the Khān was not of an accommodating nature, and did not pay heed to the prevailing conditions, he was during Shāh Jahān's reign—which was the age for recognition of merit and hereditary claims—twice placed on the retired list. When the sovereignty came to Aurangzib, zeal and restless attention to duty became the order of the day, and regard and

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 241.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 282.

³ There is some mistake here as he already had the rank of 3,000 with 1,500 horse at the end of the 20th year, see *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p. 724. For his reinstatement see *'Amal Sālih*, III, p. 143.

⁴ *'Amal Sālih*, III, p. 154. The rank in the text is wrongly given as 3,000 with 3,000 horse.

claims were ignored. In the beginning of this reign he was granted an annual pension of Rs. 40,000. In the 6th year 1073 A.H. (1662-63 A.D.) he died at Lāhōrē, and was buried in his father's tomb.

It is stated that his personal appearance was very unattractive, and that he was very short statured. It is well known that one day it was mentioned in Emperor Shāh Jahān's presence that Khwāja Abūl Ḥasan drank water only once a day. Mullā Hifzī, who was present, remarked that Zafar Khān's short stature was to be attributed to this fact, and that he was a seed grown without water. But he was unique in intellect and right-thinking. At the time of Mahābat Khān's domination in Kābul he was a prominent partisan of Nūr Jahān Bēgam in the sagacious advice which led to the success of their¹ plan. He was not devoid of merit. During the reign of Emperor Jahāngīr it was a common saying that among the sons of the *Amīrs* there were four who excelled their fathers, *viz.*, Jahāngīr Quli Khān² son of Khān Ā'zam, Sa'ad Ullāh Khān son of Sa'īd Khān Chaghtāī, Zafar Khān³ son of Zain Khān, and the fourth was Zafar Khān son of Khwāja Abūl Ḥasan. Though the Khwāja was a Sunnī, Zafar Khān was a bigoted Shī'a. He used to give money to Irānians, and was specially generous and kind to poets. Eloquent men giving up their homes turned hopefully to him, and received such favours as they had hoped for. The most noted of the moderns, Mīrzā Sā'ib⁴ of Tabrīz, when he went from Irān to Kābul, was filled with admiration by his warm welcome and liberality, and lived in his company in India for a long time. Accordingly he has said:—

1 See *Iqbālnāma-i-Jahāngīrī*, pp. 265-279 and Beni Prasad, *History of Jahāngīr*, pp. 408-411.

2 *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, I, pp. 521, 525, Beveridge & Prashad's translation, I, pp. 229, 730.

3 *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, II, pp. 755, 756, translation *antea* pp. 1013, 1014.

4 See Rieu, *Cat. Persian Manuscripts in the British Museum*, I, p. 6939.

Verse

I Ṣā'ib have seen the Khān Khānān¹ in battle and banquet,

He is not the equal of Zafar Khān in generosity and courage.

Zafar Khān had made an album with a selection of the poems of every poet, who had been connected with him by ties of intimacy, written in their own handwriting, with the likeness (painting) of the poet on the back of the page. He also composed poems. This (verse) is his:—

Verse

With your merciful sword cut short this existence as fast as

you can!

Act before the Heavens render you powerless.

He was married to Buzurg Khānam, the daughter of Malikā Bānū—elder sister of Mumtāz Mahal—who was the wife of Saif Khān. Buzurg Khānam was the mother of Mīrzā Muhammad Tāhir², whose *nom-de-plume* was Āshnā, and who during Shāh Jahān's reign attained the rank of 1,500 and had the title of 'Ināyat Khān. He held superintendencies connected with the Presence (*Hudūr*), such as were reserved only for trustworthy houseborn ones. In the end of Shāh Jahān's reign he was appointed Superintendent of the Library. It is stated that the Emperor sent him to make enquiries about the character and ways of Sarmand³ Majdhūb (the Attracted) who used to go about naked. He came back and recited this verse:—

Verse

It is commonly surmised that Sarmand the naked works

miracles.

The only visible proof of these is the exhibition of his
private parts.

The son like the father was equally ignorant of worldly wisdom. He became a recluse³ in Kashmīr, and in the 6th year of Aurangzīb's

¹ The reference is probably to Mahābat Khān.

² See Rieu, *op. cit.*, p. 261, and Elliot's *History*, VII, p. 73.

³ Rieu, *op. cit.*, II, p. 547a.

reign an annual pension of Rs. 24,000 was assigned to him. In the year 1081 A.H.¹ (1670-71 A.D.) he died. He prepared an abridged account of the thirty years of Emperor Shāh Jahān's reign from *Bādshāhnāma*, and called it *Mulakh Khas*² (Abridgment). He was an adept in composition and correct use of words. He also composed a *Matiqnavī* and a *Diwān*. This (verse) is his:—

Verse

Rest consists in freedom from care!
Sleeping in shade gets over the road (of life).

ZĀHID KHĀN

(Vol. II, p. 370).

He was the son of Šādiq Khān³ of Herāt. In the 40th year of Akbar's reign he had reached the rank of 350. When his father died in the Deccan, he in the 47th year came⁴ to the Court, and was employed there. In the 49th year he was exalted by an increase in his rank and the title of Khān⁵. After the accession of Jahāngīr to the throne he was promoted to the rank of 2,000⁶. Later he was deputed with a force to chastise Rāo Dalpat, Bhūrith, and was commended for performing this service satisfactorily⁷.

1. 'Ālamgīrnāma, p. 822.

2. See Rieu, *op. cit.*, I, p. 261 and Banarsi Prasad Saksena, *History of Shabzahan*, pp. vi, vii.

3. See Blochmann, *A'īn*, I (2nd end.), pp. 382-384. He died in the 42nd year, *vide Akbarnāma*, III, Text, p. 720, Beveridge's translation, III, p. 1074.

4. *Akbarnāma*, III, Text, p. 805, translation, p. 1209.

5. *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 826, translation, p. 1239. Beveridge's note that he was given the title of Šādiq Khān is incorrect, as he was known as Zāhid Khān in Emperor Jahāngīr's time.

6. Rogers & Beveridge's translation of *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīr*, I, p. 17. On p. 46, however, it is again recorded that he was promoted from the rank of 1,500 to that of 2,000.

7. *Op. cit.*, p. 84. The name there is Dalip son of Rāi Rāi Singh.

ZĀHID KHAN KŌKA

(Vol. II, pp. 370-372).

His mother was Hūrī Khānan nurse of Bēgam Sāhib¹, the eldest daughter of Emperor Shāh Jahān. In the 13th year he was appointed *Faujdār*² of Miyān Dūāb in succession to Nūr-ud-Daulah. In the 14th year he was exalted by the grant of the title of Khān, and promoted to the rank of 1,000 with 1,000 horse, and was deputed to the Deccan. In the 15th year he returned to the Court with Prince Muhammād Aurangzib Bahādur. In the 17th year his rank was increased to 1,500³ with 1,000 horse. Later he had an increase of 500 with 200 horse, and made *Qarāwalbēg*⁴. In the 18th year on the occasion of the feast at the recovery of the Bēgam Sāhib—who as a result of burns was ill for a long time—he received a robe of honour, a jewelled dagger, a standard and an elephant, and was promoted to the rank of 2,000 with 1,500 horse⁵. Afterwards he was appointed to the high office of *Qushbēgi* (Chief Falconer). In the 19th year, on 24th Rajab 1055 A.H. (5th September, 1645 A.D.) he had a severe illness. Though Ḥakīm Dāūd Taqarrab Khān wanted to bleed him, he would not agree⁶, and died.

It is stated that he led an unrestrained life of pleasure, and was very outspoken in his talks. One day Bēgam Sāhib gave him a recommendation and sent him to one of the princes. The Prince sent

¹ Jahān Arā Bēgam, for her life see Beale, *Oriental Biographical Dictionary* (1894 edn.), pp. 189, 190, also see Irvine, *Storia do Mogor*, I, p. 217, note 2. Her dress caught fire in the 17th year on 27th Muḥarram 1054 A.H. (6th March, 1644 A.D., not 26th March as stated in Beale), see *Bādsbāhnāma*, II, pp. 363-369.

² *Bādsbāhnāma*, II, p. 201.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 351.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 376.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 399.

⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 434. There it is also noted that his mother Hūrī Bēgam was the nurse of the Bēgam Sāhib. His eldest son Faḍūl Ullāh Khān who was 10 years of age was after his father's death granted the rank of 1,000 with 400 horse.

for him, and said that the Bēgam Sāhib had recommended him, and that, God willing, he would endeavour to promote his advancement. He said in reply that the lame and the blind wanted recommendations. He was free from these faults. If the Prince thought him worthy of advancement, he might do so, otherwise it did not matter. But he was not fickle in his friendships. One of his sons was Fāid Ullāh Khān whose account¹ has been included separately. The other was Muḥammad ‘Abid, who in the 13th year of Aurangzib's reign had the rank of 1,500 with 300 horse, and the title of Nawāzish Khān².

ZAIN KHĀN KŌKA³

(Vol. II, pp. 362-370).

Zain Khān's mother was Pīcha⁴ Jān Anaga, one of the nurses of Emperor Akbar. His father was Khwāja Maqṣūd⁵ ‘Alī of Herāt, who was a pure-hearted, loyal and honest servant of Maryam Makānī, and was always in attendance near the *howdah* (of her elephant) during the journey to Irān as a devoted servant. Emperor Akbar had the daughter⁶ of his brother Khwāja Hasan—who was the uncle of Zain

¹ *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, III, pp. 28-30, Beveridge's translation, I, pp. 512, 513.

² *Maāthir-i-‘Alamgīrī*, pp. 97, 98.

³ Blochmann, *A’īn*, I (2nd edn.), pp. 367, 369. In the *Maāthir* account above his rank is given as 5,000, but Blochmann lists him as the first officer of the rank of 5,500. In *Tabaqāt*, De's translation of Vol. III, p. 659 his rank is given as 5,000.

⁴ Pīja Jān Anaga in *Akbarnāma*, I, Text, p. 44, Beveridge's translation, I, p. 131.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 222, translation, p. 448, where he is included as No. 7 in the list of officers who “served the State during their exile.” In Bāyazīd (Hidayat Hosain edn. 1941), p. 178, he is included among those accompanied on his return from Persia, and referred to as the *Divān* of Kāmrān.

⁶ Her name was Sāhib Jamāl, see Rogers & Beveridge's translation of *Memoirs of Jahāngīr*, I, pp. 18, 19. Parviz was born at Kābul, *vide Akbarnāma*, III, Text, p. 568, translation, p. 859.

Khān—married to Prince Sultān Salīm, and in the year 997 A.H. (October, 1589) she gave birth to Prince Parvīz. When in the 30th year Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm died at Kabul Emperor Akbar, after crossing the Indus enroute to Zābulistān (Afghanistan), sent Zain Khān—who had attained the rank of 2,500¹—to punish the Yūsufzāīs², and to conquer Swāt and Bajaur. The Yusufzāīs formerly lived in Qarābāgh and Qandahār, and later after moving over from those areas to Kābul began to cause disturbances there. Mīrzā Ulugh Beg Kābulī cleverly exterminated most of them, and those who escaped found refuge in Lamghānāt, and later moved over to Hashtnagar³. For nearly one hundred years they had practised highway robberies and turbulence in Swāt and Bajaur.

In this territory there was another tribe known as the Sultānī⁴, and who claimed descent from a daughter of Sultān Sikandar (Alexander the Great). The Yusufzāīs began by being very useful to this tribe but later disloyally and craftily took possession of their choice areas. Some remnants of the former tribe lived in the defiles in poverty, but from love of their native land did not migrate elsewhere. Earlier when Emperor Akbar came to the country to chastise Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥakīm, the headmen of the tribe (Yusufzāīs) waited on him. One of them Kālū, who was treated with favour, later fled from Āgra. Khwāja Shams-ud-Dīn Khwāfī seized him near Attock and sent him to the Court. Instead of being punished he was treated with favour, but he again ran away to his native country, and he became the leader of seditious elements in the country.

Zain Khān Kōka first went to Bajaur, to the south of which lies Peshāwar and to the west the *Parganas* of Kābul. Its length is 25 *kos* and breadth 5-10 *kos*. 30,000 families lived there. He punished

¹ *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, p. 457, translation, p. 687.

² According to Vincent Smith *Akbar The Great Mogul* (1919), p. 237, note, Yūsufzāī is the correct form.

³ *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 475, translation, pp. 715, 716. In the text it is Sawād in place of Swāt and Astaghār in place of Hashtnagar.

⁴ *Loc. cit.*, translation, p. 716, note 2.

many of them. Ghāzī Khān, Mīrzā ‘Alī and other leaders of this tribe submitted and the thornbush of disturbance was uprooted. Later he proceeded to the hill country of Swāt. After several battles the enemy fled. He established a fort at Chakdara which is situated in the middle of the country. He was victorious 23 times, and destroyed seven entrenchments (*sangar*). Except for the pass of Karākar and the country of Būnēr the whole of the area was conquered¹.

As the soldiery were tired of constant hill climbings, Zain Khān asked for reinforcements. Emperor Akbar deputed Rāja Birbar and Hakim Abūl Fath one after the other. When they joined Kōkaltāsh, they on account of old rivalries did not agree, and there were dissensions. During consultations Zain Khān said, "Let the fresh troops march to chastise the rebels, and I will safeguard the central area. Or you should remain at Chakdara and I shall attend to the punishment of the hill men". The Rāja and the Hakim replied, "The orders are to attack the country and not to guard it. When we all have punished them, we are to return to the Presence." The Kōka retorted, "How can we give up a country which has been gained after so much fighting. If you are not agreeable to either of my proposals, you may return by the way you came." They did not listen to him, and started off by the route of Karākar pass which is full of heights and hollows. The Kōka, through an ill-timed complaisance lest these courtiers should make an adverse report and so displease the Emperor, put aside his leadership². In every ravine there was a fight, and the equipment was plundered.

¹ Adapted from *Akbarnāma*, III, Text, pp. 481, 482, translation, pp. 726, 727. Pūnair in the text instead of Būnēr. In *Akbarnāma* it is 40,000 families instead of 30,000 of *Maāthir*.

² For detailed account see *Akbarnāma*, III, Text, pp. 482, 483, translation, pp. 727-729. Karākar or Karikar pass is E.S.E. of Chakdara, see p. 729, note 2. Vincent Smith in *Akbar: The Great Mogul* (1919), following Raverty, adds that the "retirement through Karakar Pass, which had been ill managed, was grievously harassed by the tribesmen; but after passing the crest of the Malandarai Pass further south the retirement became a rout". Nearly

When they reached the pass of Malanadī, Kōkaltāsh was in the rear. The Afghāns pressed forward and he was forced to fight. The Afghāns shot arrows and threw stones from all sides. The men became bewildered and rushed down the hills. In the mêlée horses and elephants getting mixed up stumbled, and a great number were killed. Kōkaltāsh was for sacrificing his life, but Jānish Bahādur seized his rein and turned him back. After wandering for a time he had to dismount, and reached the camp on foot. As the report became current that the Afghāns were in pursuit, the march became disorderly, and in the dark men left the path and got into defiles. Although the Afghāns had halted to divide the booty, on the following day those, who had lost their way, were killed. The Rāja and many persons of note to the number of 500 lost their lives through losing their way¹.

In the 31st year Kōkaltāsh was deputed to chastise the Mohmand and Ghōrī tribes near Peshāwar. They had made Jalāl-ud-Dīn Raushānī as their leader, and were creating disturbances in Tirāh and Khaibar. He distinguished himself in carrying out this mission. In the 32nd year he was appointed Governor of Zābulistān in succession to Rāja Mān Singh. In the 33rd year he was reappointed to chastise the Yusufzais. He began by moving over to Bajaur, and by continuing fighting for eight months killed a large number of them. The survivors were forced to submit. Kōkaltāsh resolved to take Swāt. First he came to the bank of the river Pachkōra which is the boundary of the country, and after erecting a strong fort there waited. The enemy were busy celebrating the 'Id Qurban. The Kōka rushed to Swāt by a secret road. The Afghāns becoming bewildered retired into by-paths and that area was conquered. He built forts at all key-

8,000 imperials including Birbal, or Birbār as he calls him, were killed, p. 235.
see also his valuable sketch map of the campaign facing page 235.

² See *Akbarnāma*, III, Text, pp. 484, 485, translation, pp. 730-732. On the last page are given the names of some of the officers who lost their lives in the battle. See also note 1 on p. 731 in which Beveridge discusses all relevant literature on the subject.

points, and left contingents to guard¹ them. In the 35th year Zain Khān was appointed to punish the *Zamīndārs* of the northern hills. He started from near Pathan (Pathānkōt) and went on to near river Sutlej. All the inhabitants submitted. (These included) Rāja Bidhī Chand from Nagarkōt, Rāja Paras Rām from the Jammū hills, Rāja Bāsū from Māu, Rāja Anrudah from Jaswal?, Rāja of Kahlūr, Rāja Jagish Chand from Dāhwāl?, Rāī Sansār Chand from Pauna (Punch?), Rāī Pratāp from Mānkōt, Rāī Bāsū from Jasrötta, Rāī Balbadhar from Lakhānpūr (Lakhnūr), Daulat from Kōt (Sharkōt) Bharta, Rāī Krishan from Balāwāri, and Rāī Rāo Udiya of Dhamrīwāl. Although their cavalry was limited to 10,000, their infantry was more than 100,000. They came to the Court with the Kōka and presenting a large tribute did homage². In the 36th year Kōkaltāsh was raised to the high rank of 4,000 and granted a drum³. In the 37th year, when Zain Khān was deputed to guard the other side of the Indus up to the Hindu Kōh (Hindukush mountain), he marched from Swāt and Bajaur to Tīrāh. The Afrīdīs and Orakzāis submitted and Jalāla retreated into the land of the Kāfirs (Chitral). The Kōka pursued him there. As Wahadat 'Alī the son-in-law of Jalāla, with the help of the Yusufzāis had taken the fort of Kanshān and portions of the territory of the Kāfirs, Kōkaltāsh addressed himself to extirpate him. A force proceeded to the hill country which is the seat of the officer (*Dārōgha nishīn*) of the ruler of Kāshgħar (Chitral), and took many prisoners. The leaders of the Kāfirs also allied themselves with his forces and helped in putting down the Afghāns. Some went to Chughānsarā in Badakhshān, but did not withhold from the pursuit, and the Yusufzāis were thus forced to come to his side, and the fort of Kanshān and many other places were taken possession

¹ *Akbarnāma*, III, Text, pp. 510, 532, translation, pp. 777, 778, 810, 811. The best account of the Yusufzai campaign is by Raverty, *Notes on Afghanistan* (1888), pp. 259-266.

² *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 583, translation, pp. 884, 885. The names of both persons and places are doubtful in several cases and do not agree with *Akbarnāma*.

³ *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 586, translation, p. 889.

of. The country up to the borders of Badakhshān and Kāshghar was¹ conquered. At the feast of the beginning of the 41st year his rank was increased² to 5,000.

As Qulīj Khān had not proved successful in the government of Kābul, that country in the same year was made over to the Kōka³. Also in this year Prince Sultān Salim fell in love with the daughter of Zain Khān, and determined to marry her. Emperor Akbar did not approve of this impropriety, but as the infatuation of the Prince was beyond all bounds, he permitted the marriage⁴, and it took place in 1004 A.H. (1596 A.D.). As Jalāl-ud-Dīn Raushānī, who was the root of all troubles in Kābul, had died, and the disturbances had ceased in Afghānistān, Zain Khān from Tīrāh was ordered to take up his quarters at Lāhōrē⁵. When Emperor Akbar returned from Burhānpūr to Āgra, he sent for him. Elated by his successes he had fallen into drinking habits. He gave these up to some extent after he was sent for. His illness increased, and his eyesight and heart gradually failed till he died⁶ in 1010 A.H. (1601 A.D.). It is stated that Emperor Akbar entertained a dislike for him owing to his part in the catastrophe of the death of Birbar. His dislike was further increased when later Zain Khān sent a large contingent of horses to Prince Sultān Salim who was living in Allāhbād and cherishing evil designs. He died about this time.

Zain Khān was fond of Hindī poetry and music. He could play several instruments. He also composed poems. This (verse) is his:—

The crookedly moving Universe leaves me on chance⁷,
So that I may insert the thread of success (*murād*) in the needle.

1 *Op. cit.*, Text, pp. 640, 641, translation, pp. 983, 984.

2 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 701, translation, p. 1049.

3 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 720, translation, p. 1073.

4 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 710, translation, p. 1058, and note 3 in which Beveridge has discussed the reasons for Akbar's objections to the marriage.

5 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 795, translation, p. 1192.

6 *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 757, translation, p. 1194.

7 *Muntakhab-ut-Tawārikh*, III, Text, p. 236. Haig's translation, p. 327.

It is stated that he entertained the Emperor at his house on such a magnificent scale that it astonished everyone. He covered a terrace (*chabūtra*) with *tūs* (goat's hair) shawls—which were very rare in those days—and in front had three tanks, one filled with rose water of Yazd, another coloured with saffron, and the third with Argaja, and put into them troops of dancing girls and singers (*tawā'if*) who were more than 1,000 in number. He caused streams of milk and sugar mixed to flow, and sprinkled rose-water in place of water in the courtyard (to allay the dust). He filled baskets with jewels and decorated vessels, and presented these as a *pēshkash* along with noted elephants. It is stated that at this time Zain Khān was famous for the number of elephants, Qulij¹ Khān for his horses, and Sa'īd² Khān for his eunuchs.

DHAKRIYĀ KHĀN BAHĀDUR HIZBAR JANG

(Vol. II, pp. 106, 107).

He was the son of Saif-ud-Daulah 'Abd-us-Şamad Khān³, whose account has been included in this work. In his father's lifetime he succeeded him as the Governor of Lāhōrē⁴. His good administration and justice are well known⁵. After his father's death the governorship of Multān was also assigned to him, and he distinguished himself by two victories⁶ in the Lāhōrē territory. One was over Jang Panāh of the Bhatī caste, who was a sedition-monger and held sway from

1 See Blochmann, *A'in*, I (2nd edn.), pp. 380-382, *Maāthir-ul-Umarā* Text, III, pp. 69-74, translation, *antea*, pp. 534-539.

2 See Blochmann, *A'in*, I (2nd edn.), pp. 351, 352, and *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, II, pp. 403-408, translation, *antea* pp. 679-682.

3 *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, II, pp. 514-517, Beveridge's translation, I, pp. 71-73.

4 In the 7th year of Emperor Muhammād Shāh's reign, see his father's biography cited above.

5 Elliot's *History*, VIII, p. 344, and Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *Fall of Mughal Empire*, I, p. 190.

6 See Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 190.

Hasan Abdāl to the banks of the Rāvī. Dhakriyā Khān deputed a force under his officer Rāja Kōrā Mal, who captured him and put him to death. The second was Jang Mīr Mār Zamīndār who practised highway robberies and plundering between Lāhōre and the river Sutlej. He sent Qazāq Beg Khān with a force against him. The latter after a fight captured him and he was hung on the gallows. On Nādir Shāh's arrival as he could not resist him; he submitted and accepting service under him helped in maintaining order¹. At the time of Nādir Shāh's return the latter offered to grant him a favour. He begged for the release of the prisoners in the camp². In accordance with his request army police (*Nasqchibā*)³ were appointed and the Delhi prisoners were released. In 1152 A.H. (1739 A.D.) he in compliance with Nādir Shāh's summons hurried to the province of Sindh, and in 1158 A.H. (1745 A.D.) he died. His elder son was Mīr Yahiyā Khān who eventually became a dervish. His second son Mīrzā Pahlwārī Hayāt Ullāh Khān, whom Nādir Shāh gave the title of Shāh Nawāz Khān, was in Multān. He fought against Mu'in-ul-Mulk Mīr Mannū son of I'timād-ud-Daulah Qamar-ud-Dīn, Governor of Lāhōre, and lost his life⁴. His third son Khwāja Bāqī Khān, who recently came to the Court of Niżām-ud-Daulah Aṣaf Jāh, received the title of I'zz-ud-Daulah Hizbar Jang, and is in his service. He is known to the writer of these pages.

DHŪLFIQĀR KHĀN

(Vol. II, pp. 89-93).

(His name was) Muḥammad Beg, and he was the chief attendant of Aurangzib when he was a prince. Later he was promoted to the post of the superintendent of the artillery. When his forces moved

1 Irvine, *Later Mughals*, II, pp. 325, 326, 331, 332.

2 *Op. cit.*, p. 376.

3 Irvine, *Army of the Indian Moghuls*, p. 227.

4 For an account of the civil war between Dhakriyā Khān's sons see Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *op. cit.*, pp. 193-196.

from Burhānpūr for Upper India to contest the kingdom, Muḥammad Bēg was exalted with the title of Dhūlīqār Khān¹. In all the battles and fighting he was pre-eminent, and bravely carried the standards in the vanguard. In the battle with Mahārāja Jasvant Singh, when the leading Rājpūt chiefs fiercely attacked Aurangzib's artillery, and in the fight against these brave men who were in large numbers, Murshid Qulī Khān the head of the artillery, bravely sacrificed his life. Dhūlīqār Khān following the custom of the gallant warriors of India—that when the battle becomes critical they dismount from their horses and are prepared even to sacrifice their lives—got down from his horse, and with a few men firmly held his ground. He gathered the flowers of a number of wounds from the branches of courage. The undaunted Rājpūts left him and attacked the vanguard, and in this way his life was saved². On the day of the battle with Dārā Shikoh, when the latter contrary to the rules of the tacticians dispersed the order of the troops, and passing the artillery advanced, the left and right wings of the two sides became confused, and many of his leading men were slain. Dhūlīqār Khān perceiving that it was time to render assistance spurred on his brave horse, and fell on the enemy's centre. Owing to the extreme heat of the wind—which was blowing very hard—many lost their lives without being touched by an arm or a lance. Dārā Shikoh fled. In this engagement also Dhūlīqār Khān was wounded³. Later, after Aurangzib encamped in the vicinity of the Capital (Āgra), letters and messages urging his earnest desire for an interview and urgent summons on the part of Emperor Shāh Jahān were followed by profession for paying his respects, but offering excuses on the side of Aurangzib. On account of evil suspicions Muḥammad Aurangzib

1 'Ālamgīrnāma, p. 51. On p. 62 it is noted that he was an old servant of the Prince.

2 The account of his part in the battle against Mahārāja Jaswant Singh at Dharmat is taken verbatim from 'Ālamgīrnāma, pp. 66-68.

3 For a detailed account of the battle of Samūgarh see Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, I, pp. 388-405. Dhūlīqār Khān's receiving some wounds is mentioned in 'Ālamgīrnāma, p. 74.

Bahādur could not agree to have an interview with his father. Emperor Shāh Jahān set about strengthening the fortifications of the fort, and thus the veil was lifted all at once. By Aurangzib's order Dhūlfiqār Khān and Bahādur Khān came at night to the foot of the fort with the intention of laying a siege. They saw that it would be impossible to reduce it owing to the strength of the fortifications, and took shelter under the wall and in the trees. There was firing from both sides, and although the garrison were prepared bravely to defend the fort, the *Amirs* and officials out of timidity and faithlessness deserted by the wicket gate¹ leading to the river, and thus gave a proof of their disloyalty and perfidy. Emperor Shāh Jahān witnessing this proof of the discordance of Time, again sent Fādil Khān with a letter written by his own hand. The purport was that the wholly unexpected had come to pass. Aurangzib, however, should not shut his eyes to the claims of paternity and breeding and not do anything treacherous to a sovereignty of long standing the glory of which was celebrated throughout the world. The Prince wrote back in reply that he was always steady in the path of obedience, but the catastrophe that had happened through Eternal Will had made him suspicious, and he had not the courage to wait on his father. But if the latter would be gracious, and commit the charge of the defence of exit and entry to the fort to his men, he would come and pay his respects. Though the act was far from judicious, yet being overcome by Fate the Emperor agreed². On the 15th of Ramadān³ 1068 A.H. (6th

¹ This must be "the water gate, near the centre of the river front," and "seems to have given access to the enclosure south of the Muthaman Burj, or octagonal tower", see M. Ashraf Husain's *Historical Guide to the Agra Fort*, (Delhi, 1937), p. 4.

² For an account of the negotiations between Shāh Jahān and Aurangzib and the subsequent siege of the Agra fort see Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *loc. cit.*, pp. 412-422.

³ The date is 17th Ramadān in Khāfi Khān, II, p. 32. This appears to be more correct and would be nearer 8th June (according to Old Style) as given by Sir Jadunath, *loc. cit.*, p. 422. Irvine also gives 17th as the date.

June, 1658 A.D.) Sultān Muḥammad and Dhūlīqār Khān entered the fort, and taking possession of the gates turned out the Emperor's men. On the 21st of the same month—when three months and some days of the 32nd year of the reign had elapsed¹—the Emperor was deprived of all power, and degraded from his exalted position. Dhūlīqār Khān, who in loyalty and devotion was the foremost of Aurangzīb's servants, was raised to the rank of 4,000 with 2,000 horse, granted a drum and Rs. 60,000 in cash, and appointed to the charge of Emperor Shāh Jahān and the fort. When Aurangzīb's forces started from Delhī to confront Shujā', Dhūlīqār Khān in accordance with the orders² left the fort in charge of Ra'dandāz Khān, and taking a *kror* of rupees and some *ashrafis* (gold coins) from the royal treasury left with the artillery and his own force for Allāhābād, and joined Prince Sultān Muḥammad who had hurried forward with the advance troops. After the signal defeat and utter rout of the forces of Shujā', of which large numbers were killed, Dhūlīqār Khān with Mu'zzam Khān in the company of Prince Sultān Muḥammad was deputed³ to the pursuit of Shujā' who had taken to flight. They in company with the Commander-in-Chief kept in close pursuit of Shujā' and did not allow him to settle or rest anywhere till he was forced to leave Tānda which he had made his headquarters and left for Jahāngirnagar (Dācca).

During the period Dhūlīqār Khān had been suffering from cold fits, and the disease had taken such a hold, that owing to the severe nature of the fits and their effects he was unable to ride and accompany the victorious troops. Consequently at his request he was recalled to the Court, and leaving Mu'zzam Khān he went to Mu'zzamnagar. From there he started for the Court, but his illness became worse during the journey, and in the month of Sha'bān at the end

¹ From 8th Jummāda II, 1037 A.H. (14th February, 1628 A.D.) to 21st Ramadān, 1068 A.H. (22nd June, 1658 A.D.) the period is 31 lunar years, 3 months and 14 days, or 30 years four months and four days according to the solar reckoning, see Irvine in *Storia do Mogor*, I, p. 294, note 1.

² 'Ālamgīrnāma, p. 234.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 269.

of the 2nd year 1070 A.H. (1660 A.D.) he died after reaching Āgra¹. He had no son. After his death, in the 3rd year, his son-in-law Muḥammad Amin Beg came from Irān, and entered royal service, and received favours at the hands of the Emperor².

DHŪLFIQĀR KHĀN NUṢRAT JANG

(Vol. II, pp. 93-106).

His name was Muḥammad Ismā'īl, and he was the son of Asad Khān³ Āṣaf-ud-Daulah. His mother was Mihr-un-Nisā Begam, daughter of Āṣaf⁴ Khān Yamin-ud-Daulah, and he was born in 1067 A.H. (1657 A.D.). The chronogram is:

Ze Burj Asad rū namūd Āftāb

(The Sun appeared from the house of Leo: 1067).

In the 11th year of Emperor Aurangzib's reign he was appointed⁵ to the rank of 300, and in the 20th year he married the daughter of Shāista Khān Amīr-ul-Umarā, and was granted an increase in rank and the title I'tiqād Khān⁶. In the beginning of the 25th year when the royal standards left Ajmēr for the Deccan, and Asad Khān Jumlat-ul-Mulk was left in Ajmēr with Sultān Muḥammad 'Azīm, I'tiqād Khān⁷ was also appointed to the Deccan. On the 13th Dhul Qa'da he rushed against the turbulent Rāthōrs, who had gathered in Mairtha and were creating a disturbance, and fought a severe engagement. He put to the sword five hundred of the enemy including Sōtak and Sānwal Dās, and other leading officers of the deceased Mahārāja Jasvant who were the fountain heads of all the disturbances. He was reward-

1 *Op. cit.*, p. 479.

2 *Op. cit.*, p. 567.

3 *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, I, pp. 310-321, Beveridge's translation, I, pp. 270-279.

4 *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, I, pp. 151-160,

5 *Maāthir-i-Ālamgiri*, p. 71.

6 *Op. cit.*, p. 158.

7 *Op. cit.*, p. 213.

ed by an increase in his rank.¹ In the 30th year he was appointed Superintendent of the *Ghusul Khāna*² in succession to Kāmgār Khān. Before the capture of Sambhā (Sambhājī) he was deputed to capture the fortress of Rāhērī (Rairi) the abode of Sambhā's family. On 15th Muḥarram 1101 A.H. (19th October, 1689 A.D.) he captured that great fort and took as prisoners Sambhā's sons, his family consisting of his mother and daughter and many of his chief followers. The Emperor rewarded him by increasing his rank to 3,000 foot with 2,000 horse, and the grant of the title of Dhūlfiqār Khān³. In the 35th year as a reward for the capture of the fort of Nirmal he was promoted to the rank of 4,000⁴. After that he was deputed to the expedition of Chenchī (Gingēe⁵) fort, where Rāma (Rāja Rām), the brother of Sambhā had gone, and collected more than 100,000 horse and foot. The resolute Khān proceeded there rapidly and invested the fort, but owing to the scarcity of provisions, and the large numbers of bandits (Marathas) he could not maintain his position, and moved to a place 12 *kos* distant. Prince Kām Baksh and Jumlat-ul-Mulk were sent with reinforcements. Dhūlfiqār Khān went forward

¹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 214, 215. The date of attack was 13th Dhul Qa'da 1092 A.H., 24th November, 1681 A.D. He was as a reward granted an increase of 500 in his rank.

² His appointment as Superintendent of the *Ghusul Khāna* is mentioned on p. 297 of the *Maāthir-i-Ālamgiri*, the expedition against Sambhājī is recorded on p. 282.

³ *Op. cit.*, pp. 331, 332. The name of the fort is given as Rairi, later known as Rāygaḍ, see Kincaid & Parasnis, *History of the Maratha People*; the capture of the fort is described on pp. 154-156 of the same work, but the date is given as October 19, 1689, apparently according to the Old Style.

⁴ *Maāthir-i-Ālamgiri*, p. 345, where his rank after promotion is given as 4,000 with 2,500 horse. Is this Nirmal the town in Haidarabad State on the north bank of the Gōdāvari almost midway between Nāgpur and Hāidārābād?

⁵ In the text it is always چنچی Chenchī, which is the same as Gingēe of the *Imperial Gazetteer*, Gingi or Chenji in Thornton's Gazetteer and Jinji of Grant Duff and Kincaid & Parasnis.

The Text also has Rāma or Rām Rāja for Rāja Rām son of Shivāji, and the second founder of the Maratha Empire.

and welcomed the Prince. But the disagreement and annoyance between the Prince and Jumlat-ul-Mulk increased to such an extent that the Prince to spite Jumlat-ul-Mulk sent secret messages to Rāja Rām, and wanted to go into the fort. Jumlat-ul-Mulk making sure of the co-operation of other officers placed the Prince under arrest. Dhūlfiqār Khān at once withdrew the advance posts (*Thānādārs*) which were investing the fort, and summoned them to his camp. The enemy becoming encouraged sallied forth. Asad Khān looked after the Prince and the camp, and Dhūlfiqār Khān remained at the batteries to arrange for the removal of the guns and the paraphernalia of the siege. The Marathas fell upon Ismā'il Khān Makhā—who was posted behind the fort—and wounded him and made him a prisoner. A great confusion resulted, and Dhūlfiqār Khān was forced to spike the heavy guns, and retire to his base camp. Rāja Rām and Santājī Ghōrpara attacked him in full force, and there was a great fight. The brave Khān did not have more than 2,000 troopers with him, but he stood firm, and behaved with great courage and bravery. Few of the officers, who were prepared to sacrifice their lives for the sake of their honour, escaped without wounds. At last the enemy was driven off, and he returned a victor to his base.

After Asad Khān's departure for the Court with the Prince there were several fights between Dhūlfiqār Khān and Rāja Rām. Every time the lucky Khān was victorious. As later, however, there was a scarcity of corn in the area, a kind of peace was arranged, and Dhūlfiqār Khān retired to the imperial territory. After an interval of four months he renewed the siege of the fort, and hard-pressed the enemy. In the 39th year he was promoted to the rank of 5,000 foot with 4,000 horse, and favoured with the grant of the title of Nuṣrat Jang. On 6th Sha'bān, 1109 A.H. (7th February, 1698 A.D.) in the 41st year he captured the great fort of Gingē by bravely and undauntedly pressing the siege. Gingē consists of seven forts built on lofty hills, and was superior to all other forts of the area both in regard to its fortifications and the means of defence. It received the name of Nuṣratgarh. The chronogram is *Qil'a Chenchī maftūh-shud* (The fortress of Chin-

chi is conquered: 1109). Rāja Rām was so intimidated by the great dash of the victorious general that he left behind his wife and children, and fled in confusion. One hundred forts, large and small *i.e.* the territory of the Karnātik (Carnatic) with several ports of the Europeans were added to the imperial territory. Powerful *Zamindārs* submitted to his authority, and sent suitable tributes. Nuṣrat Jang's rank by an increase of 1,000 horse was raised to 5,000 with 5,000 horse¹. In the 46th year on the death of Bahramand Khān he was appointed to the high post of *Mir Bakhsbi*². He was, however, always engaged in chastising the Marathas, and recovering the lost territories in the Deccan. In the 49th year when the siege of Wāgingēra, known as Rahmān Bakhsh,³ was prolonged, and Pidiyā (Piria in text) Nā'ik the commandant of the fort offering great resistance asked the Marathas to come to his help, and they plundered the adjoining areas and the neighbourhood of the Camp, Dhūlfiqār Khān was hastily recalled to the Court. It is stated that when he arrived near the Court, the Emperor wrote with his own hands: "O Guardian Angel of the helpless, come quickly." In fact, through his energy and heroic efforts the face of victory was soon revealed, and as a result of this achievement the forces, which owing

1 The account is based mainly on *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgiri*, pp. 339, 344, 352, 353, 355-359, 390-392. The change of the name of the fort from Gingēe to Nuṣratgarh and the promotion of Dhūlfiqār Khān to the rank of 5,000 with 5,000 horse are recorded on p. 392.

For the Gingee campaign see Kincaid & Parasnis, *op cit.*, pp. 159-168. The date of the fall of Gingee is given there as January, 1698. A very detailed account has been published by Sir Jadunath Sarkar in *History of Aurangzib*, V, pp. 73-109. His note on p. 108 in regard to the date of capture of the fort is of special interest. Also see *Cambridge History of India*, IV, p. 293, where the date is given as 18th January, 1698, and this would be correct, if Rajab is read for Sha'bān as given in *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgiri*, p. 391.

2 *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgiri*, p. 461.

3 The new name of Wāgingēra is given as Rahmān Bakhsh Khēra in *Maāthir-i-'Ālamgiri*, p. 506. The campaign against Pidiyā is described in the earlier pages.

to constant fighting and opposition had reached their tether, were relieved. Young and old all extolled the great achievements of Nuṣrat Jang.

One of Emperor Aurangzib's confidants at the instance of some perverse people represented to him that all men of the camp were constantly repeating that there was no victory save from 'Alī and no sword except of Dhūlfiqār. As Emperor Aurangzib was disposed to be malicious and uncharitable, he to spite Dhūlfiqār Khān granted increased allowances to the Tūrānī officials, and to him he only granted a sword and robe of honour, and deputed him to capture certain forts and chastise the Marathas. At last he reached the rank of 6,000 foot with 6,000 horse. After Aurangzib's death Prince Muḥammad Ā'zam Shāh honoured him by confirming him in the office of the *Mir Bakhsbī*, and appointed him to the vanguard with Prince Bīdār Bakht who was the leader of his father's vanguard. But in this battle Dhūlfiqār Khān did not exert himself; rather he was more concerned about himself and was sluggish. When the Prince and most of the leaders were killed, Dhūlfiqār Khān, who had received a slight arrow wound on his lip, realizing that the day was lost, left the battle-field with a party of men and hurried away to his father at Gwālior¹.

It is stated that at this time he sent a message to Muḥammad Ā'zam Shāh to the effect that such misfortunes had happened previously also. Wise generals do not neglect opportunities. The Prince should withdraw, and consider the best way of repairing the defeat. The lion-hearted Prince got angry and said, "Your heroism has been tested. Go wherever you like to save your life. I shall not desert the battlefield." Later, Bahādur Shāh, who was a compact of kindness and generosity, showed extraordinary favours and kindness to Dhūlfiqār Khān, and promoting him to the rank of 7,000 foot with 7,000 horse, honoured him with the title of Samsām-ud-Daulah Amir-ul-Umarā Bahādur Nuṣrat Jang, and added the governorship of Deccan to his appointment as the *Bakhsbī*².

¹ For his flight from Jajau see Irvine, *Later Mughals*, I, p. 30 and notes.

² Irvine, *op cit.*, pp. 37, 39.

Verse

Good God! What grace and kindness is this!

His graciousness makes criminals (*mujrimān*) courtiers

(*muhtaram*).

As Dhūlfiqār Khān had of old been on terms of rivalry and enmity with Mu‘im Khān Khānān, he was always plotting against him. Although Khān Khānān was a prudent and patient man, and in spite of Dhūlfiqār Khān's actions did not ignore all old claims, but he was forced by his injudicious actions to transfer Khāndesh and Pāyānghāt, Berār, from the Deccan in accordance with the arrangements decided on after the first conquest, whereby the administration of these tracts was included in Upper India. After Khān Khānān's death a message was sent to Nuṣrat Jang offering him the post of the *Vazīr*. He wished that he should be allowed to retain all his old appointments in addition to the post of the *Vazīr*, and so prayed that *Vazīrship* may nominally be assigned to his father. The Emperor, out of extreme regard and restraint—which were natural and innate in him—and fully realizing that the combination of all these posts was impolitic, but to appease Dhūlfiqār Khān did not appoint anyone else as the *Vazīr*¹. After the death of Emperor Bahādur Shāh at Lāhōre, Dhūlfiqār Khān, realizing that ‘Azīm-ush-Shān was not friendly towards him, attached himself to Jahāndār Shāh, the eldest son of the late King, with whom he had formerly been on good terms. And having succeeded in making the other brothers favourable to Jahāndār Shāh, he fought against and defeated ‘Azīm-ush-Shān who in regard to the quantity of treasure and the number of soldiery and followers was far ahead of his brothers.

It is stated that Nuṣrat Jang by wiles and trickery, and by proposing a division of the territory made Rafī'-ush-Shān and Jahān Shāh to unite whole heartedly with Jahāndār Shāh. He also obtained from all three the confirmation of *Vazīrship* in his own name. He remarked that the uniting of three Kings was not strange, but one *Vazīr* for all three kingdoms was certainly extraordinary. When he had got rid of

1. Irvine, *op cit.*, p. 128.

'Azīm-ush-Shāh, who was either killed by trickery or was blown off by a cannon ball—for no trace of him was ever found—he began to negotiate with Jahān Shāh, who was the youngest brother, but was braver and more ambitious than the others. It has been stated that Jahān Shāh's well-wishers suggested to him to seize Dhūlfiqār Khān. The latter suspecting such a move kept away. At last the division of the territory could not be effected, and the matter ended in bloodshed. Jahān Shāh while the battle was in full swing attacked Mu'izz-ud-Dīn's centre and dispersed it. Upon this Lāl Kanwar, the mistress of Jahāndār Shāh without whom the latter could not live even for a moment fled to Lāhōrē, and Jahāndār Shāh himself took refuge in some stacks of bricks. Drums of Jahān Shāh's victory were beaten, and on this news the *Khuṭba* was recited in his name in distant centres. Suddenly a bullet struck Jahān Shāh and he was killed. Dhūlfiqār Khān, who in the van was busy in a battle of muskets and cannon, on hearing the news fell upon Jahān Shāh's force and dispersed it. He brought his corpse and that of his eldest son Farkhunda Akhtār—who in beauty and stature was like a glorious moon—before Jahāndār Shāh who with a few companions was waiting bewildered at the changes of fortune. In accordance with the necessity of time, for

Hemistich

No respite should be allowed to the enemy.

Dhūlfiqār Khān at the end of the same night turned his cannon upon Rafī'-ush-Shāh, who, ignorant of treachery and deceit, with his force was taking part in the battle. At dawn the battle took place, and that Timurid of noble descent strove his utmost, and at last with sword and shield leapt from his elephant, and fought until he was killed¹. When the God-granted Kingdom of India fell to the share of Jahāndār Shāh,

¹ Irvine, *op cit.*, pp. 160-185, for a detailed account of Dhūlfiqār Khān's intrigues etc. in favour of Jahāndār Shāh, and how he was able to get rid of all his brothers. His appointment as Prime Minister and promotion to the rank of 8,000 is noted on p. 188.

Dhūlfiqār Khān became the Prime Minister and managed all the affairs. But Kōkaltāsh Khān Khān Jahān—who had long held a place in the affections of Jahāndār Shāh, and was very influential in his Court—became his prominent opponent. The disagreements and disunion of the two upset the affairs of government, while the Emperor, who was infatuated with Lāl Kanwar, was entirely carried away by his success. He was mad and now began taking *bhang*. At first he was melancholic, and then became stupefied. He became so engrossed in drinking, listening to music, and in enjoyments of all kinds that he had no thought of himself. How then could he think of others?

Verse

Indulgence in drinking wine is the root of most evils.

Whoever takes to stronger beverages is bound to get worse.

As people are prone to imitate the disposition of their kings, so Dhūlfiqār Khān also left all affairs (of the State) to Sabhā Chand Khatri—who was unique in wickedness and mischief—and passed his time in pleasure and enjoyment.

Hemistich

As the King, so the Vazīr².

In Rabi' II they marched from Lāhore and reached Delhī the Capital, and immediately there was a glut of revelry in the city. Three or four months had not elapsed when the news of Farrukh Siyar's approach was announced by the dissentient heavens. It was decided to depute Prince A'zz-ud-Dīn under the guardianship and command of Khān Daurān Khwāja Husain, brother-in-law of Kōkaltāsh Khān to oppose him. Dhūlfiqār Khān was not agreeable to his leadership, for

¹ For Lāl Kanwar's influence over Jahāndār Shāh and the differences between Dhūlfiqār Khān and 'Alī Murād Kōkaltāsh Khān see Irvine, *op. cit.*, pp. 192-197.

he had never seen war and was quite alien to warfare, and remonstrated:—

Verse

Do not appoint anyone as the commander of an army,
Unless he has been through many battles.

But on account of the predominance of Kōkaltāsh Khān he was overruled. When Khān Daurān carried away by timidity and cowardice fled with the Prince to Āgra—as has been mentioned in the account of Kōkaltāsh Khān¹—Jahāndār Shāh marched with Dhūlfiqār Khān in the van at the head of 80,000 horse in the month of Dhul Qa'da to Samūgarh near Āgra. Farrukh Siyar with extremely inadequate equipment and very few men, in all not more than ten or twelve thousand horse, came and encamped on the other side of the Jamnā.

There a dispute arose between Dhūlfiqār Khān and Kōkaltāsh Khān² about crossing the river which was not fordable. One wanted to make a bridge, while the other remarked that the enemy would not be able to stand their ground on account of hunger and wretched circumstances, and would themselves disperse. Suddenly Farrukh Siyar crossed at a ford and on 13th Dhul Hijjah at the end of the day a battle took place. Dhūlfiqār Khān drew up the left wing with guns, a large force and all well known leaders. Husain 'Alī Khān Bārah came against him with cavalry, but his force was utterly routed by the artillery and musket charges. He fell wounded amongst the dead. But Saiyid 'Abdullāh Khān defeated Rađā Qulī Khān³ who was opposing him, and coming with a force put Jahāndār Shāh with the centre⁴ to flight. In spite of that Dhūlfiqār Khān beat the

¹ *Maathir-ul-Umarā*, Text, I, p. 818, Beveridge's translation, I, p. 197.

² See Irvine, *op. cit.*, pp. 219-236 for Jahāndār Shāh's march from Delhi, his defeat in the battle of Āgra and flight to Delī after the battle.

³ Rađī Khān in text is apparently a misprint for Rađā Qulī Khān.

⁴ Qūl in text or Ghōl is the centre where the commander was stationed, see Irvine, *Army of the Indian Moghuls*, p. 226.

drums of victory, and remained where he was till the first watch of the night searching for the Emperor. He often said, "Would that they may bring the Prince (A'zz-ud-Dīn) in order that I may with the support of authority disperse the enemy." As no trace of him could be found anywhere, Dhūlfiqār Khān consulted his comrades. Many suggested that he should march to the Deccan. The army of Dā'ūd Khān his deputy was there, and there was no lack of funds or army. But Sabhā Chand urged that he should have compassion on his weak old father. Why did he want him by his own hand to be delivered to death? Dhūlfiqār Khān took the road to Delhī¹.

It is stated that Imām Vardī Khān—who was his *Bakhsbī*—remarked that it was the sign of ruin as he was asking advice of a clerk. Dhūlfiqār Khān after some three hours followed Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, who had gone straight to the house of Aṣaf-ud-Daulah, and was trying to find a solution of his affairs. Though Dhūlfiqār Khān urged his father to march to the Deccan or to Kābul, Asad Khān would not agree, and arresting Mu'izz-ud-Dīn sent him to the fort, as has been described² in the notice of Asad Khān. When Farrukh Siyar reached Bārah Pula five miles from Delhī, Dhūlfiqār Khān went with his father and did homage; they were graciously received.* On the pretence of consulting about the State affairs, Dhūlfiqār Khān was detained and his father allowed to depart. Later Dhūlfiqār Khān was permitted to retire to the tent which had been set up for him. Soon some rough messages were delivered to him, such as "you are the cause of all these disturbances. You killed the helpless Prince Karīm-ud-Dīn—who was the Emperor's brother—who after the assassination of his father had hidden himself in an artisan's house." Dhūlfiqār Khān realizing that things had changed gave frank and proper answers. Meanwhile household troops (*chelas*) came in accordance with orders, and drew the strap

¹ This is incorrect. He first went to Āgra, but when he did not find Jahāndār Shāh or his son there he started for Delhī. Irvine *op. cit.*, pp. 235, 236.

² *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, I, p. 316, Beveridge's Translation, I, p. 275.

(*tasma*) round his neck; and beat him with their fists and kicked him from all sides¹. On the same day Jahāndār Shāh was also put to death. Next day which was 17th Muḥarram², 1125 A.H. (2nd February, 1713 A.D.) Farrukh Siyar entered the Capital. The head of Jahāndār Shāh was fixed at the point of a lance and his body thrown on an elephant, and that of Dhūlfiqār Khān upside down tied to the tail, and pilloried. "Therefore take a lesson, O you who have eyes."³

Verse

Let the sagacious see
What is the worth of ferocity and valour !

As obedience to his father brought about his death, the chronogram was found :

*Ibrāhīm Ismā'il rā qurbān namūd*⁴ (1125)

Dhūlfiqār Khān was an experienced soldier and a prudent counsellor. His bravery and liberality during the Gingēe campaign became well known. Nāṣir 'Alī composed a poem in his praise of which the following is the first verse :—

Verse

The Glory of Haidar shines from your brow.
Thy name in battle does the work of Dhūlfiqār.

Dhūlfiqār Khān as a reward gave him a large sum of money, and an elephant. But during the days of his prosperity his ungenerous and improper behaviour, his false promises and insincere speeches became notorious, so that both friends and foreigners (*jānib u ajānib*) complained against him. As the wine of the world upsets human beings,

¹ For a detailed account see Irvine, *op cit.*, pp. 248-253.

² The year is incorrectly given as 1124 A.H. in the text.

³ *Qur-ān*, Šūra lix Al-Hashir, verse 2 (in pt.), p. 1058 of Muhammad Ali edn. 1917.

⁴ The chronogram is only correct if a long a is added in Ismā'il.

at last he was so led astray that for his own selfish ends he uprooted whole families, and made beggars of rich men. He did not seem to realize that

Hemistich

There is a delight in forgiveness which is not to be found in vengeance.

For some slight displeasure he insulted and disgraced the good men of the age. He exacted vengeance a hundredfold. He did not worry about the day of retribution and retaliation. He was even not afraid of the final Judge (God). The oppression of his permanent deputy Dā'ūd Khān over the people in the Deccan, and the injuries done to all and sundry by his all-powerful *Dīwān* Sabhā Chand all caused his downfall. He had no children, and at present there is no representative of his line.

Quatrain

Remember, O prudent man the influence of age
 You will receive retribution for all your actions.
 If you value your safety, do not injure anyone.
 The market of vengeance is flourishing.

Reflection. Power of forgiveness has been described as a great virtue of greatness; in other words whenever one forgives the downtrodden, one helps in putting an end to misery.

Quatrain

In the past and even at present delaying punishment,
 Has been extensively tried by the far-seeing people.
 It is stated that at the time of your downfall it will not be very
 trying,

If during the days of your power you do not injure people.

DHŪLFIQĀR KHĀN QARĀMĀNLŪ

(Vol. II, pp. 85-89).

His name was Khānlar, and he was the son of Dhūlfiqār Khān, and the younger brother of Farhād Khān Qarāmānlū who was one of the great officers of Shāh 'Abbās I. Farhād Khān in the year 1007 A.H. (1598-99 A.D.) was in the vanguard in the battle against Dīn Muḥammad Khān Üzbeg, and had in spite of his courage and bravery been suspected by his contemporaries, and fled. The Shāh also suspected him of treachery. Though it appeared unlikely that he with his wisdom and knowledge of the world would behave disloyally, particularly as he enjoyed such high rank under the Shāh, yet, as the Shāh was convinced of his guilt, he deputed llāhwardī Khān with some slaves to put him to death. When the above-mentioned Khān went to Farhād Khān's quarters, and putting his hand to the waist drew his dagger, Farhād Khān realized what was to happen, and said in Turkī : *Salmi üldi*, i.e. Thus it has happened.

After Farhād Khān had been killed, Dhūlfiqār Khān, who was Amīr-ul-Umarā of Ādhurbājān, and was in attendance, came to the palace greatly perturbed, and waited to be killed, for he could not believe that he would be allowed to live. The Shāh was gracious to him, and granted him a robe of honour. He represented that since Farhād Khān had been worthy of death, why was not his appointment granted to him. Later when Dhūlfiqār Khān received full powers as the prince of princes (*Bēglar Bēgi*) of Shirwān, some of the officers of Dāghistān became frightened of him. In 1009 A.H. (1600-01 A.D.) Shāh 'Abbās sent from his winter quarters of Qarābāgh Qarchaghā Bēg, one of his confidential officers, to Shirwān. He was to bring about amity between Dhūlfiqār Khān and the officers of the area, and by sending conciliating letters allay their fears, and thus to confirm them in the path of loyalty. Any of them, who proved refractory, were to be punished. After Qarchaghā Bēg arrived in that area, a curt order without assigning any reason for putting Dhūlfiqār Khān to death arrived suddenly from the Shāh. Qarchaghā Bēg under the

pretence that a letter had been received from the Shāh went to Dhūlfiqār Khān's tent, and took him apart. He then with the aid of some servants, who were with him, killed him by striking him with the sword right and left.

According to what men say, there was no other apparent reason for killing Dhūlfiqār Khān except to reconcile the officers. This reason, however, seems to be far from the dictates of prudence and vigilance. Perhaps the Shāh also had become convinced of his disloyalty. However, the disposition of most of the Ṣafavī princes was blood-thirsty, and this was specially the case with Shāh 'Abbās I; he is notorious amongst the Irānians for his intolerance and impetuosity. This was carried so far that the government of Irān got out of gear. The Shāh for insignificant reasons did away with his chief officers, and regarded these improper actions as the elements of his rule. Accordingly Emperor Akbar wrote to the Shāh several times expostulating against this high-handed procedure. He remarked that in the regulations for government and the laws of equity imprisonment has been laid down as the proper instrument for testing the seditious tendencies of the accused. Man is a strange talisman, and a riddle which baffles solution. Any person should not be killed for a single fault that might come to light, for this lofty edifice of humanity cannot be set up again except by the hand of God. Hence wise administrators have not approved of haste in awarding capital punishment¹.

Hemistich

For a severed head cannot be joined again.

In fine, Dhūlfiqār Khān's heirs were greatly perturbed by his being put to death, and as the Shāh did not show them any kindness, Khānlar fled from Irān, and came to India in the end of Emperor Jahāngīr's reign². He entered royal service. The daughter of Ṣādiq Khān the

¹ The account is based on *Tārikh 'Alam Arā'i 'Abbāsi* by Iskandar Munshi, the famous history of the Ṣafavids.

² *Bādshāhnāma*, I, pt. i, p. 73. In the 5th year of Shāh Jahān's reign he was granted the rank of 1,000 with 600 horse, *op. cit.*, p. 432.

brother-in-law of Yamīn-ud-Daulah was given to him in marriage. In the 6th year of Emperor Shāh Jahān's reign he received his ancestral¹ title, and in the course of time was exalted to the rank of 3,000². At the end of that reign he lived in retirement in Patna. When Prince Shujā³ after the battle of Khajūa fled and came to that city, he pressed for the marriage of Dhūlfiqār Khān's daughter with his eldest son Zain-ud-Dīn. In the 2nd year of Aurangzib's reign, 1070 A.H. (1660 A.D.), he died⁴ of paralysis which had been the cause of his retirement. He was greatly skilled in understanding music and melody after the Persian style, and surpassed the best singers of Irān. His eldest son was Asad Khān⁴ Amīr-ul-Umarā whose account is given separately.

DHŪLFIQĀR-UD-DAULAH

(Vol. II, pp. 107-109).

His name was Mīrzā Najaf Khān Bahādur, and he was the brother of the wife of Mīrzā Muhsin brother of Ṣafdar Jang. It is stated that from his mother's side he was connected with the Ṣafavī family. As Shujā-ud-Daulah had sent for Mīrzā Najaf Khān's sister's son Muhammad Quli Khān—who had accompanied the reigning Sovereign Shāh 'Alam Bahādur on his expedition to Patna—and killed him⁵, Najaf Khān became alarmed, and went all alone to Qāsim 'Alī Khān the Governor of Bengāl. The said Khān received him kindly, and provided him with tents etc., such as senior officers had, and sent him against the hat-wearers (the English). As his campaign was un-

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 476, where the grant of the title of Dhūlfiqār Khān is recorded.

² 'Amal Ṣālib, III, p. 452.

³ Ma'āthir-i-'Alamgiri, p. 27.

⁴ Ma'āthir-ul-Umarā, Text, I, pp. 310-321, Beveridge's translation, I, pp. 270-279.

⁵ See Beale, *Oriental Biographical Dictionary* (1894 edn.), p. 270 under Muhammad Quli Khān.

successful, he returned to Qāsim ‘Alī Khān. Later when Qāsim ‘Alī Khān relying on Shujā‘-ud-Daulah’s oath resolved to enter the royal service, Mīrzā Najaf Khān strongly dissuaded him saying that his oaths could not be trusted. As he would not hearken Najaf Khān separated from him. He went and settled in the country of Hindu Pat Bundēla. Later he presented himself before the Emperor, and was appointed *Faujdar* of Karra Mānikpūr. Gradually he rose to the post of the *Mir Bakshī*. Afterwards, he girt up his loins and set about collecting a force. He for a long time exerted himself to exterminate the Jāts—who had taken possession of Āgra and had extended their depredations as far as Delhī, and owing to their strong and well fortified forts they were not afraid of anyone. Later, in attendance on the royal stirrups he hurried to chastise Dābiṭa Khān son of Najib Khān Rōhila, and after the latter’s flight confiscated his dwellings. In the year 1192 A.H. (1778 A.D.), when the Emperor proceeded towards Nārnōl, he in accordance with the orders went and joined the royal suite. When after the disposal of the affairs of the Rāja of Ambar the Emperor returned to the Capital, he was permitted to go home. At the time of writing he was engaged in besieging Alwar, in the Śūba of Akbarābād, which was in the hands of one of the insurgents. Although he is not possessed of much means, he has a large and well trained force under him. Whatever he gets, he shares it with his followers, and for this reason is greatly respected by them. In the year 1193 A.H. (1779 A.D.) when the reigning sovereign became displeased with Majd-ud-Daulah, he handed him over to Najaf Khān. At present all State affairs have been assigned to him, and he is the sole arbiter of the affairs of the Kingdom¹.

¹ See Beale, *op. cit.*, p. 289 for a short biography of Najaf Khān. The accounts in Keene, *Fall of the Moghul Empire* (1887 edn.), pp. 129-133 and Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, III, pp. 191-230, may be consulted for fuller details. Keene gives the date of his death as 26th April, 1782, but Sarkar, p. 227, gives 6th April, 1782 as the date of his death. He also remarks that “with him departed the last hope of Mughals in India.”

DHŪLQADAR KHĀN TURKAMĀN

(Vol. II, pp. 84, 85).

His name was Pīrī Āqa, and he was one of the officials who were appointed to the Kābul Dominion. In the 11th year of the reign of Emperor Shāh Jahān, when ‘Alī Mardān Khān the Commandant of the Qandahār fort becoming suspicious of the ruler of Irān represented the matter to the royal court, Sa‘id Khān, the Governor of Kābul in compliance with the royal orders sent Pīrī Āqā¹ to him for making enquiries. He marched rapidly to the place, and returned with a petition from ‘Alī Mardān Khān and some of his officers, and made his obeisance to the Emperor at Akbarābād. As a reward he was promoted to the rank² of 1,500. When after ‘Alī Mardān Khān’s arrival the government of Kashmīr was assigned to him, Dhūlqadar Khān also was appointed³ to that Ṣūba, and in the 13th year at the recommendation of that officer was granted an increase of 100 in his rank. Later, during the time when the Emperor visited Kashmīr, he was exalted by promotion to the rank of 1,500 foot with 1,000 horse, and the gift of a horse. In the 14th year he was granted an increase of 200 horse, and in the 15th year his rank was advanced to 2,000 foot with 1,600 horse. Later, he was appointed Governor of Ghaznī⁴, and in the 17th year he was honoured with the grant of a flag. In the 19th year he accompanied⁵ Prince Murād Baksh who was sent for the conquest of Balkh and Badakhshān. In the 20th year he escorted⁶ the relatives and possessions of Nadir Muḥammad Khān to the royal court. He was appointed Commandant of the Kābul

¹ *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p. 28.² *Op. cit.*, p. 94.³ *Op. cit.*, p. 166.

⁴ The author has mixed up the account of his appointments and promotions. He was appointed Governor of Ghaznī in the 13th year, and his rank was increased by 500 with 400 horse to 1,500 with 1,000 horse *op. cit.*, p. 200. In the 15th year he was promoted to the rank of 2,000 with 1,600 horse, *op. cit.*, p. 270.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 484.⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 585.

fort¹, and Lower Bangash was added to the fief of Upper Bangash which had already been granted to him. He was also promoted to the rank of 2,500, and received the present of a horse with a silver saddle. At the same time he was sent with 15 lakhs of rupees to Balkh for Prince Muhammād Aurangzib Bahādur. In the 21st year when the Prince started on his return journey to India, he was appointed to escort the treasure. At the time of crossing the ford of Badr² Ḥamīd a fight ensued with the Hazāra and Alāmān tribes. As a fearless fighter he did his best for the safeguarding of the treasure, and brought the treasure safely to Kābul with the help of Bahādur Khān Rōhila who had joined him with the rear-guard of the army. In the same year 1057 A.H. (1647 A.D.) he died.

EPILOGUE³

(Vol. III, pp. 973-979).

As through the grace of God this important work has been completed by inclusion of the histories of all important people, the perfect pen now turns to adding an explanation :—

Verse

Though I am a diminutive pen, I am the dust of the feet of the good,
It would not, however, be strange if I remain thirsty as I am a
mean reed.

in the form of an historical narrative of the writer. The name of this humble person is 'Abdul Hayy, and he was born in the year 1142 A.H. (1729-30 A.D.). After reaching the age of discretion he intermittently spent some time in schools to become literate. For some time he was learning propriety of conduct and behaviour, while

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 594.

² Badr Ḥamīd is the name of the ford in *Bādshāhnāma*, II, p. 671, on which the account is based. The name of the ford is not given in the text.

³ This epilogue includes a brief auto-biography of 'Abdul Hayy, the junior author.

some time was also spent studying and practising medical treatises. In the year 1162 A.H. (1748-49 A.D.) he received a rank and the title of Khān, and was appointed *Dīvān* of the Berār *Sūba* and *Muṭsaddī* (Superintendent) of that noble Prince Nāṣir Jang the Martyr's fiefs which were in that *Sūba*. During the time of Ṣalābat Jang he was appointed Governor of the town of Khajastabuniyād (Haidarābād) and Commandant of the fort of Daulatābād.

When the unfortunate incident happened to his father, May he be pardoned! and fortune favoured the malevolents, this resulted in his remaining in concealment for a time, and despair seemed to hover round on all sides, but suddenly the munificent grace of the Nawāb Niẓām-ul-Mulk Niẓām-ud-Daulah was directed towards this unfortunate being, and he exalted him by favour of all kinds. At first he honoured him by restoration to his old rank and the grant of his ancestral title. Later by assigning him the charge of the *Dīvānī* of the Deccan *Sūbas*—which was his hereditary right—he made it possible for him to live on terms of equality with people of his rank. He made him share his councils and assemblies, and favoured and commended his actions both in battles and under difficult circumstances. At the time of writing he is honoured by being a companion and favourite of that great man who is unrivalled in all respects. He has been honoured by appointment to a suitable rank and has the title of Ṣamṣām-ul-Mulk¹. In consonance with the latter he has adopted *Sārim* (A Sharp Sword) as his *non-de-plume*. A few verses of his composition are recorded on the white page:—

Verse

It is not easy to see your fire-like beauty.

The sun reflects as a mirror the grandeur of your face.

¹ See Beale's *Oriental Biographical Dictionary* (1894 edn.) under the account of his father Shahnawaz Khan, p. 366, where it is stated that he received the title of Samsam-ud-Daula Samsam Jang, and died on 28th April, 1782. For details see also Khazāna' Āmira (Lithograph edn. Lucknow, 1871), pp. 296, 297.

His faults become virtues, when he meets with approval,
 The burning fire is like the water of life to the Salamander
 (*Samandar*).

How can a skilled person have peace under the heavens,
 A round pearl does not resemble the physiognomy of a beloved
 at rest.

The delineation of the edges of his lips produces ornamentation,
 Cornelian acquires a status after it is engraved.

So long as you are in meditation like a bud,
 It is not possible to perceive hilarity.

Weak are not worried by the changing fortune,
 River waves serve as the swimming paddles for reeds.

The fragrance of the perfume after use languishes from hour to
 hour

The worth of the little harmony of the fair, whatever it is, is
 doubtful.

The mirror since seeing the glory of the face of the beloved,
 Has applied collyrium of astonishment to its eyes.

Do not be misled by the guile of the soft tongue,
 In the end water acts like an adze to the stone.

He pulled his locks from my hand and went,
 I said I am your prey, but he gathered his net and left.
 At times he is careless, sometimes amorous, while again he is
 cruel,

He employs various arts for the murder of his lovers.

Wise use speech in accordance with the needs of the occasion,
 As without a talk there is no echo from the high mountain.

My mad heart always yearns for its desire from your eyes,
 The drunkard is already intoxicated, and still asks for another
 drink.

Although the world is not a house of mourning every morning,
 Whoever he accosts strikes his head with his hands.

The heart becoming enamoured by its beauty became a prisoner
 of the dimple in her chin,

Finally the fairy took this infatuated lad into the well.
 In the bending of his body old age signals the end :
 A wall must fall when it is buckled.
 Unfortunates do not understand the canons of keeping secrets,
 If you utter a word it is echoed throughout the country.
 The moods of delicates are upset by a breeze,
 That is why the breeze is rustling tremblingly through the
 garden.

Strophe

The rose affords protection to the thorn,
 Do not take away the hand of kindness from your well-wisher.
 In this world retribution follows all actions,
 He who digs a well himself goes down first to its bottom.
 O beloved! since you left the garden in my presence,
 The hairs of all my eyelids have become thorns in the skirt of
 my sight.
 Do not, O! stone-hearted person! prevaricate by foolish talk,
 For no one derives any consolation from the echoes of a moun-
 tain.
 Stature, that has become bent through age, is like an arch,
 Be afraid! if you treat age with courtesy.

Quatrain

He who seals his lips with the seal of respect,
 Even his enemies are forced to keep silent.
 O! silent lamp while you are in an assembly,
 You should never fret over the tyranny of the scissors.
 Do not neglect courtesy in your treatment of the public,
 If you cannot do good, do not attempt to harm;
 If like a rose you cannot please anyone's heart,
 Do not be a thorn to scratch his skirt.
 The world which has highways in all four directions
 Its narrow lanes are all like hairs.

Do good while you pass through them,
 As the only lasting memorial of a person is his good name.
 When youth is passed and old age is come,
 It is a shame to dye the white hairs black.
 How long, O! you who are enjoying the sleep of forgetfulness,
 For the night has ended and the light of morning has appeared.
 The seal of the Prophet, how wonderful you are!
 You who know its high dignity!
 Like the personality of God which is without its compeer!
 You are one of the created but are without an equal!
 O great man¹, you who were favoured by the Prophet,
 Your personality is like that of the noble personality of the
 Prophet.
 It is for this reason that no differentiation was made at Mecca,
 When you slept for a night in the place of the Prophet.

APPENDIX

(MAJD-UD-DAULAH) 'ABDUL AHAD KHĀN

(Vol. III, pp. 807, 808).

His ancestors lived in Kashmīr. His father 'Abdul Majīd Khān migrated from his home, and spent the earlier years in the service of 'Ināyat Ullāh Khān². After his death he became a companion of I'timād-ud-Daulah Qamar-ud-Dīn Khān³, and entered the royal service. As he was a good accountant, he was during the reign of Emperor Muhammād Shāh and after the expedition of Nādir Shāh promoted to the high office of the *Dīvān* of *Khālsā* and *Tan*, and had the rank of 6,000 with 6,000 horse, and received the gift of a flag, a drum,

¹ Apparently the reference is to 'Alī, who at the time of *Hijrat* was left as the representative of the Prophet.

² *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, II, pp. 828-832, Beveridge & Prashad's translation, I, pp. 680-682.

³ *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, I, pp. 358-361, translation *antea*, pp. 488-491.

and a fringed palanquin, and was exalted by the title of Majd-ud-Daulah¹ Bahādur. He had two sons. One was Muhammad Parast Khān who died early in life. The other was 'Abdul Ahad Khān², who gained a place in the affections of the then Emperor Shāh 'Ālam Bahādur, and as a result all affairs of the State were decided according to his opinion. He received his father's title, and held a high rank. In the year 1193 A.H. (1779 A.D.) he went with one of the princes³ —who was deputed as a *tōrab* (Emblem of Authority)—towards Sirhind. As the affair there did not progress satisfactorily he with the concurrence of the Prince had to make shameful retreat before the Sikhs who had collected to assist Amar Singh, the *Zamīndār* of Patiāla. On this account the Emperor was displeased with him. As he and Dhulfiqār-ud-Daulah Mīrzā Najaf Khān were already not on good terms, the Emperor handed him over to Dhulfiqār-ud-Daulah. At the time of writing he was in prison, and his house and property had been confiscated, but his fief was not resumed.

(QUTB-UL-MULK SAIYID) 'ABDULLAH KHĀN⁴
(Vol. III, pp. 130-140)

His name was Hasan 'Alī, and he was the Prime Minister of Emperor Farrukh Siyar. His brother Saiyid Husain 'Alī Khān was the Amir-ul-Umarā; his account has been written separately⁵. Qutb-ul-Mulk had the title of Khān during Emperor Aurangzīb's reign,

1 See Beale, *Oriental Biographical Dictionary* (1881), p. 6. He was, according to this author appointed 3rd *Bakhshī* in 1748 A.D., and died in 1752 A.D.

2 See Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *Fall of the Moghul Emperor*, III, pp. 88, 89, 107-109, 172-189. His full title was Majd-ud-Daulah Bahrām Jang.

3 Prince Farkhunda Bakht. For a detailed account of Majd-ud-Daulah's campaign against the Sikhs see Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *op. cit.*, pp. 172-182.

4 See Irvine, *Journ. As. Soc. Bengal*, LXV, p. 176, 177; *Later Moghals*, II, pp. 96-101.

5 *Mā'ātbir-ul-Umarā*, Text, I, pp. 321-338, Beveridge & Prashad's translation, I, pp. 628-639.

and was the *Faujdâr* of Nandurbâr and Sultânpur in Baglâna. Later he was in-charge of Aurangâbâd.

When Prince Muhammâd Mu'izz-ud-Dîn, son of Shâh 'Âlam, was appointed by Emperor Aurangzîb Governor of Multân, Hasan 'Ali Khân was deputed on the Prince's stirrups, but he did not get on with the Prince, and becoming disappointed returned to Lâhore¹. After the death of Emperor Aurangzîb, when Shâh 'Âlam's standards reached Lâhore from Peshawar, Hasan 'Ali Khân was raised to the rank of 3,000, granted a drum, and appointed *Bakhsbî* of the new force. In the battle with Muhammâd A'zam Shâh he was in the vanguard of the force of Muhammâd Mu'izz-ud-Dîn, which constituted the vanguard of the army of Shâh 'Âlam. After the battle started, Hasan 'Ali Khân, Husain 'Ali Khân, and their third brother Nûr-ud-Dîn 'Ali Khân, according to the rule of battle adopted by the brave warriors of India, dismounted from elephants, and advancing with the force of Bârah Saiyids engaged in fighting at close quarters. Nûr-ud-Dîn 'Ali Khân was killed, and the other brothers were wounded², but they gained the glory of victory. Hasan 'Ali Khân was raised to the rank of 4,000, and appointed Governor of Ajmér. Later he was promoted to the governorship of Allâhâbâd³.

When Muhammâd Mu'izz-ud-Dîn succeeded to the sovereignty, the governorship of Allâhâbâd was assigned to Rajî Khân, and Saiyid Hasan 'Ali Khân was removed from that office. Saiyid Abdul Ghafâr, a grandson of Saiyid Sadr-us-Sadûr of Pâihâni went towards Allâhâbâd to act as the deputy of Rajî Khân. Saiyid Hasan 'Ali Khân started with a force to oppose him, and a battle took place near Allâhâbâd. Saiyid Abdul Ghafâr was defeated after an initial success, and turned back. Muhammâd Mu'izz-ud-Dîn, on account of his negligence and love of luxury did not take any steps to amend matters.

¹ See Irvine, *Journ. As. Soc. Bengal*, LXV, p. 176, and note 3, and *Later Mughals*, I, pp. 203-205.

² *Later Mughals*, I, pp. 31, 34.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 205.

Rather he tried to conciliate Saiyid Hasan 'Ali Khān, and sent a royal order confirming him as the Governor of Allāhābād, and advancing his rank. But his brother Saiyid Husain 'Ali Khān, the Governor of 'Azīmābād, Patna—who was well known for his great bravery, sedateness and firmness—made a compact with Muḥammad Farrukh Siyar, as has been detailed in his account, and tried to induce his elder brother Hasan 'Ali Khān also to join him. Hasan 'Ali Khān was not won over by the flattery of Muḥammad Mu'izz-ud-Dīn, who, he knew, disliked him from the time when he was the Governor of Multān, and heartily espoused Farrukh Siyar's cause¹, and begged him to advance towards Allāhābād. At this juncture Muḥammad Farrukh Siyar regarded the alliance of these brave brothers with large contingents a good augury for his success, and marching from Patna reached Allāhābād. Having confirmed in person the compact with Hasan 'Ali Khān, he made him hopeful of increased favours, and appointing him the leader of the vanguard marched forwards.

'Izz-ud-Dīn, the eldest son of Muḥammad Mu'izz-ud-Dīn was deputed under the guardianship of Khwāja Husain, known as the Khān Daurān, from Shāhjahānābād (Delhi) to oppose Muḥammad Farrukh Siyar. He arrived at Khajua, a dependency of Allāhābād, and waited for the enemy. As soon as Muḥammad Farrukh Siyar's army approached, 'Izz-ud-Dīn without even a skirmish with the enemy took to flight at midnight. The force of Muḥammad Farrukh Siyar was in great distress and very poorly equipped, but it was able to gain large quantities of supplies by plundering the camp of 'Izz-ud-Dīn². It now advanced to near Akbarābād (Āgra). Muḥammad Mu'izz-ud-Dīn also left the Capital (Delhi), and came to Āgra. He was meditating the crossing of Jumnā, when Hasan 'Ali Khān anticipated him by crossing the Jumnā near the Serā'i of Rōzbihāni four *kos* from Āgra. Muḥammad Farrukh Siyar also crossed after him, but most of his followers through distress and lack of supplies had left him, and only a limited number crossed with him. On 13th *Dhu'l Hijja*

¹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 207-209.

² *Op. cit.*, pp. 213-219.

1123 A.H.¹ (11th January, 1712 A.D.) a battle took place between the forces, and Farrukh Siyar was victorious. Muhammad Mu'izzud-Dīn changed his appearance², and went off towards Delhī. In this battle both the brothers greatly distinguished themselves. Husain 'Alī Khān the younger brother, received many wounds, and fell down in the field. After the victory Hasan 'Alī Khān, the elder brother, rapidly marched towards the Capital, and the Emperor (Farrukh Siyar) also arrived in Delhī after a week. Hasan 'Alī Khān was appointed to the rank of 7,000 with 7,000 horse, granted the title of Saiyid 'Abdullāh Khān Qutb-ul-Mulk Bahādur Yār Wafādār Zafar Jang, and appointed Prime Minister³.

When the rise of the two brothers exceeded all expectations, envious people strove to disrupt them, and by absurd insinuations prejudiced the Emperor's mind. It resulted in both the brothers confining themselves to their houses, and fortifying them they prepared for battle. The Emperor's mother, who showed friendship for both the brothers, and had old relations with them, came to Qutb-ul-Mulk's residence, and renewed oaths and promises⁴. Both the brothers returned to service, and there was an exchange of friendly grievances. For a short time there was peace, but interested people again prejudiced the Emperor. The company became more and more disagreeable from day to day, and discord, which uproots established kingdoms, increased. At last Amīr-ul-Umarā was appointed Governor of the Deccan, and Qutb-ul-Mulk giving himself to pleasure and enjoyment left the reins of premiership⁵ in the hands of Rāja Ratan

¹ The year in the text is wrongly given as 1123 A.H. instead of 1124 A.H.—see Irvine, *op. cit.*, p. 229. The date according to the Christian era should be 11th January and not 10th as given in the work cited, for it was a Wednesday as given in *Khāfi Khān*, II, p. 721, though the year is incorrectly given as 1123 A.H. in the latter work.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 236.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 258.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, pp. 295-301.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 291.

Chand. I'tiqād Khān Kashmīrī¹ became the Emperor's confidant and companion; and the plan for the destruction of the Saiyids became generally known. Qutb-ul-Mulk wrote to the Amīr-ul-Umarā that things had got out of hand, and that he should return before mischief occurred to honour and life. The latter started in great pomp from the Deccan, and encamped in the neighbourhood of Delhī. He sent a message to the Emperor that unless the management of the fort was entrusted to him, he was afraid of making his obeisance. The Emperor made over the duties connected with the fort to the agents of the Amīr-ul-Umarā, and the latter after strengthening it paid his respects to the Emperor. On 8th Rabī' II (17th February, 1719 A.D.) with the object of having a second interview he drew up his forces, and entering the city took up his quarters in the house of Shāyista Khān. Qutb-ul-Mulk and Mahārāja Ajit Singh went to the fort, and as on the first day set about making arrangements in the fort. They took possession of the keys of the fort, and spent that day and night there. The citizens did not know what had happened in the fort during the night. When it became morning, the news of the murder of Qutb-ul-Mulk gained currency, and the Emperor's troops drawn up from all sides proposed to attack the Amīr-ul-Umarā. The latter sent a message to Qutb-ul-Mulk that there was no time for delay, and that it was necessary to put (the Emperor) out of the way. Consequently on 9th Rabī' II, 1131. A. H. (18th February, 1719 A. D.) Qutb-ul-Mulk imprisoned the Emperor², and bringing out Rafī'-ud-Darajāt, son of Rafī'-ush-Shāh, son of Shāh 'Ālam from the prison placed him on the throne. The news of his accession quieted the tumult that had broken out in the city. Rafī'-ud-Darajāt was suffering from consumption during the time of his imprisonment. When he inherited the Kingdom, he gave up necessary care, and as a result died after three months and some days. According to his will his

¹ *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, I, pp. 339-346, Beveridge & Prashad's translation, I, pp. 709-714; also see *Later Mughals*, I, pp. 340-342.

² *Later Mughals*, I, pp. 376-391.

elder brother Rafī'-ud-Daula was placed on the throne, and styled Shāh Jahān II. After some time Nekū Siyar entered the Āgrā fort. Amīr-ul-Umarā marched quickly with the Emperor, and reduced the fort¹. Suddenly there was another disturbance in that Jai Singh Siwāi sounded the drum of opposition. Qutb-ul-Mulk with Emperor Shāh Jahān II hastened to Fathpūr Sikri to put down Jai Singh, but made peace with him. Shāh Jahān II also died of diarrhoea after three months and some days². Consequently Raushan Akhtār, son of Jahān Shāh, son of Shāh 'Ālam was brought from the Capital, and on 15th Dhul Qa'da 1131 A. H. (18th September, 1719) was placed on the throne with the title of Muhammād Shāh³.

Glory be to God ! Though the Saiyids themselves did not claim the Sovereignty, and placed Timurid descendants on the throne, yet the way they behaved towards Muhammād Farrukh Siyar proved their undoing. They were not able to spend a moment in peace or have a single breath in tranquility. Rivers of strife flooded from all sides, and the signs of the decay of their dynasty developed. News was received that in the beginning of Rajab 1132 A. H. (May, 1720 A.D.) Nawāb Niẓām-ul-Mulk Viceroy of Mālwa had crossed the Narbadā, and had taken possession of the fort of Asīr and the city of Burhanpūr⁴. The Amīr-ul-Umarā sent his *Bakhshī* Saiyid Dilāwar Khān with a large force against Nawāb Niẓām-ul-Mulk, but Dilāwar Khān was killed in the battle. Saiyid 'Ālam 'Alī Khān, the Deputy governor of the Deccan, who was an impetuous young man, fought with the Niẓām and bravely sacrificed his life⁵. The Amīr-ul-Umarā started with the Emperor for the Deccan, and Qutb-ul-Mulk after accompanying (the Emperor) for four *kos* from Āgra towards Fathpūr took leave, and on 19th Dhul Qa'da (11th September,

1 *Op. cit.*, pp. 404-428.

2 *Op. cit.*, pp. 429-432.

3 *Later Mughals*, II, p. 1. The date, according to the Christian era, as given in this work is one day less than the correct date.

4 *Op. cit.*, pp. 23-25.

5 *Op. cit.*, pp. 28-34.

1720 A. D.) left with several *Amīrs* for Delhi¹. He had not arrived, when on 7th Dhul Hijja (29th September, 1720 A. D.) news of the assassination² of the Amīr-ul-Umarā greatly weakened his power. Qutb-ul-Mulk wrote to his younger brother Saiyid Najm-ud-Dīn 'Alī Khān, who was in-charge of Delhi, to place one of the princes on the throne. On 15th Dhul Hijja 1132 A. H. (7th October, 1720 A. D.) Sultān Ibrāhīm, son of Rafī-ush-Shāh, son of Shāh 'Ālam was consequently placed³ on the throne of Delhi. After two days Qutb-ul-Mulk also arrived, and took steps to conciliate the old and new officers, and arranged for raising an army. All that he had collected during the period of his premiership, both cash and valuables—and the amount of which is known only to God—he spent on the army and his friends. He said, "If I live, I will recover it, but if providence wills otherwise, why should I let it fall into the hands of others." On the 17th of the said month (9th October) he marched from the Capital to fight, and on 13th Muḥarram 1733 A. H. (3rd, November, 1720 A. D.) he reached the village of Hasanpūr. On the 14th a battle took place⁴. Muhammad Shāh's artillery under the command of Haidar Qulī Khān *Mīr Ātish* came into action. The Bārah Saiyids exposing their breasts to the fire repeatedly attacked, but owing to the discordance of fate these proved useless. By nightfall Qutb-ul-Mulk's forces had been dissipated by the continuous fire of guns of all types, and in the morning only a limited number were left with Qutb-ul-Mulk. When the sun rose from the east, Muhammad Shāh's forces started to attack, and a hot engagement took place. Many of the Saiyids were killed, and Saiyid Najm-ud-Dīn 'Alī Khān was severely wounded. Qutb-ul-Mulk threw himself down from his elephant. He had received an arrow wound on his

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 52. On p. 66 the date of his leaving the imperial camp for Delhi is given as 12th Dhul Qa'da.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 66.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 76, but the date of the coronation is incorrectly given as 15th October, 1720.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, pp. 85-93.

forehead, and a sword wound on his arm. Haidar Qulī Khān with a force attacked him, and capturing him put him on his own elephant. Later he brought him before the Emperor, who granted him his life, and placed him under the charge of Haidar Qulī Khān. For a time he languished in the royal prison, but at last he was poisoned. At first his servant gave him the bezoar stone, and by profuse vomiting he got rid of the poison. Next day the Emperor's eunuch brought a pill of deadly poison. Qutb-ul-Mulk made fresh ablution, and sat facing the *Qibla*, and said "O God ! you know that I am not taking this unlawful remedy of my own accord." As soon as he swallowed the pill, his condition changed, and he resigned his soul to his Maker. This happened on the last day of *Dhul Hijja*¹, 1135 A.H. (19th September, 1723 A.D.). His tomb² in Delhi is a shrine for visitors. He was responsible for the canal of Patpūrganj in Delhi—which for lack of water was like the Karbalā—in 1127 A.H. (1715 A.D.) Qutb-ul-Mulk had a canal cut from the main canal of Shāh Jahān, and provided abundant water in that quarter. The deceased Mir 'Abdul Jalil of Bilgrām wrote:—

Quatrain

Through the goodness and generosity of Qutb-ul-Mulk
 'Abdullāh Khān
 That great *Vazir* provided a canal of pure water,
 For this 'Abdul Jalil Wāstī said the date:
 The canal of Qutb-ul-Mulk, the extension of bounty and
 kindness

(*Nahr Qutb-ul-Mulk mad bahr absān u karam*: 1127 A.H.;
 1715 A.D.). The same learned man also wrote a poem (*mathnawī*)
 in his praise:—

¹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 95, 96. The date of his death is given there as "1st Muharram 1135 A.H. (October 11, 1722)", but if this Hijri date is correct, it should be 12th October, 1722).

² *Op. cit.*, p. 96.

Verse

He is an Aristotle, and for wisdom like Āṣaf,
 ‘Abdullāh Khān is the Fortune of the State (Yamīn-ud-Daula).
 When he sits in the Council, he is like a new spring.
 When he goes to the battlefield he is Dhulfiqār¹.

(‘UMDAT-UL-MULK) AMĪR KHĀN MĪR ISHĀQ
 (Vol. II, pp. 839-841).

He was the son of Amīr Khān Mīr Mirān². At first he had the title of ‘Azīz Ullāh Khān. He performed valuable services with Muḥammad Farrukh Siyar in the battle³ against Jahāndār Shāh. After the victory, he was appointed Qurbēgi⁴ (head of the Artillery) and Superintendent of the Tōsha-khāna (Royal stores). In the second year of Emperor Muḥammad Shāh’s reign when Husain ‘Alī Khān started with the Emperor for the Deccan, he⁵ with Qutb-ul-Mulk started for Shāhjahānābād (Delhi). Later when Qutb-ul-Mulk taking Sultān Ibrahim with him started to fight with the royal forces, the said Khān was in the vanguard. After Qutb-ul-Mulk’s arrest he took shelter in a garden. During this time as he heard that Sultān Ibrāhīm in a wretched state was wandering about in that area, he

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 100.

² *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, I, pp. 277-287, Beveridge’s translation, I, pp. 246-253.

³ Battle near Agra, 13th Dhul Hijjah 1124 A.H., 11th January, 1713 A.D. The date of the battle is given as 10th January in *Cambridge History of India*, IV, p. 328, but the Hijri date Wednesday, 13th Dhul Hijjah 1124, as given in *Khāfi Khān*, II, p. 721, and *Later Mughals*, I, p. 229, would be 11th and not 10th January both according to Wustenfeld-Mahler (Leipzig, 1926) and Sir Wolseley Haig’s *Comparative Tables of Muhammadan and Christian Dates* (London, 1932), and this is correct in view of Wednesday being the 11th of January.

⁴ Irvine, *Later Mughals*, I, p. 260.

⁵ *Later Mughals*, II, p. 52.

brought him to the garden, and sent information about him to Emperor¹. He took the said Sultān with him, and became the recipient of exceptional favours. In the said reign he for a time held the post of the 3rd *Bakhshī*. As the Emperor was naturally disposed to neglecting business, and leading a life of pleasure, Amīr Khān's pleasant conversation being so much to his taste, became the passport for his advancement, and he was always present in the royal assemblies². In time he was appointed to a select office, and receiving the title of 'Umdat-ul-Mulk became the point of envy for his peers. As the Emperor paid no attention whatsoever to State affairs, other officials attributing it to Amīr Khān's intrigues, tried by representing strongly to the Emperor to remove him from the Court. Consequently he was appointed Governor of Allāhābād. In the year 1152 A.H. (1739-40 A.D.) he left for that province. In 1156 A.H. (1743-44 A.D.) he in obedience to summons returned to the Court, and received further royal favours. In accordance with his request Sāfdar Jang, Governor of Oudh—with whom he was on terms of great intimacy—was summoned to the Presence, and appointed Superintendent of the Artillery³. The two together took Emperor Muhammad Shāh on a campaign⁴ against 'Alī Muhammād Khān Rōhilla—whose account has been separately given. As a result of the opposition of I'timād-ud-Daula Qamar-ud-Dīn Khān, however, the affair was unsuccessful. In those days it was the general belief that he would be appointed Vazīr. On 23rd Dhul Hijjah 1159 A.H. (26th December, 1746 A.D.) he was, in obedience to summons, going to the *Darbār*, when on reaching the door of the

¹ For a more detailed account based on other contemporary sources see *Later Mughals*, II, pp. 93, 94.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 295.

³ Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, I, pp. 33-36.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, pp. 57-62.

⁵ *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, II, pp. 841-843, Beveridge's translation, I, pp. 194-196.

Diwān-i-Khāṣ, one of the newly appointed attendants killed¹ him with a dagger. He was well known for his powers of repartee and jests. Since becoming a favourite of the Emperor he did not care for anyone. He was very artful. He also composed poems, and his *nom-de-plume* was Anjām. The following verse is by him:—

Verse

I did not gain anything from the assembly of tranquil,
Except for a brick no other pillow brings me rest during sleep.

(SIRAJ-UD-DAULAH) ANWAR-UD-DIN KHĀN BAHĀDUR
ZAFAR JANG

(Vol. II, pp. 527-530).

He was the son of Anwar-ud-Din Khān Bahādur Shahāmat Jang. The latter's father Hāji Anwar as *pēsh namāz* (leader at the time of prayers) was personally known to Emperor Aurangzib. The home of his ancestors was in Gopāmau in Oudh, and the real name of Shahāmat Jang was Shaikh Khān Jahān. It is stated that when he presented himself for appointment before Emperor Aurangzib, the Emperor changed his name to Jān Jahān, and giving him the rank of 400 appointed him *Amin* (commissioner) for the *jiziya* (poll-tax) in the *Sarkār* of Gulbarga, and afterwards in the *Sarkār* of Sangamnīr. At that time Khwāja Muḥammad Amānat Khān was *Faujdār* of Sangamnīr, and the two became fast friends. Later when Amānat Khān was appointed *Muṭsaddī* (Superintendent) of the port of Sūrat, the Khān was sent as the Commissioner of *jiziya* for that port, and also appointed the Mint Master. In the time of Emperor Bahādur Shāh he received an increase in rank and the title of Anwar-ud-Din Khān. When Amānat Khān went to Mālwa, and fought a battle

¹ See Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, I, pp. 38, 39. The date of his death in the work according to the Old Style as 25th December, 1746, is one day less than the date given above.

with Rājā Musallam Khān, Anwar-ud-Dīn distinguished himself by his good service, as a result of which Amānat Khān appointed him his *Mukhtār* (manager). When Amānat Khān was appointed Governor of the province of Haidarābād, he was made his *Dīwān* for the province. When after the death of I'timād-ud-Daula Muḥammad Amīn Khān Bahādur Āṣaf Jāh went to the Capital, he accompanied him, and, after reaching the Presence, was through Āṣaf Jāh's help appointed *Faujdār* of Kōrah Jahānābad in the province of Allāhābād. Afterwards he was removed from there. He went to Āṣaf Jāh, who after reaching the Deccan had been victorious in a battle with Mubāriz Khān. At first he was Deputy-governor of Haidarābād, and later *Faujdār* of Sikākōl (Chicacole) and finally for the second time Deputy-governor of Farkhanda-buniyād (Haidarābād). He bravely fought with Maratha armies, who had invaded the territory, and managed to drive them back. After some years he was appointed *Faujdār* of Karnātik (Carnatic) in the province of Haidarābād, and managed to straighten its affairs by punishing the seditious *Zamīndārs* of the territory. During the time of Nāsir Jang, the title of Shahāmat Jang was added to his honours. Later Muẓaffar Jang suddenly appeared in his territory, and out of loyalty Anwar-ud-Dīn came forward to oppose him. In the year 1162 A.H. (1749 A.D.) he bravely¹ laid down his life in a battle. He was a brave, good, and liberal man, and was a master of Sufistic doctrines. He had great faith in *faqīrs*. His eldest son, who was in his native country, and was called Ṣadr-ul-Islām Khān, never came to the Deccan. The second son Muḥammad Mahfūz Khān Bahādur who in the time of Salābat Jang had the title of Shahāmat Jang, was for a time *Faujdār* of Kōhīr² in the Haidarābād province. He was also for a time in Arkāt (Arcot). His brother Sirāj-ud-Daulah used to give him a lac of rupees every year. On the occasion of going to Mecca he visited Haidar

¹ Elliott's *History*, VHI, p 391.

² See Khāfi Khān, II, pp. 313, 315. The place is west-north-west of Haidarābād and south of Bidar.

'Alī, the ruler of Seringāpatam. He took an army from him, and attacked the fort of Trichnopoly, which belonged to Sirāj-ud-Daulah, but was taken a prisoner in the battle. For a long time he was kept under restraint in that fort. He died two or three years before this account was written. He was a learned man. The third was Sirāj-ud-Daulah who has been mentioned above. His real name was Muḥammad 'Alī. After the death of his father he received the title of Khān in Nāṣir Jang's time, and made several efforts to secure employment. After the martyrdom of Nāṣir Jang he made friends with the hat-wearers of Chināpatan (Madras)—who are English—and after some time when they defeated the hat-weavers of the port of Phulcherry (Pondicherry)—who are French—he rose high. By his astuteness (*sair fikrī*) he gained access¹ to the English King—who is in Europe—by means of letters (*iblāghnāma*); messages and gifts, and became very intimate with the officials of Madras port. By showing them great consideration, and exciting their hopes he took possession of the whole of Karnātik; and by this means acquired much wealth. At the recommendation of the hat-wearers he received from the reigning sovereign (of Delhī) the title of Amīr-ul-Hind Wālā Jah. He² is very kind to the poor. His eldest son, who has the title of 'Umdat-ul-Umarā, is a pleasant man with good understanding, although he is not on good terms with his father. He greatly appreciates men of merit. His verses in Urdū are well known. The following verse is his:

Verse

So long as times separate me or not from you,

Others' actions matter not, but may not Almighty do so.

Other sons of his have risen to suitable ranks and titles. One of his

¹ A letter of his to Emperor George III is preserved in the British Museum, London, see Rieu, I, p. 403a.

² He is Muḥammad 'Alī whom Burke immortalised in his speech on the "Nabob of Arcot's debts".

brothers is 'Abdul Wahāb, who at the time of writing is the *Talugdār* of Nellōre and Sarvāpālli in the Karnātic. The second was Najib Ullāh Khān who is dead.

(MIRZĀ RĀJA) BAHĀDUR SINGH¹
(Vol. III, pp. 360, 361).

He was the son of Rāja Mān Singh. During Emperor Akbar's reign he attained the rank of 1,000, and in the 1st year after the accession of Emperor Jahāngīr his rank was increased² to 1,500. In the 3rd year he was promoted to the rank of 2,000 foot with 2,000 horse³. After the news of the death of Rāja Mān Singh was received by the Emperor, and in spite of the Rajpūt custom, according to which Mahā Singh son of Jagat Singh—who was the eldest son of Rāja Mān Singh—should have succeeded him, the Emperor, out of his regard for Bahādur Singh, summoned him to the Presence, granted him the title of Mirzā Rāja, appointed him to the rank of 4,000 foot with 3,000 horse, and assigned to him the chiefship of that tribe⁴. In the 10th year he returned to his country⁵. In the 11th year he was granted a *Turra* (crest or plume) for his turban⁶. In the 12th year his rank was increased by 1,000 foot⁷, and he was appointed to the Deccan campaign⁸. In the 16th year of Emperor Jahāngīr's reign, corresponding to the year 1030 A.H. (1620-21 A.D.) he died⁹. Although his elder brother Jagat Singh and Mahā

1 According to *Tuzuk-i-Jahāngiri* his name was Bhāō Singh, and this name is also adopted in Blochmann's translation of *Ā'in*, I (2nd edn.), pp. 363, 543. On the second page the author refers to the omission of his name in *Akbarnāma* and also in Brooke's *Political History of the State of Jeypore*.

2 Rogers & Beveridge's translation of *Tuzuk-i-Jahāngiri*, I, p. 24.

3 *Op. cit.*, p. 140, but the rank after promotion is given there as 2,000 with 1,000 horse.

4 *Op. cit.*, p. 266.

5 *Op. cit.*, p. 268.

6 *Op. cit.*, p. 329.

7 *Op. cit.*, p. 372.

8 Rogers & Beveridge's translation of *Tuzuk*, II, p. 108. This was in the 14th year.

9 *Op. cit.*, pp. 218, 219.

Singh, his brother's son, had both lost their lives through over-indulgence in drinking, he did not profit from their example, and sacrificed his sweet life for the bitter beverage. He was a handsome and dignified young man, and was very good natured.

(SHAH) FAKHR-UD-DIN

(Vol. II, pp. 556, 557).

He was a Mūsavī of Mashhad, and his father's name was Mīr Qāsim. In the year 961 A.H. (1553-54 A.D.) he came to India in attendance on the stirrups of Emperor Humāyūn, and as a result of his excellent service became a favourite of the Emperor. When Emperor Akbar ascended the throne, he was raised to the dignity of an officer. In the 9th year he rendered good service¹ with the army that was sent to pursue 'Abdullāh Khān Ūzbeg. In the 16th year he was deputed with the force, which was sent as a vanguard under the command of Khān Kalān towards Gujarāt. When the Emperor reached Patan, Gujarāt, he sent² Shāh Fakhr-ud-Dīn with royal *farmāns* to I'timād Khān and Mīr Abū Turāb, who had constantly been sending representations urging for a campaign in Gujarāt. He met Mīr Abū Turāb on the way, and with him went to I'timād Khān in Gujarāt, and setting his mind at rest by comforting promises brought him to the Emperor. Later he was seconded to the province of Gujarāt as an auxiliary³ of Khān A'zam Kōka. Later, on some occasion he came to the Court, and was sent with the officers who went in advance of the rapid march to Gujarāt. Afterwards he was exalted by appointment as Governor of Ujjain, and honoured by grant of the title of Naqābat Khān. In the 24th year he was appointed

¹ *Akbarnāma*, Text, II, p. 225, Beveridge's translation, II, p. 346.² *Akbarnāma*, Text, III, pp. 5, 6, Beveridge's translation, III, pp. 8, 9.³ *Op. cit.*, Text, p. 11, translation, p. 16.

Governor¹ of Patan, Gujārāt, in succession to Tarsūn Muḥammad Khān. He had the rank of an *Amīr* of 2,000².

GHĀZI-UD-DĪN KHĀN³ BAHĀDŪR GHĀLIB JANG

(Vol. II, pp. 879-882).

Generally known as Kōsa or Goat-beard, his name was Ahmād Bēg, and he was the foster-brother of Sultān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn⁴. His ancestors' home was in Tūrān. At first he was in the service of Sultān Mu'izz-ud-Dīn. When the financial and administrative affairs of the State were assigned to 'Alī Murād—who was also a foster-brother of the Sultān, and during his reign received the title of Khān Jahān Bahādūr—Ahmād Bēg becoming disgusted with the service resigned. He took up service under Sultān 'Azīm-ush-Shāh, and being appointed to an office he was sent to Bengāl with Sultān Muḥammad Farrukh Siyar, who was in-charge there as his father's deputy. When after Emperor Bahādūr Shāh's death Sultān 'Azīm-ush-Shāh was also killed, and Muḥammad Farrukh Siyar determined to gain sovereignty, Ahmād Bēg was appointed to suitable rank, granted the title of Ghāzī-ud-Dīn Khān, and deputed to collect an army and conciliate the people⁵. Meanwhile Farrukh Siyar's lucky move⁶, which resulted in Saiyids 'Abdullāh Khān and Husain 'Alī Khān taking his side, materialised. To conciliate his new partisans, he dismissed Ahmād Bēg from his rank, deprived him of his title, and forbade him from attendance at the Court. Later, when he was victorious over

¹ *Op. cit.*, Text, pp. 263, 264, translation, p. 382. His title in the text is Naqābat Khān, as in *Tabaqāt-i-Akbari* but in *Akbarnāma* it is Naqib Khān and this has been followed.

² See Blochmann's translation of *Ā'm*, I (2nd edn.) p. 445. He probably died in 986 A.H. (1578-79 A.D.) *vide Tabaqāt-i-Akbari* De's Text, II, p. 436, translation, II, p. 663.

³ For his account also see Irvine, *Later Mughals*, I, pp. 266, 267.

⁴ Emperor Jahāndār Shāh.

⁵ *Later Mughals*, I, p. 201.

⁶ For a detailed account see *Later Mughals*, I, pp. 205-209.

his uncle Jahāndār Shāh, and his supporters received favours in the way of ranks and titles, Ahmad Bēg also was exalted by promotion to the rank of 6,000 foot with 5,000 horse, the title of Ghāzī-ud-Dīn Khān Bahādur Ghālib Jang, and appointed 3rd Bakhsbī¹. Later when a storm of dissension broke out between the Emperor and the Bārah Saiyids, he became well known as a supporter of the Emperor². After the arrest of the said Emperor, Qutb-ul-Mulk appreciating his merits made him his ally, and after Husain 'Alī Khān started with Emperor Muḥammad Shāh for the Deccan from Akbarābād (Āgra), Qutb-ul-Mulk, who returned to the Capital, took Ghāzī-ud-Dīn Bahādur Ghālib Jang with him. Later, when the affairs took a different turn, and the blue heavens took on a fresh colour, and Qutb-ul-Mulk received the news of the murder of Husain 'Alī Khān, he, considering Ghālib Jang's conciliation as his best plan, went to his house and exchanged turbans with him³. He presented him to Sultān Ibrāhīm, son of Sultān Rafī'-ush-Shāh—whom he had placed on the throne—and had him appointed Mīr Bakhsbī with the title of Amīr-ul-Umarā. He was in the van on the day of the battle⁴. After Qutb-ul-Mulk's arrest he returned to the Capital. Emperor Muḥammad Shāh on reaching Delī sent Amīr-ul-Umarā Khān Daurān to his house, forgave his transgressions, and summoned him to the Court. He was reinstated in his rank and regranted his old title; he also received various favours. After a few years he died. He looked like a military man, and was very touchy in respect of his position. He looked like an Indian born, and treated the leaders of the times on an equal footing.

It is stated that when Emperor Muḥammad Shāh was issuing orders to Amīr-ul-Umarā Khān Daurān for the retention of his rank and title, the latter represented, that previously he had the title of

¹ According to Irvine he was given command of the Artillery in addition to the charge of *jilau* (retinue), *op. cit.*, p. 260.

² *Op. cit.*, pp. 385, 386.

³ *Later Mughals*, II, p. 78.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 89.

Ghālib Jang, and now Shēr Afgan Khān had been granted the title of 'Izzat-ud-Daula Bahādur Ghālib Jang, and requested for the Emperor's orders for distinguishing between the two. The Emperor said that he might be styled Ṣafdar Jang. Ghāzi-ud-Dīn Khān who just that day made his obeisance, represented that the slave was in attendance, and 'Izzat-ud-Daula was in the Court, orders might be issued for a combat by swords between the two. Whoever is victorious would be Ghālib Jang. The Emperor smiled and granted him the title of Ghālib Jang, and 'Izzat-ud-Daula was styled Ṣafdar Jang.

(*l-TIMĀD-UD-DAULAH MĪRZĀ*) GHIYĀTH BEG
TEHRĀNī

(Vol. I, pp. 127-134).

He¹ was the son of Khwāja Muḥammad Sharif, whose *nom-de-plume* was Hijrī, and who at first was the Chief Minister of Tātār² Sultān, son of Muḥammad Khān³ Sharaf-ud-Dīn Ughlī Taklū, the *Bēglar Bēgi* of Khurāsān. On becoming convinced of his ability and straightforwardness, he made over to him the charge of the chief minister of his office and all its affairs. On his death his son Qazāq Khān made the Khwāja his manager. When Qazāq Khān died, Shāh Tahmāsp Ṣafavī became favourably inclined towards the Khwāja, and appointed him minister of Yezd for seven years. As he performed the duties of this office creditably, he was appointed minister of Isphāhān. He died in 984 A. H. (1576 A. D.); the chronogram being "Yake kam ze malādb Vuzrā"⁴ (one less from the asylum

1. A detailed notice of Ghiyāth Bēg with valuable notes was published by Blochmann, *A'īn*, I (2nd edn.), pp. 571-576.

2. He is apparently the *Bēglar Bēgi* of Khurāsān who in accordance with the instructions of Shāh Tahmāsp, sent his nobles and couriers to welcome Humāyūn after he reached Fārah, see *Akbarnāma*, Text, p. 213, Beveridge's translation, I, p. 432.

3. *Akbarnāma*, Text, I, p. 206, translation, p. 418.

4. *Malādb* *Vuzrā* yields 985, and by deducting one the proper date 984 is obtained.

of ministers : 984). His brothers were Khwāja Mīrzā Ahmad and Khwājī Khwāja. The first was the father of Mīrzā Amīn the author of *Haft Iqlīm*¹. He was the headman (*kalāntar*) of Ray (Rhagās), and was in charge of the *Khālṣa* (Exchequer) lands. He had a poetical vein. The Shāh in his graciousness said :

Verse

Our Tehrānī Mīrzā Ahmad
Is our third after Khusrāu and Khāqānī.

The second (Khwājī Khwāja) was a master of eloquence. His son, Khwāja Shāpūr was well known as a poet. The Khwāja (Muhammad Sharīf) had two sons, Āqā Muhammad Tāhir, whose *nom-de-plume* was Waṣlī, and Mīrzā Ghiyāth-ud-Dīn Muhammad alias Ghiyāth Bēg. He was married to the daughter² of Mīrzā ‘Alā’-ud-Daulah Āqā Mullā. After his father’s death Ghiyāth Bēg as a result of unfortunate circumstances started for India as a fugitive with two sons, and a daughter³. On the journey his goods were plundered, and his condition at last became such that he had only two mules, which they had to ride by turns. When he reached Qandahār, another daughter Mihr-un-Nīsā (the Sun of women) was born. Malik Mas‘ūd a trader, and the head of the caravan—who was known to Emperor Akbar—becoming acquainted with his condition behaved towards him with kindness. When he arrived at

1 See A, Muqtadir’s Preface to the Asiatic Society’s edition of *Haft Iqlīm*, fasc. I, p. iii, where a short history of the family of the author including Mīrzā Ghiyāth Bēg is given. The account of the work will be found on pp. iv, v.

2 Her name was ‘Asmat Bēgam, *vide* Beni Prasad, *History of Jabangir*, p. 320, and her accomplishments and good qualities are detailed in *Tūzuk-i-Jabāngiri*, Rogers & Beveridge’s translation, II, p. 216. She died in the 17th year of the reign in 1621.

3 Khāfi Khān, I, p. 263, has two daughters and a son. The above account appears to be based on Muhammad Hādi’s preface to the *Tūzuk*, see Sir Saiyid Ahmad’s edition, p. 21.

Fathpūr, he introduced Ghiyāth Bēg to the Emperor and succeeded in getting him appointed to an office under the Crown¹. Ghiyāth Bēg by his good fortune and honesty reached the rank of 300, and in the 40th year was appointed *Divān* of Kābul. Later he attained the rank of 1,000, and was promoted to the office of *Divān-i-Buyūtāt*².

When Jahāngīr became the Emperor, he in the beginning of the reign gave Mīrzā Ghiyāth Bēg the title of I'timād-ud-Daulah, and made him jointly responsible for the *Divānī* with Mīrzā Jān Bēg Vazīr-ul-Mulk³. In the year 1016 A.H. (1607 A.D.) his son Muhammād Sharīf foolishly joined others in a plot to deliver Sultān Khusrau from the prison. The plot was soon discovered, and the secrets of the conspiracy fully unravelled. Emperor Jahāngīr capitally punished him and other conspirators⁴. The Mīrzā was confined in the house of Diyānat Khān⁵, but was released on payment of a fine of two lacs of rupees. His daughter Mihr-un-Nisā, the wife of Shēr Afgan Khān, after her husband had been killed, was brought to the court according to the Emperor's orders. In consequence of his having fallen in love with her when he had seen her earlier, a project of marriage was mooted, as has been related in the account⁶ of Shēr Afgan Khān. She refused the overtures because of her husband's murder, while the Emperor blamed her for the assassination of his foster-brother Qutb-ud-Dīn Khān⁷ by her husband, and made her

¹ *Khāfi Khān*, I, pp. 263-265.

² This is mentioned in *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*, Rogers & Beveridge's translation, I, p. 22, where his name has been corrected to Ghiyāth Bēg instead of 'Ināyat Bēg as in the text. Ghiyāth Bēg is not mentioned in *Akbarnāma*.

³ Price's translation of the *Memoirs*, p. 28.

⁴ See Roger's & Beveridge's translation, I, pp. 122, 123, but the imprisonment and imposition of fine on Ghiyāth Bēg are not mentioned.

⁵ Probably Diyānat Khān Qāsim Bēg. *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, II, pp. 8, 9, Beveridge's translation, I, pp. 483, 484.

⁶ *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, II, pp. 622-625, translation *antea* pp. 837-839.

⁷ *Maāthir-ul-Umarā*, Text, III, pp. 66-68, translation *antea* pp. 555-557.

over to his step-mother Salīma Bēgam¹. She passed some time in obscurity. At the New Year's feast of the 6th year, 1020 A.H. (March, 1611 A.D.) the old feelings were revived as a result of the Emperor seeing her again, and the unfulfilled desire of old times developed more vigorously. He married her with all pomp. At first she was called Nūr Mahāl, and later Nūr Jahān Bēgam². As a result of this close connection I'timād-ud-Daulah was appointed Prime Minister, and given the rank of 6,000 with 3,000 horse, and elevated with the grant of a flag and a drum. In the 10th year, he was, as a special favour, permitted to sound his drums in the Presence, and so was raised above all the *Amirs*. In the 16th year 1031 A.H. (1622 A.D.) when the Emperor was proceeding to Kashmīr for the second time, he halted in the district of Sibah³, and went by himself⁴ to visit the fort of Kāngra. Next day I'timād-ud-Daulah fell ill, and his condition became critical. Nūr Jahān Bēgam became anxious about him, and consequently the Emperor returned with her to the residence of I'timād-ud-Daulah. The latter was in the agonies of death, sometimes he lost his senses, and for a while recovered them. The Bēgam pointing towards the Emperor enquired of her father "Do you recognize him." He even at this time recited a verse of Anwārī:

¹ Ruqayya Sultān Bēgam in *Iqbālnāma*, p. 56 appears to be more correct.

² Muhammad Hādi's preface to the *Tuzuk*, Sir Saiyid Ahmad's edition, p. 22, *Iqbālnāma-i-Jahāngiri*, pp. 55, 56, and Beni Prasad, *History of Jahangir*, pp. 176-182, for a detailed discussion of the contemporary sources. The marriage took place about the end of May, 1611, see Beveridge's note in Rogers & Beveridge, *op. cit.*, I, p. 192.

³ Rogers & Beveridge's translation of *Tuzuk-i-Jahāngiri*, pp. 221, 222. Sibah is in the Sarkār Bēth Jālandhar Dūāb, see Jarrett's translation of *A'in*, II, p. 317.

⁴ The word is سرپر in the text, but according, to *Tuzuk*, he went with his special servants and attendants, see Rogers & Beveridge, *op. cit.*, p. 222.

Verse

Should one born blind be here,
He would recognise His Majesty in the world-adorning¹ brow.

After two or three hours he died. Forty one persons²—his children and connections—received mourning dresses from the Emperor.

I'timād-ud-Daulah did not compose poetry, but he was a diligent student of the early poets. He was greatly skilled in elegant composition, and wrote in a bold and clear *Shikasta* hand. He was excellent company, and Emperor Jahāngīr used to say that his society was better than thousands of carminatives. He also understood business, and was a good writer. He was a pleasant and even-tempered man, and did not cherish hatred even against his enemies. He was devoid of anger ; chains, imprisonment, whippings and abuses were not known in his establishment. If anyone deserving capital punishment appeared before him as a suppliant, or paid his respects to him for a week, he was pardoned. With all this, however, he was not self-indulgent. All his days were spent in looking into details and writing reports. While he was the *Dīvān*, the accounts department—which had been in arrears for a long time—was brought into order.³

Nūr Jahān Bēgam in addition to her physical charms was

¹ See Rogers & Beveridge, *op. cit.*, p. 222. According to the same source he died of a broken heart three months and twenty days after his wife. For an account of his tomb see Keene's *Guide to Agra*, and A.C.L. Carlyle, *Arch. Surv. Report* for 1871-72, Vol. IV, p. 141 (1874), and Beni Prasad, *op. cit.*, pp. 321, 322.

² *Tuzuk* has 41 children and dependants and 12 of his servants, *vide* Rogers & Beveridge, *op. cit.*, p. 223.

³ See Rogers & Beveridge, *op. cit.*, p. 222, Beni Prasad, *op. cit.*, p. 173 and *Iqbālnāma-i-Jahāngīr*, p. 55. Also see Beni Prasad's interesting paper on Nur Jahan etc. in *Proc. Indian Historical Records Commission*, IV, pp. 19-25 (Calcutta, 1922).

possessed of many mental excellencies. She was the unique of the age for her quick understanding, good sense, penetration and tact. The Emperor used to say that until she came to his house, he had not understood domestic pleasures or the spirituality of marriage. She invented or designed several ornamentations for dress and jewellery which are still prevalent in India. For instance *dūdāmī* (flowered muslin) for dress, *panchtolia* for veils, *bādla* (silver thread) and *kinārā* (silver-thread lace), '*attār* (perfumes), rose perfume known as the '*Attār-i-Jahāngīrī*, and silvery carpet (*farash chāndanī*) were all her¹ innovations. She exercised such influence over Emperor Jahāngīr that except for the name of Emperor he exercised no powers. He frequently remarked that he had presented the kingdom to Nūr Jahān, and required nothing more than a *sēr* of wine and half a *sēr* of meat for himself. In fact, except² for the *Khutba* not having been read in her name, she exercised all the prerogatives of royalty, so much so that she sat in the *jharōka* (the latticed window), and received the respects of the officers. Coins were struck in her name.

Verse

By order of Shāh Jahāngīr gold was adorned

A hundredfold by the name of Nūr Jahān the Queen Bēgam.

The *Tughrā*³ (royal grant) decrees also bore the following: "The order of the exalted lady of the sublime couch Nūr Jahān Pādshāh Bēgam" The estates assigned to her corresponded to the rank of 30,000. It is stated that the fiefs of her relations (*silsila*) amounted to half the estates of the kingdom. All relatives and connections of the family, even to slaves and eunuchs received the ranks of *Khāns* and *Tarkhāns*. An old female servant⁴ named Dāl Dilātām, who

¹ See Blochmann, *op. cit.*, p. 574, *Khāfi Khān*, I, p. 274 and Beni Prasad, *op. cit.*, p. 183. Apparently her mother also had a share in introducing these novelties.

² *Iqbālnāma-i-Jahāngīrī*, p. 56.

³ See Wilson's *Glossary*, p. 526.

⁴ Text has *hīra kaniz*, but *pīr kaniz* of *Iqbālnāma*, p. 56 seems more correct. Her seal appeared on grants to women.

had been the Bēgam's nurse, became the Mistress of the women (*Sadr-i-Anāth*) in place of Hājī Kōka¹.

Verse

Your kith and kin are glorified because of you, and flourish ;
Because of the beauty of one, the whole family is glorified.

The Bēgam was also generous in rewards and charity. It is stated that on the days when she went to the baths, her fixed expenditure was Rs. 3,000. She had collected in the palace numerous female servants aged from twelve to forty, and she married them to *Ahabādis* (gentlemen troopers) and *chēlas* (pages). But though women are possessed of many charming qualities, yet in essence of their natures they are beings who have been created with a defective understanding. With all her good qualities she became at last the leaven² of confusion, and trouble for India. Having given in marriage her daughter by Shēr Afgan Khān to Prince Shariyār the younger son of Emperor Jahāngīr, she designed to raise him to power. And she so alienated Emperor Jahāngīr's mind against the legitimate heir to the State, who was the Prince of high Destiny, Shāh Jahān, that it resulted in raising armies, murder and destruction, and a great deal of the country was ravished by the flood of devastation. As, however, Fate had decreed that the throne of Caliphate be adorned by Sāhib Qirān Thānī (Shāh Jahān), her useless efforts were not crowned with success. After Shāh Jahān's accession he granted her an allowance of two lacs of rupees a year. It is stated that after the death of Emperor Jahāngīr she wore nothing but white (*safid* i. e., plain, uncoloured clothes), and never voluntarily joined any joyful assemblies. In the 19th year of the reign, 1055 A.H. (1645 A.D.)

¹ Hājī Kōka is also mentioned in *Akkarnāma*, Text, III, p. 656, Beveridge's translation, III, p. 1006, note 1. Also see *Tūzuk*, text, p. 22 and Rogers & Beveridge's translation, I, p. 46.

² This paragraph is taken from *Iqbālnāma*, p. 56, and Muhammad Hādi's preface p. 21, with minor changes.

she died at Lāhōre aged 72¹ years, and was buried in the tomb which she had erected herself near the mausoleum of Emperor Jahāngīr. The Bēgam was also poetically inclined, and her *nom-de-plume* was *Makbī*² (concealed). The following verses are by her:—

Verses.

I give not my heart to form (*sūrat*) if the disposition (*sīrat*)
be unknown,
I am a slave of (divine) love, and know 72 creeds.
O ascetic ! cast not the terrors of the Judgment-day into
our heart,
We have lived through the terrors of separation and so can
visualize the day of judgment.

(SAIYID) 'IZZAT KHĀN 'ABDUR RAZZĀQ GILĀNĪ

(Vol. II, p. 475).

At first he was in the service of Muḥammad Dārā Shikōh. In the 30th year of Emperor Shāh Jahān's reign he was, at the request of the said Prince, granted the title of 'Izzat Khān³, and appointed Governor of the province of Multān. In the 31st year⁴ he was given charge of the capital city of Lāhōre in succession to Bahādur Khān. When Dārā Shikōh after his defeat by Emperor Aurangzib near Akbarābād (Āgra) fled to Lāhōre, and being unable to maintain himself there went off to Multān, 'Izzat Khān also accompanied him. When the said Prince losing courage started for Bhakkar, 'Izzat Khān separated from him, and on the arrival of Aurangzib's forces took up service under him. He was exalted by appointment to the rank of

1 Nūr Jahān died on 29th Shawwāl, 1055 A.H. (18th December, 1645 A.D.), see *Bādshahnāma*, II, p. 475.

2 This was also the *nom-de-plume* of other Mughal royal ladies, such as Salima Sultān Bēgam and Zēb-un-Nisā Bēgam, who composed poems.

3 *'Amal Ṣalib*, III, pp. 231, 232.

4 *Op. cit.*, pp. 266, 267.

3,000¹ with 500 horse. He was in attendance on the royal stirrups in the battle with Muḥammad Shujā'. In the 4th year he was honoured by appointment at *Faujdār* of Bhakkar in succession to Sanjar Khān. In the 10th year he was appointed Governor² of Tatta (Sindh) on the death of Ghadānfār Khān, and his rank was advanced to 3,500 foot with 2,000 horse. It has not been possible to trace his later history.

¹ In '*Ālamgīrnāma*', p. 302, his new rank is given as 3,000 with 700 horse.

² On p. 341 of '*Ālamgīrnāma*' it is noted that he was appointed *Faujdār* of Bahārāich, and on p. 593 Sa'īd Khān was appointed his successor there. His appointment as Governor of Tatta in succession to Ghadānfār Khān is recorded on p. 1048.

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24. Buzurg Umed Khān, *Q.*, Text I, No. 109, pp. 453, 454; Translation I, No. 150, pp. 428, 429.

25. Bahramand Khān, Text I, No. 110, pp. 454-457; Translation I, No. 123, pp. 365-368.

26. Bāqī Khān Ḥayāt Beg, Text I, No. 111, pp. 458-461; Translation I, No. 128, pp. 382-384.

27. Basālat K. M. Sultan Nazr, *Q*, Text I, No. 112, pp. 461, 462; Translation I, No. 131, pp. 388-389.

28. Biyān K. *Q*. Text I, No. 113, pp. 462, 463; Translation I, No. 148, p. 425.

29. Burhanu-l-Mulk S'aādat K., *Q*, Text I, No. 114, pp. 463-466; Translation I, No. 149, pp. 425-428.

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1. Tardī Beg Khān Turkistānī, Text I, No. 115, pp. 466-471; Translation II, No. 680, pp. 940-944.

2. Tātār Khān Khurā sānī, *Q*, Text I, No. 116, p. 471; Translation II, No. 584, p. 949, 950.

3. Tarsūn Muḥammad Khān, Text, I, No. 127, pp. 471-475; Translation II, No. 612, pp. 944-948.

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6. (Tarkhān Maulānā) Nūr-ud-Dīn, Text I, No. 120, pp. 478-481; Translation II, No. 498, pp. 460-462.

7. Takhtā Beg Sardār Khān, *Q*, Text I, No. 121, pp. 481, 482; Translation II, No. 674, pp. 921, 922.

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10. Tahawwur Khān Mirzā Maḥmūd, Text, I, No. 124, pp. 484-486; Translation II, No. 673, pp. 919-920.

11. Tarbiyat Khān Fakhr-ud-Dīn Aḥmad, Text I, No. 125, pp. 486-490; Translation II, No. 678, pp. 930-933.

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4. Jānish Bahādur, Q, Text I, No. 136, pp. 511, 512; Translation I, No. 317, pp. 748, 749.
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6. Jagan Nāth, Q, Text I, No. 138, pp. 514-516. Translation I, No. 300, pp. 724, 725.
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3. Haidar Muḥammad K. Akhta Begī, *Q*, Text I, No. 152, pp. 554-557; Translation I, No. 222, pp. 599, 600.
4. (Hāji) Yūsuf Khān, *Q*, Text I, No. 153, pp. 557, 558; Translation II, No. 708, p. 998.
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9. (Ḥakīm) Ālī Gilānī, Text I, No. 158, pp. 568-573; Translation I, No. 62, pp. 180-184.
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3. (Khwāja) Mu'azzam, Text I, No. 174, pp. 618-622; Translation II, No. 393, pp. 83-86.
4. Ālī Qulī Khān Zamān, Text I, No. 175, pp. 622-630; Translation I, No. 69, pp. 197-204.
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6. (Khan Alam) Calam Beg, Text I, No. 177, pp. 632-635; Translation I, No. 152, pp. 430-432.
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28. 'Abdu-l-Hādi Khwāja, Q, Text I, No. 199, pp. 772, 773; Translation I, No. 7, pp. 35; 36.
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34. 'Abdūr-Rahīm Khān (Khwāja), *Q*, Text I, No. 205, pp. 792, 793; Translation I, No. 16, pp. 65, 66.

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37. Khudā Banda Khān, Text I, No. 208, pp. 814-816; Translation I, No., 345, pp. 815, 816.

38. (Khān Ālam) Ikhlāṣ Khān, *Q*, Text I, No. 209, pp. 816, 817; Translation I, No. 262, pp. 664, 665.

39. 'Alī Murād Khān Jahān Bahādur Kokaltāsh K. Zafar Jang, *Q*, Text I, No. 210, pp. 817-819; Translation I, No. 68, pp. 196, 197.

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43. (Khwāja) 'Abdullah Khān, *Q*, Text I, No. 214, pp. 832, 833; Translation I, No. 26, pp. 84, 85.

44. Khwāja Qulī Khān Bahadur, *Q*, Text I, No. 215, pp. 834, 835; Translation I, No. 354, pp. 825, 826.

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33. (Rāja) Rōz Afzūn, *Q*, Text II, No. 60, pp. 218, 219; Translation II, No. 559, pp. 609-611.

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36. (Rajah) Gaj Singh, *Q*, Text II, No. 63, pp. 223-226; Translation I, No. 206, pp. 570-572.

37. (Rāja) Rām Dās Nārwārī, *Q*, Text II, No. 64, pp. 226-228; Translation II, No. 548, pp. 586, 587.

38. (Rāja) Kishan Singh Bhadawariya, *Q*, Text II, No. 65, pp. 228-230; Translation I, No. 357, pp. 828, 829.

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44. (Rajah) Bethal Dās Gaur, Q, Text II, No. 71, pp. 250-256; Translation I, No. 137, pp. 401-404.

45. (Rāja) Pahār Singh Bundēla, Q, Text II, No. 72, pp. 256-260; Translation II, No. 501, pp. 470-472.

46. (Rāo) Satrsāl Hārā, Q, Text II, No. 73, pp. 260-263; Translation II, No. 605, pp. 722-724.

47. (Rāja) Siv Rām Gaur, Q, Text II, No. 74, pp. 263-265; Translation II, No. 659, pp. 875, 876.

48. (Rāja) Indarman Dhandēra, Q, Text II, No. 75, pp. 265, 266; Translation I, No. 272, pp. 682, 683.

49. Rām Singh, Q, Text II, No. 76, pp. 266, 267; Translation II, No. 550, pp. 589, 590.

50. Rūp Singh Rāthōr, Q, Text II, No. 77, pp. 268-270; Translation II, No. 563, pp. 619-621.

51. Rustam Khān Muqarrab Khān, Q, Text II, No. 78, pp. 270-276; Translation II, No. 566, pp. 625-629.

52. Rajah Anurūdhā Gaur, Q, Text II, No. 79, pp. 276, 277; Translation I, No. 88, pp. 263, 264.

53. (Rāja) Rājrūp, Q, Text II, No. 80, pp. 277-281; Translation II, No. 543, pp. 574-578.

54. (Rāja) Raghuṇāth, Q, Text II, No. 81, p. 282; Translation II, No. 537, pp. 559, 560.

55. Rahmat Khān, Q, Text II, No. 82, pp. 283-286; Translation II, No. 538, pp. 560-563.

56. (Rāja) Tōdar Mal Shāh Jahānī, Q, Text II, No. 83, pp. 286, 287; Translation II, No. 687, pp. 957, 958.

57. (Rāo) Karan Bhūrthiya, Q, Text II, No. 84, pp. 287-291; Translation I, No. 330, pp. 764-766.

58. (Rāja) Sujān Singh Bundēla, Q, Text II, No. 85, pp. 291-295; Translation II, No. 664, pp. 882-884.

59. (Rajah) Debī Singh Bandēla, Q, Text II, No. 86, pp. 295-297; Translation I, No. 167, pp. 471, 472.

60. (Rāja) Rāī Singh Sīsōdia, *Q*, Text II, No. 87, pp. 297-301; Translation II, №. 542, pp. 571-574.

61. (Rāja) Rām Singh, *Q*, Text II, No. 88, pp. 301-303; Translation II, No. 551, pp. 591-593.

62. Rashid Khān Ilhām Ullāh, *Q*, Text II, No. 89, pp. 303-305; Translation II, No. 555, pp. 601, 602.

63. (Rāo) Bhāo Singh Hārā, *Q*, Text II, No. 90, pp. 305-307; Translation I, No. 139, pp. 405-407.

64. Radawī Khān Saiyid 'Alī, *Q*, Text II, No. 91, pp. 307-309; Translation II, No. 536, pp. 558-559.

65. Randaula Khān Ghāzī, *Q*, Text II, No. 92, p. 309; Translation II, No. 553, pp. 594, 595.

66. Ruḥ Ullāh Khān Text II, No. 93, pp. 309-315; Translation II, No. 560, pp. 611-615.

67. Ruḥ Ullāh Khān Khanāzād Khān, *Q*, Text II, No. 94, pp. 315-317; Translation II, No. 561, pp. 616, 617.

68. (Rāo) Dalpat Bundila, *Q*, Text II, No. 95, pp. 317-323; Translation I, No. 156, pp. 442-446.

69. Rām Singh Hārā, *Q*, Text II, No. 96, pp. 323, 324; Translation II, No. 552, pp. 593, 594.

70. Rustam Dil Khān, Text II, No. 97, pp. 324-328; Translation II, No. 564, pp. 621-624.

71. (Rajah) Cabila Rām Nāgar, *Q*, Text II, No. 98, pp. 328-330; Translation I, No. 151, pp. 429, 430.

72. (Rāja) Muḥkam Singh, *Q*, Text II, No. 99, pp. 330-332; Translation II, No. 437, pp. 229, 230.

73. Ri'āyat Khān Zāhīr-ud-Daulah, *Q*, Text II, No. 100, pp. 332, 333; Translation II, No. 558, pp. 608, 609.

74. Raushan-ud-Daulah Bahādur Rustam Jang, *Q*, Text II, No. 101, pp. 333-336; Translation II, No. 557, pp. 605-608.

75. (Rāja) Candār Sen, *Q*, Text II, No. 102, pp. 336-338; Translation I, No. 153, pp. 433, 434

76. (Rāja) Sultānī, Text II, No. 103, pp. 338-340; Translation II, No. 666, p. 894.

77. (Rajah) Gopāl Singh Gaur, Q, Text II, No. 104, pp. 340, 341; Translation I, No. 218, pp. 593, 594.

78. (Raja) Shāhūjī Bhōnsle, Text II, No. 105, pp. 342-358; Translation II, No. 625, pp. 783-796.

79. (Rukn-ud-Daula Saiyid) Lashkar Khān Bahādur Naṣīr Jang, Text II, No. 106, pp. 359-361; Translation I, No. 362, pp. 835, 836.

80. (Rajah) Bir Bahādur, Q, Text II, No. 107, pp. 361, 362; Translation I, No. 145, pp. 419, 420.

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2. Zāhid Khān, Q, Text II, No. 109, p. 370; Translation II, No. 717, p. 1020.

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5. (Saiyid) Ḥamīd Bokhārī, Text II, No. 116, pp. 396-399; Translation I, No. 228, pp. 638-640.

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21. Sazāwar Khān, *Q.* Text II, No. 132, pp. 438-441; Translation II, No. 606, pp. 725, 726.
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23. (Saiyid) Mañṣūr Khān Bārah, Text II, No. 134, pp. 449-452; Translation II, No. 380, pp. 57-59.
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28. (Saiyid) Shujāt Khān Bahādur Bhakkāri, Q, Text II, No. 139, pp. 460, 461; Translation II, No. 649, pp. 855, 856.
29. Sa'ādat Khān, Q, Text II, No. 140, pp. 461-463; Translation II, No. 572, pp. 650, 651.
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31. (Saiyid) Muṣaffar Khān Bārah and Saiyid Lashkar Khān Bārah, Text II, No. 142, pp. 465-468; Translation II, No. 478, pp. 355-357.
32. Subal Singh Sisodia, Q, Text II, No. 143, pp. 468, 469; Translation II, No. 662, pp. 879, 880.
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35. (Saiyid) Izzat Khān 'Abdur Razzāq Gilānī, Q, Text II, No. 146, p. 475; Translation II, No. 734, pp. 1079, 1080.
36. (Saiyid) Amīr Khawāfi, Q, Text II, No. 147, pp. 476, 477; Translation I, No. 83, pp. 245, 246.
37. Sarbuland Khān Khwāja Rahmat Ullāh, Q, Text II, No. 148, pp. 477-479; Translation II, No. 597, pp. 708-710.

38. Saif Khān, Text II, No. 149, pp. 479-485; Translation II, No. 586, pp. 683-687.

39. Saif Ullāh Khān Mīr Bahār, Text II, No. 150, pp. 486-489; Translation II, No. 590, pp. 693-696.

40. (Saiyid) 'Abdullah K. Bārha, *Q*, Text II, No. 151, pp. 489-491; Translation I, No. 22, pp. 79, 80.

41. Sardār Khān, Text II, No. 152, pp. 491-494; Translation II, No. 598, pp. 710-712.

42. (Saiyid) Siyādat Khān Ḥoghlan, *Q*, Text II, No. 153, pp. 494-496; Translation II, No. 660, pp. 876, 877.

43. (Siddī) Yāqūt Khān Abyssinian, *Q*, Text II, No. 154, pp. 496-499; Translation II, No. 706, pp. 994-996.

44. Sarfrāz Khān Saiyid Latīf, *Q*, Text II, No. 155, pp. 499, 500; Translation II, 603, pp. 718, 719.

45. (Saiyid) Husain Khān Bārah, *Q*, Text II, No. 156, pp. 500-502; Translation I, No. 248, pp. 640, 641.

46. (Saiyid) Rustam Khān Deccanī, *Q*, Text II, No. 157, pp. 502-504; Translation II, No. 565, pp. 624, 625.

47. Sa'd Ullāh Khān, *Q*, Text II, No. 158, pp. 504-508; Translation II, No. 570, pp. 644-646.

48. (Saiyid) Najm-ud-Din 'Ali Khān Bārah, *Q*, Text II, No. 159, pp. 508-510; Translation II, No. 484, pp. 376-378.

49. Satrāl Bundila, *Q*, Text II, No. 160, pp. 510-512; Translation II, No. 604, pp. 720-722.

50. Sa'ādat Ullāh Khān, *Q*, Text II, No. 161, pp. 513, 514; Translation II, No. 574, pp. 654, 655.

51. (Saif-ud-Daulah) 'Abdu-ṣ-ṣamad Khān Bahādur Diler Jang, *Q*, Text II, No. 162, pp. 514-517; Translation I, No. 20, pp. 71-73.

52. (Saif-ud-Daulah Saiyid) Sharīf Khān Bahādur, *Q*, Text II, No. 163, pp. 517-520; Translation II, No. 637, pp. 821-823.

53. Sa'd Ullāh Khān Bahādur Muzaffar Jang, *Q*, Text II, No. 164, pp. 520-524; Translation II, No. 571, pp. 647-650.

54. Sa'ādat Khān Dhūlfiqār Jang, Q, Text II, No. 165, pp. 524-527; Translation II, No. 573, pp. 652-654.

55. Sirāj-ud-Daulah Anwar-ud-Dīn Khān Bahādur Zafar Jang, Q, Text II, No. 166, pp. 527-530; Translation II, No. 729, pp. 1065-1068.

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4. (Shaikh) Gadāī Kambū, Text II, No. 170, pp. 539-541; Translation I, No. 205, pp. 568-570.
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15. Sheroya *Khān*, *Q*, Text II, No. 181, pp. 572, 573; Translation II, No. 644, p. 845.
16. 'Abdullah *Khān* (*Shaikh*), Text II, No. 182, pp. 573-583; Translation I, No. 27, pp. 85-93.
17. Faizī Fiāzī (*Shaikh* Abu-l-Faiz), Text II, No. 183, pp. 584-590; Translation I, No. 182, pp. 513-518.
18. Shahbāz *Khān* Kambū, Text II, No. 184, pp. 590-601; Translation II, No. 611, pp. 732-740.
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20. Shāham *Khān* Jalāir, Text II, No. 186, pp. 603-605; Translation II, No. 608, pp. 728, 729.
21. Shāh Qulī *Khān* Maḥram, Text II, No. 187, pp. 605-608; Translation II, No. 621, pp. 774-776.
22. Abu-l-Fazl 'Allāmī Fahāmī (*Shaikh*), Text II, No. 188, pp. 608-622; Translation I, No. 34, pp. 117-128.
23. Shēr Afgan *Khān* 'Alī Qulī Bēg, Text II, No. 189, pp. 622-625; Translation II, No. 640, pp. 837-840.
24. Sharīf *Khān* Amīr-ul-Umārā, Text II, No. 190, pp. 625-629; Translation II, No. 635, pp. 816-819.
25. Shujā'at *Khān* Shaikh Kabīr, Text II, No. 191, pp. 630-633; Translation II, No. 655, pp. 864-866.
26. Shamshēr *Khān* Arslān Bē Üzbeg, *Q*, Text II, No. 192, p. 633; Translation II, No. 628, pp. 798, 799.
27. (*Shaikh*) Farīd *Khān* Murtaza *Khān* Bokhārī, Text II, No. 193, pp. 633-641; Translation I, No. 186, pp. 521-527.
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29. Shāh Bēg *Khān* Arghūn, Text II, No. 195, pp. 642-645; Translation II, No. 612, pp. 740-743.
30. Shāh Nawāz *Khān* Bahādur Mirzā Iraj, Text II, No. 196, pp. 645-648; Translation II, No. 618, pp. 765-767.

31. Shīr Khwāja, Q, Text II, No. 197, pp. 648-650; Translation II, No. 646, pp. 849, 850.
32. Shalibāz Khān alias Shērū Rōhilla, Q, Text II, No. 198, pp. 650, 651; Translation II, No. 610, pp. 731, 732.
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35. Shāh Qulī Khān Waqās Ḥājī, Q, Text II, No. 201, pp. 658-661; Translation II, No. 623, pp. 777, 778.
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37. Shujā'at Khān Shādī Bēg, Text II, No. 203, pp. 662-664; Translation II, No. 654, pp. 862-864.
38. Shāh Bēg Üzbeg, Q, Text II, No. 204, pp. 665-667; Translation II, No. 613, pp. 743, 744.
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43. Shamshēr Khān Hayāt Tarīn, Q, Text II, No. 209, pp. 677-679; Translation II, No. 629, pp. 799, 800.
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48. Sharīf-ul-Mulk Ḥaidarābādī, Text II, No. 214, pp. 688-690; Translation II, No. 638, pp. 823-825.

49. Shāyista Khān Amīr-ul-Umarā, Text II, No. 215, pp. 690-706; Translation II, No. 639, pp. 825-836.

50. Shujā'at Khān Muḥammad Bēg Turkamān, *Q*, Text II, No. 216, pp. 706-708; Translation II, No. 651, pp. 859, 860.

51. Shujā'at Khān Bahādur, *Q*, Text II, No. 217, pp. 708-711; Translation II, No. 648, pp. 853-855.

52. Shahdād Khān Khwēshgī, Text II, No. 218, pp. 711-715; Translation II, No. 615, pp. 747-750.

53. Shujā'-ud-Daulah Bahādur, *Q*, Text II, No. 219, pp. 715-722; Translation II, No. 656, pp. 866-871.

54. Shujā'-ul-Mulk Amīr-ul-Umarā, *Q*, Text II, No. 220, pp. 722, 723; Translation II, No. 657, p. 872.

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11. Abdu-r-Rahīm Bēg Üzbeg, Q, Text II, No. 245, pp. 793, 794; Translation I, No. 12, pp. 48, 49.
12. 'Arab Khān, Q, Text II, No. 246, pp. 794, 795; Translation I, No. 91, p. 268.
13. 'Alī Mardān K. Amīru-l-Umarā, Text II, No. 247, pp. 795-807; Translation I, No. 64, pp. 186-194.
14. 'Abdullah Khān Sa'īd Khān, Q, Text II, No. 248, pp. 807, 808; Translation I, No. 24, pp. 81, 82.
15. Askar Khān Najm Sānī, Q, Text II, No. 249, p. 809; Translation I, No. 104, pp. 304, 305.
16. Abdu-r-Rahmān Sultan, Q, Text II, No. 250, pp. 809-812; Translation I, No. 18, pp. 68-70.
17. Abdu-r-Rahīm Khān, Q, Text II, No. 251, pp. 812, 813; Translation I, No. 15, p. 65.
18. Ināyat Khān, Text II, No. 252, pp. 813-818; Translation I, No. 270, pp. 678-680.
19. Abdu-r-Razzāq K. Lāri, Q, Text II, No. 253, pp. 818-821; Translation I, No. 19, pp. 70, 71.
20. Āqil K. Mīr 'Askarī, Q, Text II, No. 254, pp. 821-823; Translation I, No. 89, pp. 264-266.
21. 'Azīz Ullah Khān, Q, Text II, No. 255, pp. 823, 824; Translation I, No. 112, p. 335.
22. 'Alī Madān K. of Haidarabad, Q, Text II, No. 256, pp. 824, 825; Translation I, No. 65, p. 194.
23. Isā Khān Mabin, Text II, No. 257, pp. 825-828; Translation I, No. 276, pp. 687 689.
24. Ināyat Ullāh Khān, Q, Text II, No. 258, pp. 828-832; Translation I, No. 271, pp. 680-682.

25. 'Azdu-d-Daula İwaz K. Bahādur Qaswāra Jang, *Q*, Text II, No. 259, pp. 832-836; Translation I, No. 107, pp. 308-311.

26. 'Abdu-l-'Azīz Khān Bahādur, *Q*, Text II, No. 260, pp. 836-839; Translation I, No. 5, pp. 33, 34.

27. ('Umdat-ul-Mulk) Amīr Khān Mīr Ishāq, *Q*, Text II, No. 261, pp. 839-841; Translation II, No. 728, pp. 1063-1065.

28. 'Alī Muḥammad K. Rohilla, *Q*, Text II, No. 262, pp. 841-843; Translation I, No. 66, pp. 194-196.

29. 'Alīverdī Khān Mīrzā Bandī, *Q*, Text II, No. 263, pp. 843-847; Translation I, No. 71, pp. 205-208.

30. 'Imād-ul-Mulk, *Q*, Text II, No. 264, pp. 847-856; Translation I, No. 269, pp. 674-678.

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1. Ghāzi Khān Badakhshī, Text II, No. 265, pp. 857-862; Translation I, No. 215, pp. 583-587.
2. Ghairat Khān, Text II, No. 266, pp. 863-865; Translation I, No. 210, pp. 576, 577.
3. Ghālib Khān Bījāpūrī, *Q*, Text II, No. 267, p. 865; Translation I, No. 212, pp. 579, 580.
4. Ghazansfar Khān, Text II, No. 268, pp. 866-868; Translation I, No. 213, pp. 580-582.
5. Ghairat Khān Muḥammad Ibrāhīm, *Q*, Text II, No. 269, pp. 869-872; Translation I, No. 211, pp. 577-579.
6. Ghāzi-ud-Dīn K. Bahādur Firūz Jang, Text II, No. 270, pp. 872-879; Translation I, No. 216, pp. 587-592.
7. Ghāzi-ud-Dīn Khān Bahādur Ghālib Jang, *Q*, Text II, No. 271, pp. 879-882; Translation II, No. 732, pp. 1070-1072.

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1. Farḥat Khān, *Q*, Text III, No. 1, pp. 1-3; Translation I, No. 184, pp. 519, 520.
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3. Fedai Khān, Text III, No. 3, pp. 10-12; Translation I, No. 200, pp. 558, 559.
4. Fedai Khān, Text III, No. 4, pp. 12-18; Translation I, No. 201, pp. 559-563.
5. Fāzil Khān, Text III, No. 5, pp. 18-21; Translation I, No. 195, pp. 548-550.
6. Firūz K. the eunuch, *Q*, Text III, No. 6, pp. 21, 22; Translation I, No. 202, pp. 564, 565.
7. Fath Jang K. Rohilla, Text III, No. 7, pp. 22-26; Translation I, No. 189, pp. 529-532.
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1. Qarā Bahādur Khān, *Q*, Text III, No. 16, pp. 48-50; Translation II, No. 510, pp. 492, 493.
2. Qāsim Muḥammad Khān of Nishāpūr, *Q*, Text III, No. 17, pp. 50-52; Translation II, No. 519, pp. 515, 516.
3. Qutluq Qadam Khān Qarāwal, *Q*, Text III, No. 18, pp. 52, 53; Translation II, No. 535, pp. 557, 558.
4. Qamar Khān, *Q*, Text III, No. 19, pp. 53, 54; Translation II, No. 508, pp. 487, 488.
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8. Quraish Sultān of Kāshghār, Text III, No. 23, pp. 61, 62; Translation II, No. 530, pp. 544, 545.
9. Qāsim Khān Mīr Bah̄r, Text III, No. 24, pp. 62-66; Translation II, No. 518, pp. 511-514.
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12. Qāsim Khān Mīr ‘Abdul Qāsim Namakīn, Text III, No. 27, pp. 74-78; Translation II, No. 517, pp. 508-511.
13. Qāsim Khān I, Text III, No. 28, pp. 78-82; Translation II, No. 513, pp. 497-500.
14. Qibchāq Khān Amān Bēg Shaqqāwal, Text III, No. 29, pp. 82-85; Translation II, No. 523, pp. 524-526.
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17. (Qādi) Muḥammad Aslam, Text III, No. 32, pp. 89-92; Translation II, No. 407, pp. 123-125.
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20. Qubād Khān Mīr Ākhōr, Text III, No. 35, pp. 99-102; Translation II, No. 526, pp. 531-534.
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22. Qawām-ud-Dīn Khān of Isphāhān, Text III, No. 37, pp. 109-115; Translation II, No. 520, pp. 516-521.
23. Qil'adār Khān, Text III, No. 38, pp. 115-120; Translation II, No. 524, pp. 526-529.
24. Qulīj Khān Khwāja 'Abid, Text III, No. 39, pp. 120-123; Translation II, No. 528, pp. 539-541.
25. Qāsim Khān Karmānī, Text III, No. 40, pp. 123-126; Translation II, No. 516, pp. 505-507.
26. Quṭb-ud-Dīn Khān Khwēshgī II, Text III, No. 41, pp. 126-130; Translation II, No. 533, pp. 552-555.
27. (Quṭb-ul-Mulk Saiyid) 'Abdullāh Khān, Text III, No. 42,¹ pp. 130-140; Translation II, No. 727, pp. 1055-1063.
28. Qādir Dād Khan Bahādur, Q, Text III, No. 43, pp. 140-141; Translation II, No. 507, pp. 486, 487.
29. (Quṭb-ud-Daula) Muḥammad Anwar Khān Bahādur, Text III, No. 44, pp. 141-143; Translation II, No. 406, pp. 122, 123.



1. Kamāl Khān Gakkhar, Text III, No. 45, pp. 144-148; Translation I, No. 327, pp. 758-760.
2. Kākar 'Ali Khān, Q, Text III, No. 46, pp. 148, 149; Translation I, No. 325, pp. 757, 758.

1. The page heading on pp. 1057-1062 of the translation is erroneously printed as Abdūl Ahad Khān instead of Abdullāh Khān.

3. (Kunwar) Jagat Singh, Text III, No. 47, pp. 149, 150; Translation I, No. 301, pp. 725, 726.
4. Kishan Singh Rāthor, Text III, No. 48, pp. 150-152; Translation I, No. 358, pp. 829, 830.
5. Kākar Khān or Khān Jahān Kākar, Text III, No. 49, pp. 152, 153; Translation I, No. 325, pp. 757, 758.
6. Kārtalab Khān, Q, Text III, No. 50, pp. 153, 154; Translation I, No. 331, p. 766.
7. Gang 'Alī Khān 'Abdulla Bēg, Q, Text III, No. 51, p. 155; Translation I, No. 207, p. 572.
8. Kīrat Singh, Text III, No. 52, pp. 156-158; Translation I, No. 356, pp. 827-828.
9. Kāmgar Khān, Q, Text III, No. 53, pp. 159, 160; Translation I, No. 328, pp. 760, 761.

J

1. Lashkar Khān, Text III, No. 54, pp. 161-163; Translation I, No. 359, pp. 830, 831.
2. Lashkar Khān Abūl Hasan Mashhadī, Text III, No. 55, pp. 163-168; Translation I, No. 360, pp. 831-834.
3. Lashkar Khān, otherwise Jān Nīthār Khān, Text III, No. 56, pp. 168-171; Translation I, No. 361, pp. 834, 835.
4. Luṭf Ullāh Khān, Text III, No. 57, pp. 171-177; Translation I, No. 364, pp. 837-840.
5. Luṭf Ullāh Khān Sādiq, Text III, No. 58, pp. 177, 178; Translation I, No. 365, p. 840.

1. Muṣāhib Bēg, Text III, No. 59, pp. 179-181; Translation II, No. 467, pp. 321-333.
2. (Mullā) Pīr Muḥammad Khān Shērwānī, Text III, No. 60, pp. 182-186; Translation II, No. 504, pp. 477-481.
3. Abu-l-Ma'āli (Mir Shāh), Text III, No. 61, pp. 186-191; Translation I, No. 37, pp. 132-136.

4. Muḥammad Sultān Mīrzā, Text III, No. 62, pp. 192-199; Translation II, No. 431, pp. 207-212.
5. (Mahdi) Qāsim Khān, Text III, No. 63, pp. 199-202; Translation II, No. 515, pp. 503-505.
6. Muḥammad Qāsim Khān Badakhshī, Text III, No. 64, pp. 202-204; Translation II, No. 424, pp. 178-180.
7. Muḥammad Qulī Tōqbā'ī, Q, Text III, No. 65, p. 204; Translation II, No. 427, p. 186.
8. Muḥammad Qulī Khān Barlās, Text III, No. 66, pp. 204-207; Translation II, No. 426, pp. 183-185.
9. Majnūn Khān Qāqshāl, Text III, No. 67, pp. 207-211; Translation II, No. 375, pp. 38-41.
10. (Mīr) Muḥammad Khān, known as Khān Kalān, Text III, No. 68, pp. 211-216; Translation II, No. 417, pp. 152-156.
11. Mu'in-ud-Dīn Ahmad Khān Farrānkhudī, Q, Text III, No. 69, pp. 216, 217; Translation II, No. 441, p. 237.
12. Mihr 'Alī Khān Sildōz, Q, Text III, No. 70, pp. 217, 218; Translation II, No. 389, pp. 71, 72.
13. (Mīrzā) Mīrak Raḍavī, Q, Text III, No. 71, pp. 218, 219; Translation II, No. 389, pp. 76, 77.
14. Muḥammad Murād Khān I, Q, Text III, No. 72, pp. 219-221; Translation II, No. 422, pp. 170, 171.
15. Muẓaffar Khān Turbatī, Text III, No. 73, pp. 221-227; Translation II, No. 480, pp. 359-364.
16. (Mīr) Mu'izz-ul-Mulk Akbarī, Text III, No. 74, pp. 227-231; Translation II, No. 442, pp. 238-240.
17. (Mīr) 'Alī Akbar Mūsavī, Text III, No. 75, pp. 231, 232; Translation I, No. 59, pp. 177, 178.
18. (Mīrzā) Sharf-ud-Dīn Ḥusain Ahrārī, Text III, No. 76, pp. 232-238; Translation II, No. 633, pp. 808-812.
19. Muhibb 'Alī Khān, Text III, No. 77, pp. 238-245; Translation II, No. 435, pp. 220-225.
20. Maṣūm Khān Farrānkhudī, Text III, No. 78, pp. 246-249; Translation II, No. 383, pp. 64-66.

21. (Mir) Gesū of Khurāsān, Text III, No. 79, pp. 249-252; Translation I, No. 209, pp. 575, 576.
22. (Mullā) 'Abdullah Anṣārī Makhdūmu-l-Mulk, Text III, No. 80, pp. 252-257; Translation I, No. 28, pp. 93-97.
23. 'Ali Khān (Mirzāda), Q, Text III, No. 81, pp. 257, 258; Translation I, No. 61, p. 180.
24. (Mirzā) Fūlād (misprinted as Fuldā in translation), Text III, No. 82, pp. 258-264; Translation I, No. 204, pp. 565-568.
25. (Mirzā) Sulaimān (Ruler of Badakhshān), Text III, No. 83, pp. 264-277; Translation II, No. 665, pp. 884-893.
26. Muhibb 'Ali Khān Rohtāsī, Text III, No. 84, pp. 277-280; Translation II, No. 436, pp. 226-229.
27. (Mir) Abu Turāb Gujrātī, Text III, No. 85, pp. 280-285; Translation I, No. 42, pp. 142-144.
28. (Mir) Sharīf Āmulī, Text III, No. 86, pp. 285-290; Translation II, No. 634, pp. 812-816.
29. (Mir) Murtadā Khān Sabazwārī, Text III, No. 87, pp. 290-292; Translation II, No. 465, pp. 318-320.
30. Ma'sūm Khān Kābulī, Text III, No. 88, pp. 292-296; Translation II, No. 384, pp. 66-69.
31. (Mirzā) Mużaffar Husain Ṣafavī, Text III, No. 89, pp. 296-302; Translation II, No. 477, pp. 350-354.
32. (Mirzā) Jānī Bēg Arghūn (the ruler of Thatha), Text III, No. 90, pp. 302-314; Translation I, No. 316, pp. 743-748.
33. (Mirzā) Yūsuf Khān Raḍavī, Text III, No. 91, pp. 314-321; Translation II, No. 711, pp. 1001-1007.
34. Mādhū Singh Kachwāha, Q, Text III, No. 92, pp. 321, 322; Translation II, No. 367, pp. 3, 4.
35. (Mir) Husām-ud-Din, Text III, No. 93, pp. 323, 324; Translation I, No. 252, pp. 649, 650.
36. Makhsūs Khān, Q, Text III, No. 94, pp. 324, 325; Translation II, No. 376, pp. 41, 42.

37. (Mir) Ma'sūm Bhakkari, Text III, No. 95, pp. 326-329; Translation II, No. 382, pp. 61-63.

38. (Mirzā) Shāh Rukh, Text III, No. 96, pp. 329-335; Translation II, No. 624, pp. 779-783.

39. (Mir) Khalil Ullāh Yazdī, Text III, No. 97, pp. 335-342; Translation I, No. 333, pp. 770-774.

40. Muhammad Qulī Turkmān, *Q*, Text III, No. 98, pp. 342, 343; Translation II, No. 428, pp. 186, 187.

41. Mihtar Khān, *Q*, Text III, No. 99, pp. 344, 345; Translation II, No. 387, pp. 72-74.

42. (Mirzā) Ghāzi Bēg (Tarkhān), Text III, No. 100, pp. 345-348; Translation I, No. 214, pp. 582, 583.

43. Mīrān Ṣadr Jahān Pihānī, Text III, No. 101, pp. 348-351; Translation II, No. 391, pp. 78-80.

44. (Mirzā) Cīn Qulīj, Text III, No. 102, pp. 351-354; Translation I, No. 154, pp. 434, 435.

45. (Mirzā) Farīdūn Khān Barlās, *Q*, Text III, No. 103, pp. 354, 355; Translation I, No. 187, pp. 527, 528.

46. Muhtasham Khān Shaikh Qāsim Fathpūri, *Q*, Text III, No. 104, p. 355; Translation II, No. 440, p. 236.

47. (Mirzā) 'Ali Bēg Akbar Shāhī, Text III, No. 105, pp. 355-357; Translation I, No. 60, pp. 178, 179.

48. (Mir) Jamāl-ud-Dīn Injū, Text III, No. 106, pp. 358-360; Translation I, No. 315, pp. 742, 743.

49. (Mirzā Rāja) Bahādur Singh, *Q*, Text III, No. 107, pp. 360, 361; Translation II, No. 730, pp. 1068, 1069.

50. (Mir) Fazl Ullah Bokhārī, Text III, No. 108, pp. 361-365; Translation I, No. 199, pp. 556-558.

51. Mu'azzam Khān Shaikh Bāyazīd, *Q*, Text III, No. 109, pp. 365, 366; Translation II, No. 394, pp. 87, 88.

52. Muhammad Faqī Sīmsāz, styled Shāh Qulī Khān, Text III, No. 110, pp. 366-369; Translation II, No. 394, pp. 212-214.

53. Mullā Muḥammad of Tatta, Text III, No. 111, pp. 369-372; Translation II, No. 454, pp. 276-278.
54. Muḥammad Khān Niyāzī, Text III, No. 112, pp. 372-376; Translation II, No. 420, pp. 163-167.
55. Muẓaffar Khān Mīr ‘Abdur Razzāq Ma‘mūrī, Text III, No. 113, pp. 376-379; Translation II, No. 479, pp. 357-359.
56. (Muqarrab Khān Shaikh) Ḥasan known as Ḥassū, Text III, No. 114, pp. 379-382; Translation I, No. 233, pp. 616, 617.
57. (Mīr) Husām-ud-Dīn Anjū Murtadā Khān, Text III, No. 115, pp. 382-384; Translation I, No. 253, pp. 650, 651.
58. Muṣṭafā Bēg Turkamān Khān, Q, Text III, No. 116, pp. 384, 385; Translation II, No. 470, p. 327.
59. Mahābat Khān Khān Khānān, Commander-in-Chief, Text III, No. 117, pp. 385-409; Translation II, No. 370, pp. 9-28.
60. Mukhtār Khān Sabazwārī, Text III, No. 118, pp. 409-413; Translation II, No. 451, pp. 259-262.
61. (Mīr) Muḥammad Amīn Mīr Jumla Shahristānī, Text III, No. 119, pp. 413-418; Translation II, No. 405, pp. 117-121.
62. Mahaldār Khān, Text III, No. 120, pp. 419-421; Translation II, No. 372, pp. 32, 33.
63. Murshid Quli Khān Turkmān known as Murawwāt Khān, Text III, No. 121, pp. 421-428; Translation II, No. 462, pp. 309-314.
64. Mukhlis Khān I, Text III, No. 122, pp. 428-430; Translation II, No. 447, pp. 249-251.
65. Mu’tamad Khān Muḥammad Sharif, Text III, No. 123, pp. 431-434; Translation II, No. 475, pp. 344-347.
66. (Mīrzā) Rustam Ṣafavī, Text III, No. 124, pp. 434-441; Translation II, No. 568, pp. 631-637.
67. Mūsāvī Khān Ṣadr, Q, Text III, No. 125, pp. 441, 442; Translation II, No. 469, pp. 326, 327.

68. Mubāriz Khān Rōhila, *Q*, Text III, No. 126, pp. 442-444;
Translation II, No. 398, pp. 103-105.

69. Mahēsh Dās Rāthōr, *Q*, Text III, No. 127, pp. 445-447;
Translation II, No. 373, pp. 34, 35.

70. (Mir Saiyid) Jalāl Ṣadr, Text III, No. 128, pp. 447-451;
Translation I, No. 312, pp. 737-740.

71. Muḥammad Zamān Tehrānī, *Q*, Text III, No. 129, pp. 452,
453; Translation II, No. 434, pp. 219, 220.

72. Mādhū Singh Hātā, *Q*, Text III, No. 130, pp. 453-456;
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73. (Mirzā) Walī, Text III, No. 131, pp. 456-460; Translation
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74. Mukramat Khān, Text III, No. 132, pp. 460-477; Transla-
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75. (Mirzā) Hasan Ṣafavī, Text III, No. 133, pp. 477-479;
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76. Murtadā Khān Saiyid Niẓām, Text III, No. 134, pp. 479-
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78. (Mirzā) 'Isā Tarkhān, Text III, No. 136, pp. 485-488;
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79. Muḥammad 'Alī Khān Muḥammad 'Alī Beg, Text III, No.
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80. Mughal Khān, Text III, No. 138, pp. 490-492; Translation
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81. (Mir) Shams, *Q*, Text III, No. 139, p. 492; Translation II,
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82. Murshid Qulī Khān Khurāsānī, Text III, No. 140, pp. 493-
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83. Multfat Khān, Text III, No. 141, pp. 500-503; Translation
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84. Ma'mūr Khān Mīr Abūl Fadl Ma'mūrī, Text III, No. 142, pp. 503-508; Translation II, No. 378, pp. 45-48.

85. Mukand Singh Hārā, *Q*, Text III, No. 143, pp. 509, 510; Translation II, No. 444, pp. 241, 242.

86. Mu'tamad Khān Muḥammad Ṣalīḥ Khawāfi, *Q*, Text III, No. 144, pp. 510, 511; Translation II, No. 474, pp. 343, 344.

87. Mubārak Khān Niyāzī, Text III, No. 145, pp. 511-513; Translation II, No. 395, pp. 88-90.

88. (Mīrzā) Abū Sa'īd, Text III, No. 146, pp. 513-516; Translation I, No. 41, pp. 141, 142.

89. Muṣṭafā Khān Khawāfi, Text III, No. 147, pp. 516-518; Translation II, No. 472, pp. 331-333.

90. Mīrak Shaikh Haravī, Text III, No. 148, pp. 518, 519; Translation II, No. 390, pp. 77, 78.

91. Mälūjī and Parsūjī, Text III, No. 149, pp. 520-524; Translation II, No. 377, pp. 42-45.

92. Fāżil K. alias Mullā 'Allāu-l-Mulk Tūnī, Text III, No. 150, pp. 524-530; Translation I, No. 196, pp. 550-553.

93. (Mīrzā) Muḥammad Sa'īd Mīr Jumla, called Mu'azzām Khān Khānān Sipāh-Sālār, Text III, No. 151, pp. 530-555; Translation II, No. 429, pp. 188-205.

94. (Mīrzā) Naudhar Ṣafavī, Text III, No. 152, pp. 555-557; Translation II, No. 489, pp. 388, 389.

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151. (Mahārāo) Jānōjī Jaswant Nimbālkar, Q, Text III, No. 209, pp. 806, 807; Translation I, No. 319, pp. 750, 751.

152. (Majd-ud-Daulah) 'Abdul Ahad Khān, Q, Text III, No. 210, pp. 807, 808; Translation II, No. 726, pp. 1054, 1055.

1. Niyābat Khān, Q, Text III, No. 211, pp. 809-811; Translation II, No. 492, pp. 392-394.
2. Nūr Qulīj, Q, Text III, No. 212, pp. 811, 812; Translation II, No. 497, pp. 459, 460.
3. Naqīb Khān Mīr Ghīyāth-ud-Dīn 'Alī, Text III, No. 213, pp. 812-817; Translation II, No. 486, pp. 381-384.
4. Nūr-ud-Dīn Quli, Q, Text III, No. 214, pp. 817, 818; Translation II, No. 499, p. 463.
5. Nazr Bahādur Khwēshgī, Text III, No. 215, pp. 818-821; Translation II, No. 491, pp. 390-392.
6. Najābat Khān Mīrzā Shujā', Text III, No. 216, pp. 821-828; Translation II, No. 481, pp. 364-371.
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9. Nāzīr Khān Muhammad Amān, Q, Text III, No. 219, pp. 833-835; Translation II, No. 487, pp. 384-386.
10. Nasīr-ud-Daulah Ṣalābat Jang, Q, Text III, No. 220, pp. 835-837; Translation II, No. 488, pp. 386, 387.

11. Niżām-ul-Mulk Āṣaf Jāh, Text III, No. 221, pp. 837-848; Translation II, No. 495^a, pp. 409-417.
12. Niżām-ud-Daulah Bahādur Nāṣir Jang, the Martyr, Text III, No. 222, pp. 848-862; Translation II, No. 494, pp. 398-408.
13. Najīb-ud-Daulah Shaikh 'Alī Khān Bahādur, Q, Text III, No. 223, pp. 863-865; Translation II, No. 483, pp. 374-376.
14. Najīb-ud-Daulah Najīb Khān, Q, Text III, No. 224, pp. 865-868; Translation II, No. 482, pp. 371-374.
15. Niżām-ul-Mulk Niżām-ud-Daulah Āṣaf Jāh, Text III, No. 225, pp. 868-875; Translation II, No. 496, pp. 455-459.
16. Nawāb Āṣaf Jāh, the Asylum of Pardons, Text III, No. 226, pp. 875-927; Translation II, No. 495^b, pp. 417-454. (A second version of No. 11 above).

1. Wazīr Jamil, Q, Text III, No. 227, pp. 928, 929; Translation II, No. 699, pp. 980, 981.
2. Wazīr Khān Haravī, Text III, No. 228, pp. 929-932; Translation II, No. 701, pp. 984-986.
3. Wazīr Khān Muqīm, Q, Text III, No. 229, pp. 932, 933; Translation II, No. 703, p. 989.
4. Wazīr Khān Ḥakīm 'Alīm-ud-Dīn, Text III, No. 230, pp. 933-936; Translation II, No. 700, pp. 981-983.
5. Wazīr Khān Muḥammad Tāhir Khurrāsānī, Text III, No. 231, pp. 936-940; Translation II, No. 702, pp. 986-989.

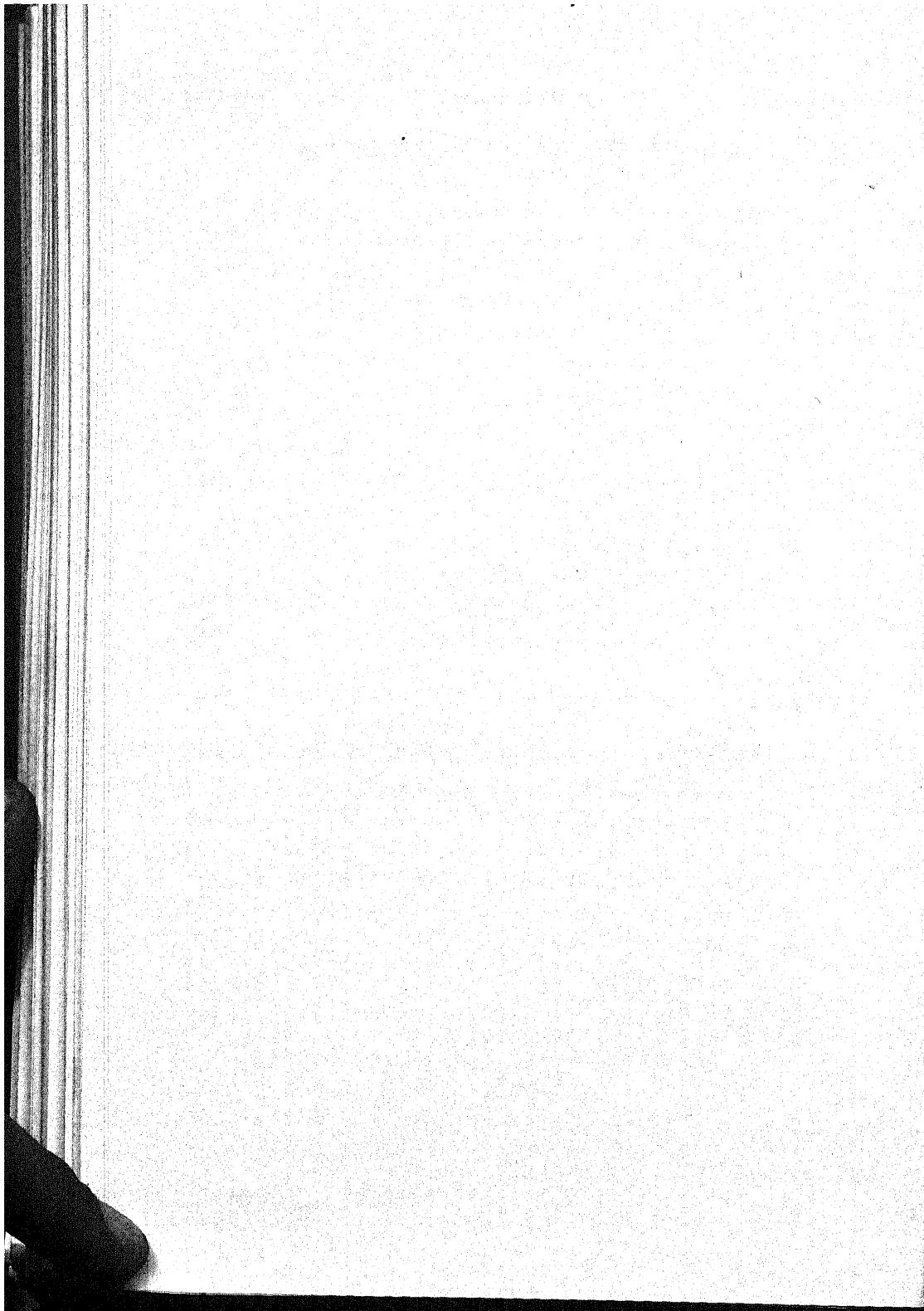
1. Hāshim Khāh, Q, Text III, No. 232, pp. 940, 941; Translation I, No. 237, pp. 622, 623.
2. Hādī Dād Khān, Q, Text III, No. 233, pp. 941-943; Translation I, No. 220, p. 597.

3. Hōshdār Khān Mīr Hōshdār, Text III, No. 234, pp. 943-946; Translation I, No. 244, p. 628.
4. Hizbr Khān son of Ilāhvārdī Khān, Q, Text III, No. 235, p. 946; Translation I, No. 243, p. 627.
5. Himmat Khān Mīr 'Isā, Text III, No. 236, pp. 946-949; Translation I, No. 240, pp. 624, 625.
6. Himmat Khān Muḥammad Ḥasan and Sipahdār Khān Muḥammad Muḥsin, Text III, No. 237, pp. 949-951; Translation I, No. 241, pp. 625-627.

◆

1. Yūsuf Muḥammad Khān Kōkaltāsh, Q, Text III, No. 238, pp. 952-954; Translation II, No. 712, pp. 1007-1009.
2. Yūsuf Khān Kashmīrī, Q, Text III, No. 239, pp. 954-957; Translation II, No. 710, pp. 999-1001.
3. Yūsuf Khān son of Ḫusain Khān Tukriya, Q, Text III, No. 240, pp. 957, 958; Translation II, No. 709, pp. 998, 999.
4. Ya'qūb Khān Badakhshī, Q, Text III, No. 241, p. 958; Translation II, No. 704, p. 990.
5. Ya'qūt Khān Abyssinian, Text III, No. 242, pp. 958-963; Translation II, No. 705, pp. 990-994.
6. Yūsuf Muḥammad Khān Tāshkandī, Text III, No. 243, pp. 963-967; Translation II, No. 713, pp. 1009-1012.
7. Ekatāz Khān 'Abdullah Bēg, Text III, No. 244, pp. 968-971; Translation I, No. 180, pp. 509-511.
8. Ilangtōsh Khān Bahādur, Q, Text III, No. 245, pp. 971, 972; Translation I, No. 268, pp. 673, 674.

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